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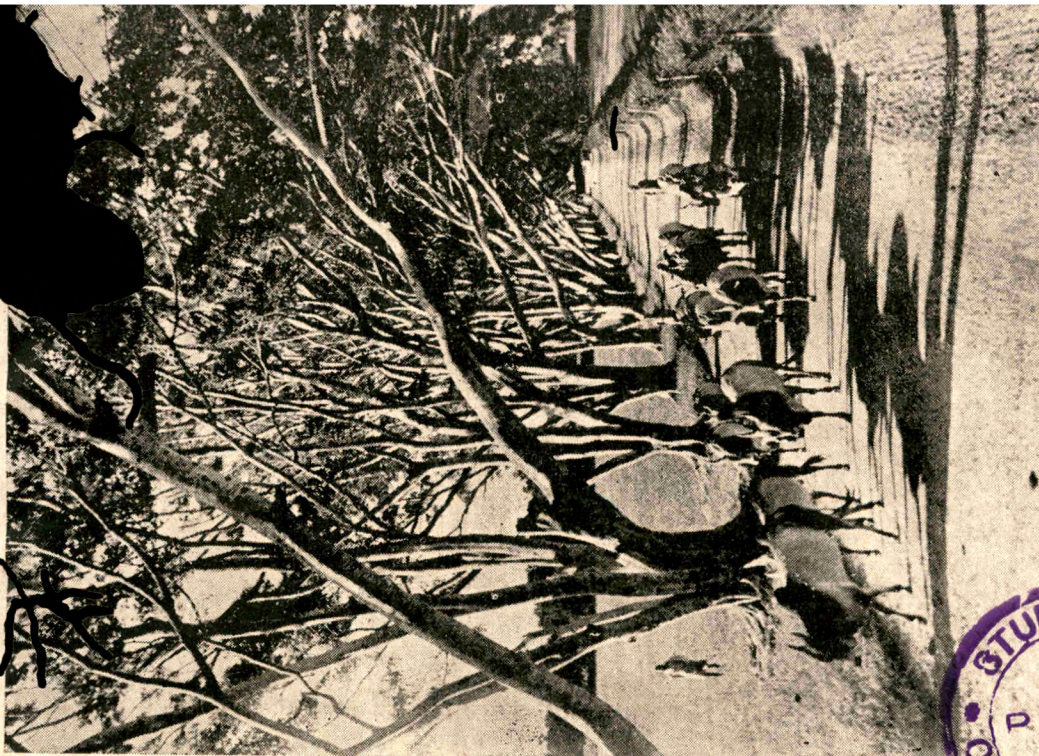
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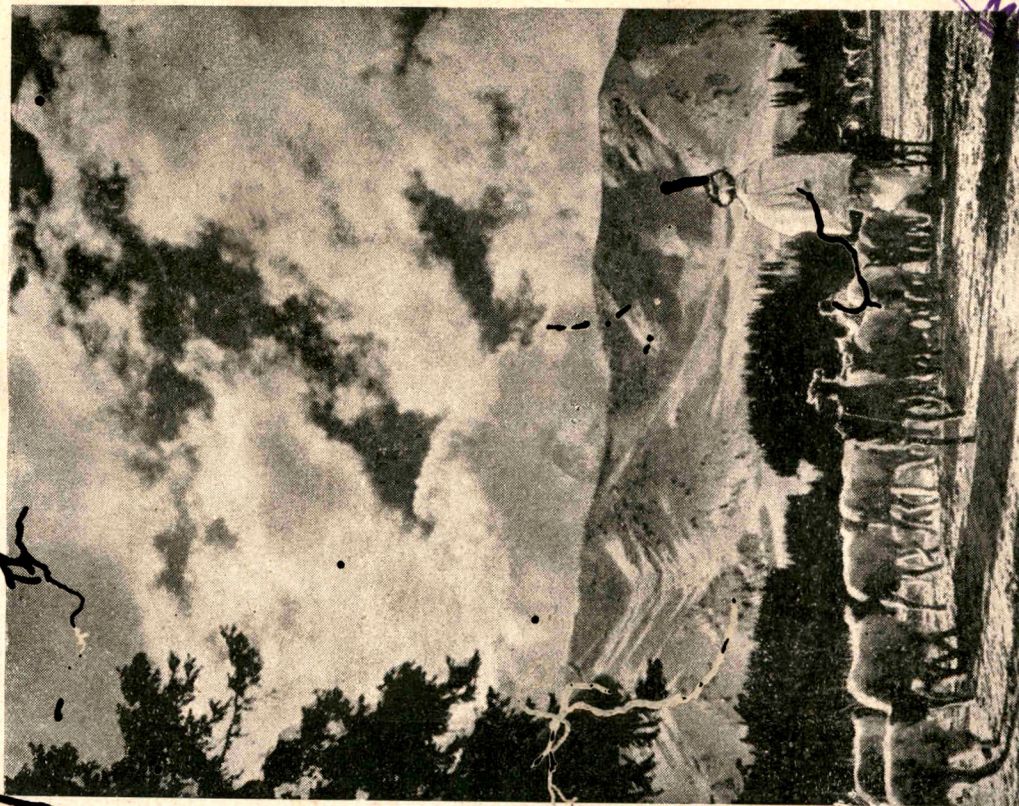
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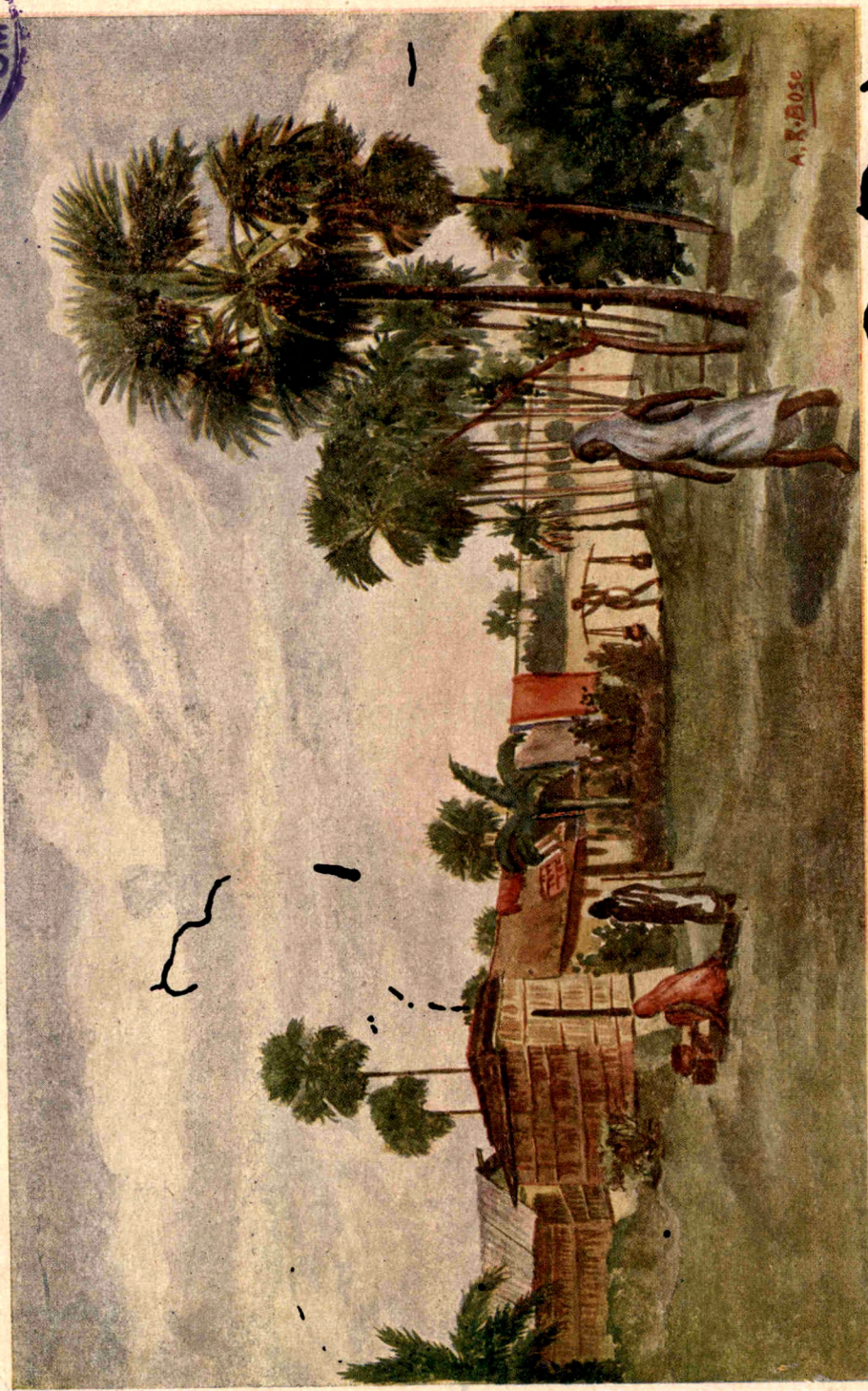


Glorious avenue trees



The picturesque Kulu Valley in the Himalayas

ENTRANCE
G. A.
MON-ROOM



A BENGAL VILLAGE
By Asitranjan Bose

Prabasi Press Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW



JULY



1956



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WHOLE No. 595

NOTES

The Prospect

The closing month of the current half-year, as crowded with events. Amongst them, of great significance to the group of people that are linked together in the British Commonwealth of Nations, is the meeting of Prime Ministers in London proceeding now. From the news that have reached us till now, it seems that though all members of the Conference were not equally sure about the sincerity behind the new policy enunciated by the Soviets, they were nevertheless agreed on the point that the Cold War situation had considerably eased since their last meeting.

This statement gives the key to the world situation to-day. Doubts and suspicions, covert or openly declared, are the main barriers towards the restoration of normalcy in world politics.

The initiative, at present, in this easing of the world situation has been taken by the Soviet's leaders. Contrawise, the dissenting statesmen are led in the main by some spokesmen of the United States of America.

For example, Mr. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, recently made a statement at Iowa State College, in which he said:

"The principle of neutrality pretends that a nation can best gain safety for itself by being indifferent to the fate of others. This has increasingly become an obsolete conception, and, except under very exceptional circumstances, it is an *immoral and shortsighted con-*

ception. The free world today is stronger and peace is more secure because so many free nations courageously recognise the now demonstrated fact that their own peace and safety would be endangered by assault on freedom elsewhere."

In commenting on this statement, we quote a remark made by Sir Percival Griffiths, the noted British authority on South-East Asia in the course of a discussion following a lecture on his 48th tour of India, Pakistan and Burma, on the 19th of January of this year. In reply to a question whether the Russian visit had incidentally engendered anti-American activities in India, he said:

"There are no anti-American activities in India, but it is true to say that India is not particularly fond of America at the present time and that the egregious Mr. Dulles made things just as bad as possible by his entirely unwanted and unneeded intervention in the matter of Goa. He has a sublime gift, Sir Percival added, for saying the wrong thing at the wrong time, and he does not exercise it anywhere to more effect than with regard to India."

We would finish with Mr. Dulles by adding that now he has made bad worse, by this recent ridiculous exhibition of unreasoned fanaticism alloyed with malice. It is only necessary to add that Dulles does not in any way speak for all America, or even for his chief, the President of the United States. All the same this attempt

dividing the world in three parts, namely, the Righteous, They the Wrongdoers, and those that are Beyond the Pale, shows the state the World is in.

And further, the recent delivery of 40 jet fighters, of the latest model, to Pakistan, has in any way added anything to the cause of peace in this world. Indeed, on the contrary.

The S.E.A.D.O. group met at Singapore the beginning of June, with a brave rolling drums, while Pakistan was making a pact with Russia for a "favoured nation" deal. It is indeed a queer world!

For the present, our own troubled continent Asia, is in a state of peace, although it is very uneasy in the Palestine area, where a minor clash occurred on the Israel-Jordan border on June 24. Jordan, it may be noted, has become an active participant in the Arab-Israel disputes after the dismissal of Glubb Pasha.

Fierce skirmishing and bloodshed is still going unabated in Algeria, where the dispossessed Algerians are trying to retrieve their ancient heritage from the intrusive elements of French colonialism. 400,000 French troops are fighting 1,000 Algerians, in the crushing of Algeria's attempt at freedom. It might be remarked in passing that of the vast grain crops of Algeria, some 9000,000 acres of land, almost half is reduced by the better and well-irrigated lands of 20,000 French *colon* farmers, whereas 700,000 Algerian farmers get the other half from their about a million half-starved Algerians who eke out a livelihood by intermittent work on the French farms, are out on boycott.

In Cyprus, the British are engaged in an effort at crushing the Enosis movement by force, despite very strong opposition from the labour party. And there was a minor rebellion in Argentina about the middle of this month.

It should be noted here that even in France there is a strong reaction against the dragooning into submission of the Algerians.

On the positive side, the evacuation of the Suez Canal by the British forces was completed on June 18th, after 74 years of British occupation, thus closing a troubled chapter in Anglo-Egyptian relations. And there was the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the Soviets which was finalised in a joint declaration on June 20th.

All along, the tests of atomic weapons conti-

nue. The latest reports from Japan state that both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. made major atomic tests in the last week of June. The British also made some tests on the 19th of June.

In retrospect, it is to be regretted that although President Soekarno had declared the stand-point of the people of the underdeveloped regions of Asia at his recent visit to the United States, the effect is as yet not very perceptible in the U.S.A.

All the same, since the Soviets have come forward to help, the position is somewhat clearer. It is increasingly understood by the Western world that the Cold War is not only retarding the progress of civilization, but also is rendering the atmosphere more and more poisoned due to the awakening consciousness of the exploited peoples. The West can only escape nemesis if it makes substantial amends for the centuries of exploitation in the past. The chief obstacle is the race for arms. That is why even Monsieur Pineau of the French Cabinet, has issued an appeal to end the Cold War.

At home, a crop of bitter recriminations and resignations follow in the aftermath of the S.R.C. Report. To add to the conflict, the Language Commission, whose work was anything but openly public, is going to submit its recommendations to the Parliament.

Banking Developments

The year 1955, states the Reserve Bank's latest Annual Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, was significant not only for the increased volume of banking business but also for the momentous and far-reaching organisational changes that occurred in the banking sector. Steps were taken to ensure wider banking facilities and to strengthen the banking structure so as to equip it better for its important role in coming years in the finance of diverse forms of economic activity. The generally healthy picture of economic activity in the country was fully reflected in the trends in banking business during the year. Over 1955, scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 80 crores, as against an increase of Rs. 57 crores in 1954 and a fall of Rs. 10 crores in 1953. This figure, however, conceals seasonal variations. The expansion of bank credit in the busy season of 1954-55 at Rs. 107 crores was lower by Rs. 5 crores than in the busy

season of 1953-54. What was of greater interest, however, was that in the ensuing slack season, the return of funds to the banking system was not more than Rs. 32 crores which meant that with over two-thirds of the total credit made available remained in the pipe line. The Report observes that a tendency towards contraction of the financial slack season, noticed recently, might be interpreted not so much as an aberration of the pattern as a reflection of the beginning of an underlying trend of a general increase in, and lengthening of, credit demands as a result of the growing diversification of the Indian economy.

The resource position of the Indian banking system was, taking a broad overall view, fairly comfortable in 1955. An interesting feature as regards the Reserve Bank's lending operations has been that while hitherto the Indian banks had been the main borrowers under the Bill Market Scheme in 1955 exchange banks also exhibited considerable interest in the scheme. This development gives ground for the belief that the Indian money market is acquiring a greater degree of autonomy. In 1955, in continuation of the trend in the two preceding years, the deposits of scheduled banks increased by Rs. 91 crores to Rs. 1,013 crores, passing the Rs. 1,000 crores level for the first time in seven years. The expansion in deposits in 1955, though similar in magnitude differed markedly from that which occurred in 1954. In 1954, demand deposits had gone up by Rs. 35 crores, whereas in 1955, the expansion of time deposits was somewhat more significant at Rs. 47 crores, as against an increase in demand deposits of about Rs. 43 crores.

Over the year 1955, the relatively larger increase in bank deposits than credit and the reduction of cash reserves helped scheduled banks to add to their investment portfolios by as much as Rs. 42 crores. Of this, more than Rs. 36 crores represented investments in Government securities. The additional gilt-edged investments were entirely accounted for by Indian scheduled banks and were made in the second half of the year, partly through subscription to the Central Government Loan floated in July 1955. The maturity pattern of scheduled bank gilt-edged holdings underwent some interesting variations.

During the year, the total number of offices of banks recorded an increase for the first time in the post-war period. The increase was mostly

in the offices of scheduled banks which increased by 91 to 2,793. There was an increase by 1 to 66 in the offices of exchange banks, while the number of offices of non-scheduled banks declined by 28 to 1,258. The Report then refers to the State Bank's branch expansion programme. According to the State Bank Act, the Bank has to establish not less than four hundred additional branches within a period of five years or such extended period as the Central Government may specify; as a first step in its expansion programme, a list of 100 centres covering mostly the important district centres has been prepared with the approval of the Central Government and the selection of centres has, for the time being, been confined to Part A and Part C States. Up to June 30, 1955, the State Bank of India had opened 63 branches in Part A and Part C States out of the 114 it was expected to open in pursuance of the recommendations of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950). In the first six months of its working, the State Bank opened branches at 20 centres out of the 51 left over to be opened by the former Imperial Bank of India. Thus, the trends in branch banking as a whole reflected the steady widening of the area of the banking system by extension of branches into the interior of the country.

The scope of branch banking is greatly influenced by costs of operation—mainly by establishment charges. In this regard, the Report refers to the appointment of the Bank Award (Gajendragadkar) Commission to conduct a fact-finding enquiry and make recommendations as regards further modifications, if need be, of the decision of the Labour Appellate Tribunal as modified by the Government in August 1954. The recommendations of the Bank Award Commission submitted towards the end of July 1955 were accepted in full by the Government and accordingly, the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Act, 1955, was passed in September under which the terms and conditions of the Award will remain in force for a period of five years from April 1, 1954.

The profit and loss accounts of 18 larger Indian scheduled banks showed that during 1955 their gross earnings registered a rise of Rs. 3.8 crores to Rs. 35.0 crores, over three-fifths (Rs. 2.4 crores) of this being accounted for by the rise in interest and discount earned. Total expenses also rose significantly—by Rs. 3.4

crores, more than one-third of which was made up of an increase in interest paid on deposits, borrowings, etc. Net profits, therefore, went up by Rs. 0.4 crores to Rs. 5.7 crores.

In the sphere of banking organisation and control, the outstanding event of the year was the inauguration of the State Bank of India. The Report briefly recapitulates the circumstances which led to this major step in the building up of a co-ordinated banking system. The expansion programme of the State Bank, and its role in the fields of industry, trade, commerce and rural finance are also explained briefly in the Report. With its network of branches reaching into the interior of districts the State Bank is expected to be of assistance in devising institutional remedies for difficulties connected with short-term finance for rural and small-scale industries, the development of which has been accorded high priority in the Second Five-Year Plan. Apart from this, the State Bank's part in furthering rural credit may be visualised in the provision of vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative institutions, and of financial assistance through purchase of debentures of land mortgage banks or through direct advances against agricultural produce or small-scale industry products, and generally in co-ordinating its activities with those of co-operative institutions in a variety of ways.

The Report indicates how some of the other important recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey Committee were also translated into law. Thus, to enable the Reserve Bank to play an active part in the organisation of the co-operative structure and facilitate the supply of rural credit, the Reserve Bank of India Act was amended so as to provide for the setting up of the National Agricultural Credit (Long-Term) Operations Fund and the National Agricultural Credit Stabilisation Fund. Efforts continued to be made to tone up the quality and standards of the existing banking system. The Reserve Bank's regular inspection of banking companies initiated six years ago is referred to in the Report. The first round of inspections of practically all the reporting banks has been completed and periodical reinspection of banks has also been undertaken. While the general position of the banking system continues to be sound, undesirable features have been observed in the operation of some banks. The Report observes that these defects are

gradually being rectified though they have not yet been completely eliminated. However, inspection of banks and the advice tendered by the Reserve Bank in following up inspections have been tended to bring about a change for the better.

During the year licences were issued to 12 Indian scheduled banks under Section 22 of the Banking Companies Act thus raising the total number of licences issued to 46. Besides these, there are four banks, namely, the State Bank of India and three other major State-associated banks to which the provisions of Section 22 of the Banking Companies Act are not applicable. The deposits of these 50 banks as at the end of the year 1955, aggregated Rs. 980.9 crores which accounted for 90.8 per cent of the total deposits of banks (both scheduled and non-scheduled) in this country. The Second Five-Year Plan would naturally entail for banks not only an extension of both their area of operations and range of functions but also an expansion in the magnitude of that type of banking business which is now being performed, viz., the provision of working capital requirements to trade and industry. Attempts are being made to correct the lopsided branch distribution of Indian banking with its concentration in the towns through a programme of branch expansion of the State Bank of India and the enlargement of facilities for remittance of funds. With the establishment of the integrated credit structure as contemplated by the Rural Credit Survey Committee, the range of functions of banks will be considerably widened. The importance of sound management is of particular relevance in a period of sizeable increase in bank resources and the wider opportunities for credit expansion which the growth of the economy would open out.

To facilitate easy credit conditions and to widen the influence of the Reserve Bank over the Indian money market we deem it essential that the Reserve Bank should start rediscounting genuine trade bills instead of the present improvised system of bill market. The present practice of rediscounting bills started by the Reserve Bank in 1952 has not yet started a full-fledged bill market in this country as it obtains in other developed countries of the West, particularly in Britain. Under the existing so-called bill market scheme, the Reserve Bank practically gives loan against the promissory notes of scheduled banks drawn on the strength of the

promissory notes of the constituents of the banks. The result of the lack of a proper self-liquidating bill market is that there is limited turn-over of bank money and the credit base is considerably restricted.

As regards the proposed amendment to the Reserve Bank Act, we have something to comment. We view with dismay the proposal to abolish the Local Boards. The notes on clauses on the Bill states that with the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank, the need to retain Local Boards has disappeared, because they attended to share transfer work. In the Reserve Bank Act there is nothing to restrict the work of the Local Boards to mere share transfer. Its scope of functions could have been effectively enlarged to look after the regional interests. The abolition of Local Boards would certainly be a retrograde step in so far as it will lead to bureaucratisation and too much centralisation of power to the detriment of regional interests. In the USA, the central banking institution is to a great extent a federation of twelve regional central banks that are entrusted with the task of looking after local interests. The abolition of Local Boards will be harmful to the interests of Calcutta, the industrial capital of India. The main office being situated in Bombay, the regional interests of Calcutta and Madras will not receive prompt and due care. Had the head office been situated in a central place like Delhi, the local interests might have received due attention. There is absolutely no point in abolishing Local Boards.

As regards the currency reserve, we are glad that the present system of proportional reserve is going to be abolished. In this journal of ours we have been repeatedly urging upon the authorities to do away with the system of proportional reserve which is a costly affair and does not impart flexibility to currency expansion which is much needed today to finance the Second Five-Year Plan. Under Section 33(2), of the total amount of assets, not less than two-fifths shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion or foreign securities; provided that the amount of gold coin and gold bullion shall not at any time be less than forty crores of rupees in value. In other words, 40 per cent of total assets of the Reserve Bank must be in gold or foreign securities. In view of this provision, a large amount of foreign assets has got to be immobil-

ised for maintenance of reserve against the issue of currency notes and this involves a great disadvantage to India.

Under the proposed amendment, the issue of currency will have no relation with reserve of foreign securities or gold. There will be a fixed minimum holding of Rs. 400 crores in foreign securities and Rs. 115 crores in gold in the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India. This fixed minimum method of reserve will impart greater elasticity to currency expansion. The volume of currency will have no relation with the maintenance of reserve. On March 30, 1956, Rs. 697 crores were kept in foreign securities and this amount India can ill afford to maintain as reserve in view of her increasing expenditures on the second Plan. In Britain, there is the fiduciary system of note issue and that means notes are issued without any gold reserve. There can be no greater credit than a country's credit, and gold reserve is a costly wastage. During the second Plan there will be a deficit of foreign exchange to the extent of Rs. 1,100 crores. The amendment will remove the rigidity in currency expansion by providing for the statutory minimum reserve of gold and foreign securities in absolute terms. Henceforth, foreign securities can be in any currency and the minimum amount of such securities should not ordinarily be less than Rs. 400 crores; but on special occasions, it may be lowered to Rs. 300 crores. The volume of gold and gold coins in the currency reserve will be raised to Rs. 115 crores from the present amount of Rs. 40.01 crores. The increase in gold holding will be achieved simply by revaluing the gold. The gold holdings are at present valued at 8.47512 grains of fine gold per rupee and this is the old parity that prevailed before the devaluation in 1931. The new parity will be valued at 2.88 grains of fine gold per rupee and this is at the International Monetary Fund's value for gold, namely, \$35 per fine ounce. It may be noted here that for some time past we have been advocating for the revaluation of the gold holdings of the Reserve Bank as the old valuation was out of date and it is indeed a step in the right direction to revalue the gold holdings. The revalued gold will not be added to foreign securities for determining the currency reserve; it will be kept separately as the irreducible

minimum. The revalued gold will have a comparable size against the increasing volume of note issue.

As regards the foreign securities, the maintenance of such a large amount is uncalled for. No other country has linked up her currency issue with foreign securities. India's is a costly measure in this respect, because the balance of payments position will impart confidence to the country's currency issue and the reserve of foreign securities is redundant. However, the proposed measure is devised to maintain a link with the past and to maintain confidence in Indian rupee of foreign countries. Another notable change in the banking field is the change-over from the fixed reserve ratio to variable reserve ratios. On this point we shall turn on again when the measure is put on the Statute Book.

High Level Resignations

The following news is about the three recent resignations at a high level. The most important is that of Shri Deshmukh, Union Minister of Finance, who has been forced to resign due to the stand taken by the Maharashtra Congress group, and the members of his own constituency. It is needless to say that the loss to the Cabinet would be immense, but of course, there are even greater considerations in this complex problem.

Mr. S. K. Handoo, who is one of the ablest Indians in the banking circles, has resigned because of some questions and answers in the Rajya Sabha. Recently a group of irresponsible persons have been tilting against high-pay for some officials. We have seen nothing but pure unreasoned grudge and malice in most of them. We could understand if they wanted to raise the level of pay, but we cannot make out the reasons for cutting down the pay of faithful and able servants of the State.

"Madras, June 22.—The Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, confirmed here today the report of Dr. Matthai's resignation from the Chairmanship of the State Bank.

"Mr. Deshmukh said: 'Dr. Matthai has informed us that for many reasons that he does not find it convenient to continue. He has asked to be relieved by the end of August. We are considering what action we should take.'

"Asked about the resignation of Mr. S. K. Handoo, the first Managing Director of the State Bank, Mr. Deshmukh said that that was another affair. 'I have not seen the Managing Director's resignation because it was submitted to the Bank's Board. What reasons there are I have not discovered yet. I did hear that he was somewhat aggrieved by some replies given in Parliament in regard to his retention and pay. Probably he thought the references were not very appreciative of him.' Mr. Deshmukh gave an assurance that no offence was meant and he expressed the hope that the Board would talk to Mr. Handoo and explain matters.

"Mr. Deshmukh indicated that he was prepared to reconsider his decision to resign from the Union Cabinet if the Pataskar formula regarding the future of Bombay City was incorporated in the States Reorganization Bill.

"The Finance Minister, who arrived here this evening, said: 'If that provision is not made in the Bill, my decision to resign is irrevocable.' According to the Pataskar formula, he said, the offices of the Maharashtra Government were to continue in Bombay City and the city would be in Maharashtra after two or three years, unless Parliament for good reasons wished to continue the arrangement for some time more.

"According to a P.T.I. message from Bombay, Dr. Matthai, in his letter of resignation submitted to the Ministry of Finance about ten days ago, is understood to have requested the Government of India to relieve him of the post as early as possible.

"The Board of Directors of the State Bank of India is meeting in Bombay on June 29, to consider Mr. Handoo's letter of resignation. Mr. Handoo, it is learnt, resigned in protest against certain remarks made in the Rajya Sabha while the emoluments and service conditions of the Managing Director of the Bank were discussed last month. Mr. Handoo was associated with the Imperial Bank of India for over 30 years and became the first Managing Director of the State Bank of India."

Kaldor on Indian Taxation

In order to reorganise the taxation structure of India, the Government of India invited the noted Cambridge Economist, Mr. Kaldor, to study the Indian Taxation structure and to

suggest steps as how best to raise maximum finance out of taxations in this country. Professor Kaldor's suggestions have become to a certain extent controversial and they do not seem to have found much favour with the Finance Minister of India, Mr. Deshmukh. Prof. Kaldor's main suggestions are as follows:

That the maximum rate of tax on income should not exceed 45 per cent (as against the present 92 per cent); that there should be a tax on wealth on the excess of capital value over Rs. 15 lakhs at the rate of 1 to 1½ per cent; that there should be a personal expenditure tax at a maximum rate of 30 per cent on a net personal expenditure per head over Rs. 50,000 per annum; and that there should be a gift tax at the maximum rate of 80 per cent on gift received by the persons whose total estate, including the gift, exceeds Rs. 40 lakhs. The suggestion has been made that all realised capital gains should be taxed at the same rate as income (that is, subject to a maximum rate of 40 per cent).

In the view of Prof. Kaldor, the present system of direct taxation in this country is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of taxation, that is, income (as statutorily defined) is defective and biased as a measure of taxable capacity and is capable of being manipulated by certain classes of tax payers. It is inefficient because the limited character of the information furnished by the tax payers, and the absence of any comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and proper income makes large-scale evasion through concealment or understatement of profits and property income relatively easy.

The Indian taxation structure like most Western countries has been in the grip of a vicious circle as far as progressive taxation is concerned—evasion and avoidance by cutting down the potential revenue led to higher nominal rates of taxation and this in turn to further evasion and avoidance and still higher rates. It is a vicious circle, says Prof. Kaldor, of charging more and more for less and less. He, therefore, comes to the conclusion that from every point of view it is far better to have a fool-proof system of taxation with a moderate rate schedule, than a system which has the

appearance of high progressivity, but which cannot be effectively or impartially administered.

With a view to make the Indian tax system more effective and efficient and to break the vicious circle, he suggests an integrated base of five taxes on a moderate scale. The five taxes— income tax, capital gains tax, annual capital tax, personal expenditure tax and the gift tax— would all be assessed simultaneously on the basis of a single comprehensive return; and they are self-checking in character, both in the sense that concealment or understatement of items in order to minimise liability to some of the taxes may involve an added liability with regard to others, and also in the sense that the information furnished by a tax-payer in the interest of preventing over-assessment with regard to his own liabilities automatically brings to light the receipts and gains made by other tax-payers.

Prof. Kaldor observes that the effect of these proposals on the tax revenue will provide the greater part of the requirements to ensure the success of the Second Five-Year Plan and indicates that the estimated yield will run on the following lines: Rough calculations suggest that reforms of personal taxation (taking into account both the revenue from the new taxes and the additional yield due to greater efficiency of assessment and collection) would be of the order of Rs. 100 crores a year or more— though it would take some years before the full benefit is reaped. It is not possible to make any proper estimates of the various changes suggested in the taxation of business profits. The combined effect of the narrower definition of deductible expenses and of the various measures suggested for the control of evasion might yield at least a further sum of Rs. 20-30 crores a year.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan, Rs. 450 crores will be raised by way of new taxation by the Centre and the States in the Plan period. Deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores have to be incurred and there remains an unfilled gap of Rs. 400 crores. Prof. Kaldor maintains that the volume of deficit financing per year should not exceed Rs. 150 crores and during the five years period, the deficit financing would aggregate Rs. 800 crores. Mr. Kaldor has thus to find new tax avenues for a total

sum of Rs. 1,250 crores during the Plan period or Rs. 250 crores a year. In the opinion of Prof. Kaldor, the raising of Rs. 1,250 crores in five years would be possible if his suggestions are followed.

As regards the shortfall between the expected yields from Mr. Kaldor's proposals for new taxation and the goal of Rs. 1,250 crores, he states that the remainder of the additional revenue would have to be raised from land revenue and excise duties, which are outside the scope of his report. He considers the case of the middle-class Indian and indicates that the lowest limits of expenditure tax would exempt reasonable middle-class living standards from liability to this tax structure. In his opinion, when the marginal tax is 90 per cent, the net profit on any particular concealment is a 1,000 per cent of the post-tax income. He says that the adoption of a comprehensive tax-base would be a great deal easier—imposing fewer strains on the social fabric and on the administration of the tax system—if it were introduced with a moderate rate schedule; and this would nevertheless inaugurate a more truly equitable and progressive tax system, as well as bringing in a good deal of additional revenue. Prof. Kaldor holds that the amount of evaded tax annually stands between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores and hidden income amounts to Rs. 576 crores a year. The Finance Minister does not agree with Prof. Kaldor over the volume of tax evasion. The Finance Minister puts tax evasion at Rs. 30 crores a year; while the Central Board of Revenue has placed it at Rs. 214 crores.

The capital gains tax is no innovation in this country. It was introduced in Liaquat Ali Khan's budget, and withdrawn in the next year. If there be a betterment levy on urban property, there could be no objection to a capital gains tax. As regards the extent of tax evasion in this country, the Board of Revenue is not agreeable to accept Kaldor's estimates on the ground that Prof. Kaldor bases his calculations on slender statistics. Of course, Prof. Kaldor is aware of that and it may be said that the Board of Revenue's estimates for tax evasion are based on no better statistics than what have been used by the Professor. Professor Kaldor's report deserves consideration and there is a tendency among the authorities to sabotage his suggestions. He is blamed by the Central Board of

Revenue for introducing an element of subjectivity in his calculations. He is stated to have assumed a very high proportion of taxable total income on figures the basis of which is not known. Moreover, the Board maintains that he has based his conclusion on an erroneous notion of income. He does not take into account depreciation concessions and various other exemptions which, it is said, have been made after prolonged considerations.

We submit that apart from the controversial issue of tax evasion, Prof. Kaldor's report contains valuable suggestions which ought to be taken into consideration for the purpose of implementation. The Central Board of Revenue itself is at fault when it tries to find fault with Kaldor's findings of tax evasion. Depreciation consideration relates only to the organised sector of the economy and not to all the people subject to the payment of income-tax. In 1953-54, the total contribution of the organized sector to the national income was Rs. 790 crores and this amount was not of depreciation. There are no exact data as to the rate of depreciation and wear and tear of fixed assets. The depreciation figures in the Census of Manufactures have been taken from the returns for income tax assessment and Kaldor was right in not taking again the cost of depreciation. Kaldor holds that evasion is extensive among the large income groups, while the Finance Minister maintains that the evasion is widespread among the lower income groups. In this respect Mr. Deshmukh is a great supporter of Mr. Birla who recently held, while presiding over the annual meeting of the West Bengal State Finance Corporation, that money in India has one way movement, that is, it moves into the countryside never to return and it is there hoarded. Therefore the villages should be taxed indirectly and Mr. Deshmukh has acted upon this suggestion while imposing tax burdens over essential food-grains in his bid to catch up even the poorest man living in the village.

Our own experience and knowledge is that the worst hit are the middle-class tax-payers, and they are the most severely treated victims of the tax-collection department. Those who are supposed to be of a non-taxable income contain a very large number of small traders with taxable incomes no doubt.

Publication of Text-books

The Andhra Government appointed some time ago a seven-member committee headed by Shri S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Vice-Chancellor of Sri Venkateswara University, to consider the question of preparation and publication of text-books by the State. The report of the Committee, released a few days ago, made a review of the present system of approval of text-books in Andhra and other states, pointed out their defects, and offered some recommendations for their removal.

Reviewing the current system of selection of books by the Andhra Text-Book Selection Committee the report said that the machinery for approving books was capable of improvements. While no book actually used in schools could be said to be unsuitable, generally the books were not as good as they ought to be and they did not compare favourably with text-books in other countries. Moreover, the report added, there was a widespread belief that books were prescribed by managements for reasons other than their being the best among the available books. "The biggest complaint, however, is with regard to the schools managed by public bodies other than the Government. The obvious reason for that is that a district board has a larger number of pupils in schools under its control than any other single management. If a publisher can get a district board to choose his books he stands to gain a great deal by this single successful canvassing. The impropriety alleged is not always of bribery by money. It may be exercise of influence of people in authority or by others whose support may be needed in elections. It may also be preference shown to near relatives or to a particular community or a political party."

Referring to the defects of publication and get-up of books the report referred to the lack of finances on the part of publishers which prevented them from getting books written by competent authors. The publishers had no agency through which they could come in contact with the results of modern research in text-book writing. Technical advice on book printing and production was not available to most publishers even if they had the financial ability to pay for it.

In view of the defects of the present system the Committee recommended that in

Andhra "text-book production should not be left to private publishers, that a Government Department also is not suitable for the purpose and that it should be entrusted to an autonomous statutory corporation." The Corporation was proposed to consist of eleven members—three Government Officials in *ex-officio* capacity, the Director of Public Instruction, the two Vice-Chancellors of the Andhra and Sri Venkateswara Universities, three persons nominated by the State Government (one representing printing, publishing or book-trading concerns, one representing teachers in schools and one from the teachers in training colleges); and two other persons nominated by the Government.

The Committee suggested a phased programme for the publication work of the corporation to be carried out within a period not exceeding five years.

The recommendations of the Andhra Text-Book Enquiry Committee may be studied with profit by other State Governments also.

Soaring Prices

Prices of essential commodities have again begun to rise after about two years of relative stability. The rise has been steep and persistent. According to the *Statesman*, a survey of the Calcutta prices of thirty-five important items of daily consumption showed an overall increase of 26% over those in January, 1956 and of 20% over those a year before in June, 1955. The rise in prices has not been uniform in the case of all commodities and has been more marked in those most required for daily consumption, e.g., rice, dal, vegetables, fish, mustard and coconut oils, chillies, betel nuts and cloths. The middle and poorer classes have thus been particularly hard hit by such price increases.

Part of the increase in prices in some of the commodities may be explained by seasonal factors. For example the rise in the price in vegetables might have been due to the short-fall of production on account at first of drought and then of heavy rains. But that the high prices even of the vegetables were certainly induced in part by the general rise in prices is beyond doubt.

The alarm caused by the steep and steady rise in the price of rice induced the State Government to undertake the distribution of rice at economic prices through authorized dealers—with apparent initial

success in checking the upward trend of the price of rice. But as more recent developments have revealed the problem is too deep-rooted to be solved by such palliative measures as opening token fair price shops for one commodity only. The West Bengal Government, now seems to have come to realize the seriousness of the situation and the part of the hoarders and profiteers in its creation and it is now reportedly considering the adoption of measures under the Security Act for the seizure of the stocks of rice, dal, mustard oil and other daily necessities for the distribution to the public through selected shops.

The measures proposed by the Government though belated are nonetheless welcome and if it means its job seriously it is sure to carry public sympathy.

The Naga Problem

Recent events in India's north-east frontiers involving hostilities between the Indian army and the Naga rebels have revealed the intensity and magnitude of the Naga problem. An excellent background of the present troubles has been furnished by Shri K. C. Chakravarti in an article entitled "The Demands of Nagaland" in the *Economic Review* of June 9.

Shri Chakravarti points out Indians in general had no idea about the realities in the north-eastern frontier of India or of its special problems. Because of this ignorance most Indians were not able to realize the seriousness of the situation in Nagaland.

The Nagas were a primitive people living in villages called *punjis* in the hills and jungles. They had various totems and taboos and carried a great pride of their own selves. Lying, theft and adultery were quite foreign to the Nagas. The civilized Indians from the plains of Assam, however, looked upon the Nagas with contempt. The common Nagas suffered such humiliation without protest. But under the influence of over a century of missionary work many Nagas acquired western ideas and habits and they not only felt "that they are different from the Indians in the plains of Assam but they also feel bitterly the contempt and ridicule which are meted out to their fellowmen." While the educated Nagas resented the contemptuous attitude of the Indians from Assam plains they bore no malice

against India or Indians as such. "If the word India inspires no emotion of love in their heart, it produced no bitterness either," Shri Chakravarti remarks. "The Naga sentiment is bitterly hostile against the Indians living in the adjoining plains of Assam with whom they really come into daily contact, and from whom they receive nothing but hatred and ridicule." The Nagas are hostile to the Assam Government and towards those officers either of the Assam Government or the Central Government who administer the areas.

The Nagas undoubtedly received support from the missionaries but such support alone could not explain the violent and organized revolt of the Nagas. The relaxation, after independence, of the restrictions imposed by the British Government upon the entry of Indians in Nagaland was, according to the writer, one of the contributory causes to the estrangement of the Nagas. Certain administrative moves undertaken by the Assam Government were also partly responsible for Naga discontent.

Shri Chakravarti has very strong words to say about the policy of the Assam Government. He writes: "Just as the Europeans once believed that it was the White Man's burden to civilise the coloured savages of Asia and Africa, the civilized people of Assam think that it is their burden to civilise the uncivilised Nagas. It is difficult to support this policy morally. Yet, now that the Nagas have indicated their strong dislike of being civilised by Assam, the Assam Government has sought support from the Indian army."

The Nagas were no match for the well-organized or heavily-armed Indian armies in positional warfare. But the geography and climate of the region was highly favourable to the Nagas who took recourse to sniping and guerilla warfare. Because of the operations of the Nagas many roads were virtually closed to the public resulting in very great hardship for people in those areas. The result was that "The Indian army is chasing an enemy who exists everywhere but cannot be found anywhere."

In conclusion Shri Chakravarti writes, "The Naga problem is really connected with the bigger problem of the reorganisation of India's north-eastern frontier."

Decimal Coinage

Referring to the Government of India's recently announced decision to introduce new decimal coin throughout the country on April 1, 1957 the *Hitavada* editorially writes that decimal coinage had undisputed advantages over the existing arbitrary system in that it made for speed and simplicity of arithmetical calculations thus saving considerable accounting time. It was also beyond doubt that the present time was also the most opportune moment for such a far-reaching monetary reform. Therefore, the only weighty criticism against decimal coinage was that it would cause a lot of difficulties during the transition period, particularly to the poor illiterate people who would not be able to perform the complicated arithmetic involved in conversion of existing coins into decimal coins and *vice versa* in their daily transactions. The two ready-reckoners published by the Finance Ministry announcing the relative values for the old and new coins below one rupee, by no means provided any guide to those who needed it most but, as Shri Rajagopalachari had observed, "would confuse even literate people, not to speak of the illiterate masses for whose benefit they have been prepared." Moreover, poor and illiterate people would not be expected to carry a copy of the ready-reckoner whenever they would want to purchase anything. "It is obvious," the *Hitavada* writes, "that at best the ready-reckoner has a strictly limited value."

The *Bombay Chronicle* expresses itself more strongly on this point and writes: "What is more important is that both the ready reckoners and the notes appended to them indicates an attitude of mind which is far from being sympathetic to the trouble that will be caused to the vast masses of poor and unlettered people in this country."

In the circumstances both the *Hitavada* and the *Bombay Chronicle* urge upon the Government of India to consider the feasibility of the proposals put forward by Shri Rajagopalachari.

The *Hitavada* writes:

"Under the system envisaged by the Government the Rupee is to be divided into 100 units of Naya Paisa as against the existing division of the rupee into 192 pies or 64 pice. Mr. Rajagopalachari has made a suggestion, which deserves close consideration by the Government, as it eliminates the need for confusing ready-reckoners. He has suggested that

we should retain the "paisa" at its present value and work the decimal system upwards from below instead of from top to bottom as envisaged by the Government. In other words instead of having a "Naya Paisa" we will continue to have our existing "paisa" at its current value, and 100 of these "paisas" will make a "Naya rupee." The new rupee would be equivalent to Rs. 1-9-0 of the present currency, or 25 present rupees would yield 16 new rupees. This will obviate the difficulties in the infinite number of small transactions, which must suffer under the scheme proposed by the Government. Accountants and book-keepers in offices and banks will experience little difficulty in dealing with "naya rupee" suggested by Rajaji. There is also another advantage which will accrue by accepting Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme. The ready-reckoners published by Government have admittedly ignored fractions of pies, but in the countryside even these fractions of pies have value in terms of articles of consumption. A poor villager will be loth to leave out of count fractions of pies, as to him they will mean a little more of vegetables or some other cheap consumption article. Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan, by retaining the existing value of the lowest unit of currency, imposes no such hardship. No doubt his suggestion will mean appreciation in the value of the rupee, and a person drawing Rs. 100 as salary now will get only Rs. 64 of the new rupees, but so long as the purchasing power of the lowest unit of currency does not suffer a change, a "reduction" in salary in terms of the new rupee will be immaterial."

Communist Stock-taking

Stalin's posthumous dethronement by his leading disciples in the Soviet Communist Party has led the non-Soviet Communist leaders to make a reappraisal of their relationships with the Soviet Communist Party and has thus provided the world public with the rare spectacle of the Soviet Communist leaders, who were once considered to be incapable of committing any wrong, being openly cavilled at by fellow-Communists. In the past all critics of Soviet party were either liquidated or ostracized. The new element in the present situation is that the critics now have implicit, in some instances even open, support of the non-Soviet Communist

world for their criticism. Such Communist stalwarts as Maurice Thorez of France and Palmiro Togliatti of Italy have openly proclaimed their renunciation, although only partial, of the monopoly of leadership so long claimed and practised by the Soviet Communist Party. But it would not be correct to read too much in such indignant outbursts, which might have been prompted by angry protests from the rank and file of the party, because the Soviet Communist Party itself had expressed similar sentiments during its twentieth congress.

The most profound attack on the present Soviet leaders yet made by a fellow Communist came from Signor Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist Party, which was the biggest Communist Party in western Europe. He said that the prestige of the present Soviet leaders had suffered because they had not opposed the creation of the Stalin myth when Stalin was alive. Signor Togliatti expressed his disapproval of the manner in which the Soviet leaders were trying to absolve themselves of their share of the responsibility during the Stalin era and said: "At one time all that was good was due to the superhuman positive qualities of one man (Stalin), now all that is bad is attributed to the equally exceptional and even staggering defects of the same man."

Signor Togliatti rejected such an attitude as un-Marxist and said: "The real problems escape notice—such as the method by which and the reason why Soviet society could and did stray so far from the democratic path and from the legality which it had traced out for itself arriving as far as degeneration."

The political committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain in what described as a "profound Marxist analysis of the degeneration in the functioning of the Soviet democracy" which had made the rise of Stalin possible, expressed its full agreement "with the observations of Comrade Togliatti and the French Communist Party" in criticizing Khrushchev and his colleagues for putting all the blame for past Soviet mistakes on Stalin.

Dr. K. S. Shelvankar, London correspondent of the *Hindu* says, "The statement of the British Communist chiefs also echoed the French Bureau's complaint that Mr. Khrushchev's attack on Stalin had been published in Western newspapers before it was available to

Communists outside Russia. The British Communist said the statement followed consideration of Mr. Khrushchev's report to the private session of the Soviet Communist Party. They disclosed that at a private session of the British party's 24th National Congress on April 1, a resolution was passed and sent to Moscow 'regretting that a public statement on this question had not been made by the central committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union'."

Mr. Howard Fast, prominent American writer and Stalin Prize winner, wrote in an article published in the New York *Daily Worker* that in future he would remain a friend of Russia but would also be "a severe and implacable critic." The *Daily Worker* of New York, daily organ of the Communist Party of the USA., itself also editorially castigated the Soviet leaders' conduct in not having fought the creation of the Stalin myth and for not publishing Khrushchev's secret report to the 20th Congress.

It should, however, be pointed out that all of the above-mentioned critics agreed on the merits of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in exposing the Stalin myth.

"Is Bulganin Finished?"

Boris I. Nicolaevsky in an article with the above caption in the New York *New Leader*, April 23, writes that a review of the proceedings of the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led one to the conclusion that the Congress, far from consolidating the victory of the Khrushchev-Bulganin bloc which it was generally expected to achieve, had in fact, "uncovered a major rift in that bloc . . . we may well ask: Does the Khrushchev-Bulganin bloc still exist—or are we now faced with a completely new alignment of forces in the Kremlin?"

The writer refers to the existence of a "personal conflict between Bulganin and Zhukov (the former had the latter exiled to obscure provincial posts right after the war)" symbolising the long-smouldering hostility between the police-political apparatus (represented by Bulganin) and military commanders (represented by Zhukov) the balance now being tilted in favour of the military as would appear from the new elections to the Party's central com-

mittee. "Not a single member of the political administration was elected either a member or a candidate of the central committee—an unprecedented event in the history of the Soviet Communist Party. On the other hand, Zhukov was not only elected a member of the C.C. but became first candidate member of the Presidium. This represented a complete victory for the military leaders over the political apparatus of the Army—again, the first such victory in Party history," writes Mr. Nicolaevsky, who concludes from such analysis that Bulganin "is becoming a mill-stone around the necks of the collective leadership."

Mr. Nicolaevsky in his article quotes some facts about the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which are quite interesting. He writes: "According to figures cited by G. P. Moroz in publications of the Munich Institute for study of the USSR, in the last months before the Congress 9,500 new secretaries were named for party cells in the Ukrain, comprising some 20 per cent of the total; in the Uzbek Republic, new secretaries were chosen for 36 per cent of the cells, etc. The higher the organization, the more new appointments; in a number of provinces, almost every regional committee secretary was dismissed."

How Truthful is the Soviet Press?

In the past instances were not wanting when the Soviet press indulged in distortions and calumnies to feed its readers according to the line set by the Communist Party. It appears that in spite of the many welcome changes—in internal and external policies—the Soviet press still continues to be interested more in catering Party line propaganda than publishing truthful and complete reports. This tendency was highlighted by the omission in the Soviet press of some significant comments about the internal situation of U.S.S.R. made by India's Vice-President during his recent visit to that country. Below we append *Reuter's* dispatch on the matter:

"Moscow, June 16.—India's Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan told Pressmen here today that he had noted big omissions in Soviet Press reports of speeches he made yesterday when he arrived and later at a reception at the Kremlin.

"Asked by reporters at the Indian Embassy reception given in his honour by the Indian

Ambassador Mr. K. P. S. Menon, whether he planned any protest he replied: 'No. I note and I go on.'

"A passage omitted from his speech came after a reference about 'attempts to liberalize' the Soviet regime.

"It read: If these changes continue I am convinced many difficulties will be eliminated and that nightmare in which we lived before may become a thing of the past. We do not want to die for our doctrines. We hope to live for our ideals in the future.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan's speech at the Kremlin, which lasted nearly twenty minutes, including the translation, was summarized in six paragraphs in the *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

"Soviet Press reports did not also contain any reference to his remarks about 'strict control' inside Russia and 'suspicion' of what was outside or about the 'tendency for the relaxation of both these.' Nor his remarks about 'concentration camps' and the need for 'real democracy' or references to Sir Winston Churchill were published.

"The Vice-President said he had not raised the matter during his 'very useful' talks with Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev. He declined to give any details about their talks as they were 'confidential'.

"It was understood that Dr. Radhakrishnan conveyed to the two Soviet leaders the same sentiments that he expressed in his speeches yesterday and that they were well received.

"The Vice-President told reporters that he had tried to show in his speeches that there had been reasons for strictness in the Soviet regime at one time but there was no need for it now."

Development of the Sahara Desert

The Sahara Desert is five million square kilometres in area extending from the North African Tell to the banks of the river Niger and from the Atlantic coast into the very heart of Central Africa. About 7 to 8 lakh nomads live there with considerable difficulty. This vast area had been almost neglected until recent researches disclosed the existence of extraordinary mineral and power resources in that area.

M. Georges Marcey writes that methodical prospectings of the Sahara desert were being done for some years now and the results were highly optimistic. "In the East Sahara notably,

petroleum has just gushed forth. In the north-west area, towards Colomb-Bechar, important deposits of iron, copper, zinc, manganese, lead, tin and phosphates have been explored. The coal mines of Kenadsa and Abadla to the extreme south of the first section of the 'Mediterranean-Niger' railway line have already been successfully exploited. In High-Mauritania, towards the post of Fort-Gourand, as on the southern borders of Moroccan territory, toward Tindouf; there exist reserves of mineral-ore that are on a world scale, three milliard tons, it is estimated. In Low-Mauritania the Akjoujt mine is capable of producing a quarter of the annual French copper consumption. And in addition, the Sahara is going to be the chosen country for solar energy."

The development of the Sahara desert was not going to be smooth and besides the solution of technical, and economic problems would also require the resolution of involved political questions. The Sahara territory, at the moment, were divided between three large French administrative systems: Algeria, French West Africa, and French Equatorial Africa. The whole north part of the desert, belonged to Algeria, the eastern region as far as the confines of Libya of the Sudanese Republic to French Equatorial Africa, the western and southern areas to French West Africa. A move was afoot in France to get the three areas merged into one "French Sahara Africa" and in the present circumstances such a move was bound to raise grave political controversies.

THE A

Women's Vote in U.S. Elections.

Women's franchise, even in Western democracies, is of recent origin. For example, French women gained the right to vote only after the Second World War. Because of this fact there has still been a lively interest whether vote of women has made any difference in the domestic politics of those countries where they have been accorded the franchise.

Discussing the influence of women's vote in the United States elections, Dr. George Gallup writes: "It is often said that women vote as their husbands do. You could turn this statement around and with logic say that men vote as their wives do.

"There is a large measure of truth in both statements," Dr. Gallup writes. The reason

was that most husbands and wives came from the same communities and the same type of background and thus possessed a common outlook on almost all questions of life. So it was no indictment on either husbands or wives that they viewed politics in the same light.

"But," Dr. Gallup adds, "while it must be put down as a political fact that most husbands and wives tend to vote alike, such differences as do exist are most revealing.

"In the United States, and in every country where polling organisations make comparison possible, the vote of women has been found to be more conservative than the vote of men." In European countries fewer women, proportionately, voted for Communist candidates than men. The position of women on the political dictum might be described as "slightly right of centre."

Women, who outnumbered men by two millions in the USA, had their first chance of voting in the national elections in 1920 after the adoption of the 19th amendment to the US Constitution. In that first election only 26 per cent of the women voters cast their votes while in the last Presidential elections, in 1952, 60 per cent of the eligible women voters exercised their franchise. If this trend continued more women might vote in this year's elections.

Referring to the question of the possibility of the election of a woman as President of the USA Dr. Gallup writes that in August, 1937, when the first Gallup Poll had been published the figures showed 33 per cent favouring the idea and 63 per cent opposing it with the remaining 4 per cent having "no opinion." The results of the last poll on this issue taken in March, 1955, disclosed that 52 per cent favoured the idea of having a woman President of the United States while 44 per cent opposed it. The "no opinion" remained constant at 4 per cent.

Dr. Gallup writes: "Women themselves are almost as prejudiced as men when it comes to the question of a woman President in the White House. Only a little more than half of the women (57 per cent in the latest poll) say they would vote for a woman President."

Rising Prices in the United Kingdom

A White Paper on The Economic Implications of Full Employment was recently published by the British Government focussing attention on the

problem of continually rising prices which full employment had brought with it and suggesting measures for adoption by the British Government to achieve reasonable price stability in the future. According to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Harold Macmillan, this was the fourth in a series of documents dealing with full employment in U.K. and related subjects. The first was the Coalition Government's White Paper, 1944, the second was published in January, 1947 and the third was the white Paper on personal incomes, costs and prices of February, 1948.

The White Paper said that the application of the policies set out in 1944 to be pursued after the war to maintain a higher stable level of employment had been quite successful so that except for a few weeks in 1947 unemployment rate in the U.K. as a whole never exceeded 3 per cent since the war and was now about only one per cent. Since 1946 the national output of goods and services rose by 30 per cent while industrial production rose by 56 per cent. There was, however, no proportionate rise in the standard of living because much of the increase in production had to be utilised for national reconstruction and investment, and for boosting up exports in order to make up rising import prices and the loss of pre-war income from overseas investment. A substantial programme of rearmament also claimed part of the increased productions.

In spite of the exhortations of the previous white papers for keeping down the prices by all possible means the prices of the final output of goods and services of all kinds in U.K. increased by about 50 per cent between 1946 and 1955. Of this increase, about one-seventh was attributable to the net effect of changes in subsidies and indirect taxes. The rest was determined by movements in import prices and in U.K. costs of production. Although the rise in import prices had been greater than the rise in cost of production, it was the latter which had been responsible for by far the greater part of the increase of the final prices. The general level of prices rose with the increase in the import prices but it did not fall when import prices fell, because the gain from lower import prices had been more than offset by the rising trend of incomes and internal costs. Much of the rise in prices in U.K. were due to abnormal world conditions. "But even apart from these abnormal factors there

has been in the United Kingdom—to a greater extent than in many other countries—a continuing tendency for prices to rise as incomes increase faster than output."

The White Paper showed that between 1938 and 1948 while prices of consumer's goods and services roughly doubled, wages and salaries had rather more than doubled, and dividends of nationalized companies had risen by about one-tenth. Over the period 1948-55 while consumer prices had risen by nearly one-third, both wages and salaries and dividends increased by nearly two-thirds, dividends in the last few years having had caught up with wages and salaries. "Taking the period 1938-1955 as a whole, wages and salaries have increased by very much more than dividends; and the real value of wages and salaries has increased by 40 per cent over the period, while that of dividends has decreased by 30 per cent."

The White Paper said that in order to maintain full employment without inflation, it was the job of the United Kingdom Government to make continual adjustments in fiscal, monetary and social policies as the pressure of demand rose and fell. In a full employment economy it was possible for the employers to concede large wage increases without any curtailment of their profit margin—the cost being passed on to the consumer. But then there would appear inflation. The maintenance of successful full-employment economy was therefore dependent upon the self-restraint observed in making wage-claims, fixing profit margins and prices, so that total money income rose no faster than the total output.

The Kashmir Issue

The following news was published on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at London:

"London, June 25—Mr. Mohammed Ali claimed here today Kashmir belonged 'by right to Pakistan, in accordance with the very basis of partition, in accordance with every other criterion—geographical, strategic and economic.'

"Nevertheless," Mr. Ali told a luncheon meeting in his honour by the Foreign Press Association, 'we do not claim that Kashmir must come to Pakistan.'

"All we say is this, let the people of Kashmir be given an opportunity to decide their own fate by means of a free vote. India is bound under an international agreement to allow this. Let that solemn undertaking be carried out.'

"The Pakistan Prime Minister asked why India was opposed to this plebiscite and then said: 'At various times various reasons have been advanced by the apologists for India. They have talked of the prosperity of that part of Kashmir which is under Indian occupation—an argument in the best colonial tradition. They have argued that since there has been no agreement on the prerequisites to a plebiscite during the last six or seven years and meanwhile other developments have taken place like military aid to Pakistan, no plebiscite can be held. This is an extraordinary plea.'

"He added: 'Both countries (India and Pakistan) can enjoy the fruits of freedom fully only when they have succeeded in raising the standard of living of their peoples conferring upon them the social and economic benefits which freedom brings.

"These objectives will remain largely unrealized if Pakistan and India continue to be at cross purposes living in fear of each other in a state of constant tension.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali when asked whether the Kashmir issue would be discussed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, said that one of the working rules of the conference was that only questions which were mutually agreed should be raised there. 'It is quite a good rule—and so I will say no more about it.'

"He described the Kashmir problem 'a very important question for the Commonwealth as a whole.' There was little doubt, he said, that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers would be interested in a peaceful and just solution of it. In the past they had taken 'an active interest in attempting to find a solution to this question.'

"Mr. Ali said that he had stated time and again that the Kashmir problem had to be settled by peaceful means and added, 'I repeat that.' There had never been any question of Pakistan using the assistance of the regional organizations to which she belonged in settling the Kashmir problem militarily, he said.

"Replying to another question, the Pakistan Prime Minister said that the Kashmir problem differed in two fundamental respects from the issue of India's claim on Goa. On Kashmir there was an agreement that the question should be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite. Secondly, Kashmir was really a part of the problem of partition of the sub-continent and it

was against that background that it should be looked at."

This statement, like hundreds of previous statements made by Pakistani spokesmen, including the threats of *jehad* by sabre-rattlers, indicate how miserably our own Government has failed in countering this kind of propaganda.

Is it not time that the full story of the Pakistani planned raid on Kashmir, with loot, rape, arson and murder let loose on the innocent people of Kashmir, Moslem and Hindu alike, was published in full?

It is clearly seen that Pakistan wishes to take advantage of the reticence of India. We think there can be no communal repurcussion now so let the truth be told.

Suez Canal Zone Freed

The following is the news report about the handing over of the Suez Canal Zone to Egypt:

"London, June 18.—Lieutenant-Colonel Nasser, Egyptian Prime Minister, hoisted the Egyptian flag over Navy House at Port Said today to mark the end of Britain's 74 years of occupation of the Suez Canal Zone.

"He smiled broadly as he performed the ceremony marking the beginning of four days of festivities to greet this new era for Egypt. Navy House was the last installation in the Canal Zone to be occupied by the British forces before their departure last Tuesday.

"Colonel Nasser proclaimed Egypt free and independent to the frenzied acclamation of the people there and the shrieking of sirens from ships of many nations in the port. Guns silenced since a British bombardment in 1882 boomed today as part of the ceremony.

"A new Palestine Arab Army led by commando units held a parade in Gaza today to mark the evacuation. The director of the Gaza Municipality, speaking 'on behalf of Palestine', proclaimed the Palestinians' support for Colonel Nasser as 'the leader of the struggle until Palestine and Algeria are rescued.' He told the troops: 'The day of your return to your homeland is approaching. Israel is only a fish which will be overwhelmed by the Arab ocean.'

"In Cairo hundreds of thousands of Egyptians from the provinces crowded the streets and squares. Two hundred Egyptian

political prisoners were released today, including many described by the authorities as 'Communists.' This was in accordance with a promise by Colonel Nasser to free political detainees by evacuation day. Criminal prisoners who had served more than half their sentences were also released under a general amnesty."

Nuclear Research in Russia

The news report given below carries a strange but clear significance, in the race in nuclear research.

The U.S.S.R. seems to be confident now of holding her own in this work, or else there could not have been so much of an "open door" invitation to the visiting scientists from the U.S.A.

It also indicates a new orientation in the attitude towards atomic warfare, where the U.S.S.R. is concerned.

New York, June 21.—American scientists, who have returned from a tour of laboratories in the U.S.S.R. said that the Soviet Union would outstrip the rest of the world in pure nuclear research within the next decade.

The scientists, who went to the Soviet Union on an invitation to participate in a scientific conference in Moscow, based their conclusion on their first-hand knowledge of the research carried out in Soviet laboratories and their talks with Soviet scientists.

Whilst they were in Russia, they said, they mixed freely with about 1,000 leading Soviet physicists and were entertained in the homes of their Russian colleagues. They were also permitted to visit any laboratory they liked.

"They asked us to tell them what we wanted to see. We saw everything we wanted. They answered every question. We were permitted to bring our cameras right into their experimental laboratories and take pictures of everything we wanted."

Professor Wiesskopf, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who speaks fluent Russian, said that Soviet research was already benefiting from the return to the universities and institutes of scientists who had been held in labour camps.

The scientists also reported that the Soviet Union had its own version of the "Openheimer case" (Dr. Openheimer, the American atomic

physicist, who played a prominent part in the development of the atom bomb but later opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb and was dismissed from his post of head of the research team of the Atomic Energy Commission on the ground of being a security risk.)

Russia had parallel cases, the scientists said. One of them said: "I learned of Russian scientists who were subjected to similar treatment—or worse—by the Soviet Government because they refused to engage in certain lines of weapons research which the Government demanded."

Humanity and "Fall-out"

There have been some press reports recently about the radiation contamination from atom-bomb test "fall-outs" at distant places like India. The news given below is interesting in that connection:

London, June 13.—A Medical Research Council committee of medical experts and atom scientists announced here last night that the danger to humanity was "negligible" from external radiation caused by hydrogen and atom bomb test explosions.

But the committee gave a warning about internal radiation, which was beginning to accumulate in human bones.

This comes from strontium-90, one of the constituents of a "fall-out," which retains radio-activity for long periods and is deposited on the ground. It may contaminate drinking water or agricultural crops.

"At the present level, no detectable increase in the incidence of ill-effects is to be expected," the committee's report said.

But the possibility could not be ignored that if the rate of firing increased and greater numbers of thermo-nuclear (hydrogen) weapons were used, ill-effects might eventually be produced in a small number of the population. Absorbed into human bones, it could cause cancer.

The committee, probing the whole field of radio-activity, made a discovery which poses a big new problem for medical science. This is that radiation from some types of X-ray examinations is more than 22 times as heavy as that from an H-bomb fall-out.

Perturbed by this finding, the team of experts is now urging a review of medical diagnosis by radiology.

Riots in Ceylon

The recent riots in Ceylon, which were brought under control subsequent to the news report given below, also have a racial complexion. The present government is friendly to India, so we refrain from any comments beyond hoping that amendments would be made in the Bill that caused the flare-up.

Colombo, June 15.—After a record all-night session the House of Representatives this morning passed by 65 votes to 28 the controversial Bill to make Sinhalese the single official language of Ceylon, as reports trickled in from the Tamil areas of Eastern Province of large-scale violence, arson, sabotage, and assaults.

Policemen returning from trouble spots in Eastern Province said that the Gal Oya Valley, colonized by Sinhalese and Tamil peasants, was like a "battlefield."

The President of the Federal Party, Mr. C. Venniasingham, said he had received a cable from the M.P. for Batticaloa, main town in Eastern Province, that there was a reign of terror in Gal Oya. Thousands of panic-stricken peasants of both communities were fleeing from the valley, some taking refuge in the near-by jungles.

According to the M.P., a crowd broke into the large magazine in the valley and took away ammunition and sticks of dynamite. The police have arrested 23 Sinhalese and a Tamil in Batticaloa who were caught in the act of preparing bombs. The police have also averted attempts to dynamite important bridges in the valley.

Armoured cars and troops have been sent from Colombo to reinforce the troops and police in the valley. An unofficial curfew has been imposed in the area. Military doctors have also been sent to attend to the injured there.

Secret Treaties in Ceylon?

The following news from Colombo throws a curious light on the workings of a ministry that was under the influence of the British:

"Colombo, June 13.—Mr. Bandarnaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, today accused the previous Government of Sir John Kotelawala of having destroyed important papers relating to internal public security service and, possibly, those relating to British bases in the country.

"With the exception of some documents that were found fallen inside the crevices of the desk, which are somewhat interesting and intri-

guing, all other papers relating to internal public security service were destroyed by the previous administration," he told his weekly Press conference here.

"Mr. Bandarnaike said: 'There was the defence agreement with the U.K., which made no reference whatsoever to the bases. It only said that the two countries would co-operate.'

"It was only a general phrase that by mutual agreement the two countries would assist each other. Under this, some arrangement has been made in regard to Katunayake and Trincomalee. If so, I do not have a scrap of paper on the subject.

"It may be that while the previous Government was assuring in Parliament that no bases were secretly granted, it had come to some understanding granting bases of which even documents are not available. I do not know whether this is the case or not, because no paper is available."

The S.E.A.D.O. Meeting

The following statement by the C.-in-C. of Britain in the Far East, is worthy of record, in view of the fast changing outlook of the political world of Asia:

"Singapore, June 11.—General Sir Charles Loewen, Commander-in-Chief of Britain's Far East Land Forces, told 80 military planners of the South-East Asia Defence Organization countries today that S.E.A.D.O. was 'a shield of freedom.'

"Opening the third S.E.A.D.O. military planning conference near here, he declared that the organization was not a 'threat to peace,' as some of its critics claimed. It was designed as a shield under which people could freely develop their own ways of life.

"The conference is a continuation of the military planning talks held at Pearl Harbour last November and at Melbourne earlier this year.

"After today's public opening, the 16-day session will continue behind closed doors at the Sembawang Royal Naval Air Station. Countries represented are Pakistan, Britain, the U.S.A., France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand.

"Lt-Col Dawson, chief of the New Zealand delegation, told the conference that New Zealand, being a small country, 'must rely on collective arrangements for her own ultimate defence.'

"Brigadier Haider of Pakistan said his country would do all it could to strengthen S.E.A.D.O., because peace 'can be guaranteed only through strength'.

"Our aim is to safeguard the peace and security of the treaty area and prevent aggression from any quarter,' he stated.

"The leader of the Philippines delegation, Brigadier-General Cruz, said, in his country 'there is an air of impatience and a growing feeling that nothing concrete is being done by our organization.'

"He said members of S.E.A.D.O. 'close to the potential area of aggression' wanted to turn the alliance into a 'vital and vigorous organization'.

"Those of us who live close to these potential areas of aggression feel and see the threat against our way of life.'

"This threat varies in techniques, but the objective remains the same.'

"In the afternoon there was a closed session."
—Reuter.

Pakistan and Russia

The following news would be of interest to the S.E.A.D.O. countries:

"Karachi, June 27.—The Pakistani Government tonight announced the signing this afternoon in Karachi of a Pakistan-Russian trade agreement.

"The announcement said that 'among goods destined for export from Pakistan to the U.S.S.R. are jute and jute manufactures, cotton, wool, hides and skins and tanned leather, tea and other commodities.'

"Among goods included for export from the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan, the announcement added, 'are various kinds of industrial equipment, machines, tools, and instruments, tractors and agricultural machinery, ball and roller bearings, metals, chemicals, petroleum and petroleum products, timber and other commodities.'

"It did not mention the quantities involved nor the values of the items to be imported. It also did not mention the duration of the agreement but it is understood the agreement is for a year and subsequently renewable every year by mutual agreement.

"All payments will be made in Pakistani Rupees, the announcement said. It added: 'In order to facilitate trade under the agreement,

the Government of the U.S.S.R. will shortly be setting up trade representation in Pakistan located in Karachi.'

"The announcement said that 'the agreement provides for developing trade relations between the two countries on principles of equality and mutual benefit. Under the agreement the two countries will extend the most favoured nation treatment to each other in matters affecting imports and exports, etc.'

Flare-up in Argentina

The position in Argentina has again demonstrated its instability since the deposition of Peron the dictator by a military junta.

"Buenos Aires, June 11.—Fourteen military officers and men were executed by firing squads during yesterday's short-lived revolt in Argentina, the Presidential Press office announced today.

"Colonel Congorno, said to have been the rebel leader in La Plata, where the revolt broke out, was captured 'after attempting to escape' and was executed under the country's martial law decree a few hours later.

"Other executed leaders, it was stated, were Colonel Cortines and Colonel Ibazeta, who led the revolt in campo de Mayo.

"The Government early today also announced that it had clamped a 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew on Buenos Aires Province, centre of the rebellion. Buenos Aires city itself was exempted.

"The revolt is believed to have had the aim of returning former President Peron to power."

Pineau on the Cold War

In view of the discussion in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference now going on in London, the following is of interest:

"Paris, June 12.—The French Foreign Minister, M. Pineau, said here today he believed the chief reasons for the 'new look' in Soviet foreign policy were economic.

"He said that the economic factors which made for a change in Soviet policy had existed before Stalin's death but Stalin's policy had prevented their being taken into account.

"After Stalin's death the new leaders of Russia realized that the country's internal resources were insufficient, that they could not live any longer cut off from the rest of the world and

that contacts with the West would enable them to raise Soviet living standards more rapidly.

"Russia had also gained a certain feeling of security through possession of the hydrogen bomb."

"In reply to the Soviet 'new look,' M. Pineau said, the West should finally end the cold war, try to reach agreement on disarmament, concentrate on economic problems, particularly aid to backward countries, and get rid of the idea that 'all countries that are not with us are against us.'

"I think that all those that are not against us are with us."

"M. Pineau said it would on the other hand be very dangerous to neglect collective security. The West must not appear weak. 'We must and we do strongly favour American presence in Europe.'"

Hindu Succession Bill

With the passing of the Bill, the numerous anomalies that surround the term "Hindu" will be eradicated to a great extent. In marriage and inheritance, there were so many different practices, between caste and caste and between national groups, that no general statement could be made about the basic laws. Now at least there would be some uniformity, as the news below indicates:

'New Delhi, June 18.—The Hindu Succession Bill which was passed by Parliament has received the assent of the President.

"The enactment of the Bill completes the most important part of the Hindu Code suggested by the Rau Committee in 1947. The first instalment was the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, dealing with the law relating to marriage and divorce among Hindus.

"The Hindu Succession Act is intended to evolve a fairly uniform system of law in the entire country with respect to intestate succession. The list of heirs has been rationalized and can be said to be based on the love and affection theory. There are several notable features of this Act which make it a landmark in the social history of India.

"The Act will apply to all Hindus—a term which is defined to include all persons not pro-

fessing the Muslim, Christian, Parsi or Jewish faith.

"The biggest change made by the Act is that women are now eligible to inherit and hold property in the same way as men. In the past even where women inherited some property they had only limited rights over it; they could not, for instance, sell it except in certain circumstances and they could use it only in their lifetime. The present Act has removed these disabilities.

"The Act has for the first time provided the daughter with a share in the father's property, both self-acquired and ancestral.

"Certain safeguards have been provided in the Act for preserving intact family dwelling houses."

The Next Elections

The following press release is published for record, in view of the coming elections. It would handicap splinter groups undoubtedly:

"New Delhi, June 9.—The Election Commission will in future take no official notice of local, regional or countrywide electoral alliances between political parties, whether they are recognized or not, and whether such alliances are reported to the Commission by the parties concerned or not, an official Press release said today.

"The release, which specified procedure to be followed by the Commission in future on certain matters, also announced that the Election Commission had restored the recognition of the Praja Party, Andhra, as a State party.

"The procedure was being announced, the release said, so as to avoid confusion of the kind that had arisen in the case of the Praja Party of Andhra, resulting in the withdrawal of recognition from the party in February this year.

"The release said that the Commission had re-examined the case on a representation made by the party and had restored recognition to it as a State party. Accordingly, the symbol of the 'rising sun' allotted to it would no longer be a free symbol in Andhra State for future elections."

STANDARD OF LIVING IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.Com.

P19225

THE economic status of any social group is determined by the amount of wealth and sources of income, social position, and the mode of living. This economic measure to a great extent determines the standard of living of any group or society. The mode of living in any country depends primarily on the fundamental factors of food, shelter and clothing, and an individual's power to get them. But in different countries this standard of living varies, due to the physiography of the various regions, racial characteristics of their people, and the differing values of money. Even in the same country the standard of living may vary from region to region and from one group to another due to occupational variation, social stratification and environmental life.

There are more forces than one which control and regulate the mode of living of any social group in a country. Since a society undergoes modification with every change in economic, social and political life, the standard of living of the people must necessarily change with each such modification. The concept of "standard of living" has, therefore, been elaborated by many economists and now its wider sense has become tinged with various social and psychological factors.

A "standard of living" is not the same as the actual manner of living of a class or a community. It is an attitude towards, or a way of regarding, a given mode of living. It is the "scale of preferences," the plan for material living, which directs our expenditure into certain channels, and satisfies our sense of propriety and decency as a mode of living.¹

The factors that enter into the concept of standard of living consist of the following elements :

(a) There are those elements which are essential as possessing survival value for individual life, food, clothing, and medical service;

(b) The "conventional necessities" or "prestige values" which indicate the existence of social groups and have survival value for the group, like a clergyman's coat or the academic cap and the gown; they are symbols to designate social

status and enable the individual to identify himself with the group ;

(c) There are those further elements which represent the group concept of welfare, including values which mark the particular bias or interest of the group, whether puritanic or commercial."

The normal standard governed by an average income is one which conduces to healthy and symmetrical development, physical efficiency and mental and moral growth of a person. That measure of necessities and scale of comfort which a person has come to regard as indispensable to his happiness, and to secure which he will make any reasonable sacrifice, is the true standard of living. It must be noted that the rise in the standard of living implies, "an increase of intelligence, energy and self-respect, leading to more care and judgment in expenditure and to an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite but afford no strength, and of ways of living that are unwholesome physically and morally."

RURAL VS. URBAN STANDARD

The following points may be enumerated as the chief features of the rural and the urban standards of living :

1. The cash income and expenditure of farmers and peasants are low, because of the possibilities for direct appropriation from nature of many of the items in their living, such as food, fuel and house rent.

2. The single family dwellings, open air, healthy surroundings, and comparative safety for children, are things which may be bought in towns only by the expenditure of a large sum of money. The greater quantities of food consumed by farm families are difficult to evaluate.

3. As regards food consumption, rural classes need more food because they do more physical work and live outdoors. They consume more food in the course of a year, but it is of a poor quality. They eat coarse grains, pulses and occasionally vegetables, while urban classes consume more wheat, vegetables, meat and dairy products. Moreover, the direct consumption of food produced in the farms lead to a greater

1. Hazel Kyrk : *A Theory of Consumption*, p. 175.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

use of coarse food without much variety, while the urban classes have a variety of refined foods available with a higher vitamin content and sufficient calories. The following table shows the proportion of food materials and calories in various working class diets in India :⁴

*Distribution of Quantities of Food Materials
and Calories in Working Class Diets in
India*

	Proteins in grammes	Fats in grammes	Carbohydrates in grammes	Total calories
U. P. Textile worker	90	45	530	2800
Miner in Bihar	75.83	22	551.75	2694
Bombay woman mill worker	57	38.0	413	2234
Bengali Jute worker	66	41	526	2752

Only a small amount of clothing is required in the country. Most of it is work-clothing which is standardized (a loin cloth) and is unaffected by changes in style and fashion. Rural people are satisfied with home-made things that do not involve much expense. Their clothing requirements are not only few but seasonal and periodical.

Thus we find that so far as the physiological needs are concerned the average standard of living of the rural population is lower than that of the urban. Moreover, the urban families have a certain percentage of a greater net spendable income available for saving and non-physiological purposes like social and religious purposes, recreation, education of children, etc. The living of the peasants and farmers is inseparable from the business of the farm, because their surplus spendable income is first distributed between business and living expenses before the individual items of living are given preference. But urban business life and home life are widely separated. Because of these combinations the rural class has less incentive for saving and investment for rainy days. The same conclusion may be drawn from a comparison of the property accumulated by the rural and urban groups. Although the agricultural class is to a certain extent proprietorial, nevertheless the average wealth and income of the peasant proprietors fall much below that of the city proprietorial classes, their income being more nearly equal to that of the urban labouring classes. Moreover, the religious,

political and recreational activities enter as items into urban budgets in a greater degree than they do into rural budgets, because people in rural areas have neither a surplus spendable income nor facilities for such things. Therefore, we conclude that the proportion of budget expenses use for non-physiological purposes averages less in the country than in the city; hence, the proportion of the budget expended for items of current consumption other than so-called basic necessities is the best index of the level of living.

**GROWTH OF FAMILY AND THE LOWERING OF
THE STANDARD OF LIVING**

India stands at the bottom of the ladder in respect of the standard of living of its masses, when compared with that of the Western countries. India has such a low standard of living that it touches the minimum of subsistence. Sir John Megaw aptly observes :

"It is useless to tell people to drink more milk, or to eat more fruit and vegetables, unless we can show them how these articles can be obtained in addition to and not instead of the part of the usual diet. Already many people cannot get enough rice and other bulky cheap foods to satisfy their hunger. To suggest expensive foods to these people would be just as reasonable as the remark attributed to Queen Marie Antoinette who, when told that the people of Paris were clamouring for bread, was said to have replied, 'If they have no bread, why don't they eat cake?'"⁵

In many parts of "Northern India, the industrial workers cannot afford anything more than parched gram and coarse sugar for the mid-day fare, the evening meal generally consisting of wheat flour, cakes and lent vegetables; oil, ghee and fruit enter but little into their dietaries. In the rice-eating areas, as Madras or Bengal, the position is not substantially different; a meal of cold rice with salt or breakfast, rice and lentils mid-day and repeated at night; with very few vegetables, practically no fruit, milk or ghee."⁶

Very large numbers are unable to provide for the education or medical treatment while healthy dwelling houses are rare, specially in the towns. A large number of artisans and labourers and even small cultivators possess insufficient clothing for cold weather, while in many parts of the country the food of the labourers is not sufficient to enable them to do a full day's work.

The low standard of living in India is

3. R. K. Mukerjee : *Indian Working Class*, p. 271.

4. J. Megaw : *Social Service in India*, p. 210.

5. Shiva Rao : *Industrial Worker in India*, p. 67.

6. Moreland : *Introduction to Economics*.

largely due to poverty, illiteracy, custom and fashion to which the masses are blindly wedded, and an unchecked population growth without a proportionate increase in the means of production, or facilities for migration and colonization. The restraining power of a high standard of living upon an increase of population has utterly failed in India, where social customs and traditions, rather than economic postulates, determine the growth of families. This point of view was strong also among the early immigrants to the U.S.A., but a decline in the birth rate of their second generation was easily noticeable with the correspondingly large increase in the income of the family.⁷ A similar decrease in birth rate in the 18th century in England, France and Germany witnessed a parallel advance in the high standard of living. But the rapid increase of population in India is due to the economic condition, the low standard of living and the exceedingly harsh economic exploitation of the people, to the social subjection of women and the resultant lack of education and perhaps, most of all, to the religious doctrines which enjoin marriages.⁸ In India the rapid growth of population is discernible in the lower strata of society for it is a well-known fact that the tendency of multiplication is greatest when men have no stake in existence, where they have no prospects of improving their condition, and where children if born would not be more miserable than their parents. Poverty accentuates the progress of multiplication; multiplication intensifies poverty. But when some chance of better condition is visible, when a better occupation, better education, some savings and some accumulation appear within reach, when it is seen that more mouths to feed mean a lessening possibility of utilising such an opportunity, then the propensity for multiplication is more and more held in check.⁹

A country has a higher standard of living when its people are prudent and restrain the inclination for family life until they may also gratify other reasonable wants. But a country will always have a low standard of living if the desires of its people are subordinated to the domestic instinct, i.e. when its people undertake the responsibility of a family before they are

economically able to support it. Not only does a large family tend to diminish the volume of personal and social satisfaction which the parents enjoy, but an ever-increasing influx of rural population into urban areas pulls down the standard from the margin of existence to that of starvation. Moreover, an increasing army of proletariat render it difficult for the better class to improve their own standards, because "the standard or living of each man rises slowly, constantly sucked down by the lower standards of the masses."¹⁰ The enormous increase in the ranks of immigrants, unspecified and landless competing wage-earners, who are to a great extent unemployed or under-employed, has greatly reduced the standard among the masses of the working people in this country, without giving promise to improve their own condition. The difference in the size of the family tends to reduce the amount of spendable income per adult unit in the rural family. The average number of children per family in India is 4.5 against 4.3 in rural areas and 4.2 in urban families; and the proportion of the total number of children surviving per mille born, is appreciably higher in rural areas. It should be noted that an increase in the number of non-working dependents, specially in lower-class rural families is a great drain on their family income. The ultimate result of this growth is that the proportion of the budget expended for the items of basic necessities like food, clothing and housing, is increased at the expense of non-physiological expenses like education, health and medical and recreation facilities. It should therefore be clear that a large-size family on the one hand, and the growth of non-working dependents on the other, without an increase, or proportionate increase, in the spendable income of rural classes, has considerably lowered their standard of living.

FAMILY BUDGETS AND STANDARD OF LIVING

The family budget presents a picture of the economic standard of living of the family and also gives some index of those phases of living that may be called uneconomic in the sense that though they are not translatable into money, yet they serve to satisfy the desires of the family. It shows the sources from which income is

7. R. Jones : *The American Standard of Living*, p. 6.

8. Lydia de Vilbiss : *Birth Control*, p. 83.

9. Taussig : *Principles of Economics*, Vol. II, p. 231.

10. J. R. Commons : *Races and Immigrants*, p. 112.

derived and the purpose and channels of expenditure. Economists generally divide the nature and sources of income into wages and salaries of labouring classes and employees, interests and profits of capitalists and rents of landlords. The income of the rural class, with the exception of the hired labourer, represents a combination of almost all kinds of income. The net spendable income of the rural class is low, because of the possibility for direct appropriation of many of the items of living (such as food, rent and fuel from nature). Similarly, many items of expenditure do not enter into the budget. It is interesting to note that in Switzerland, 61 per cent of the total income of the rural families is in cash and the rest of the income is derived from natural products that are either given by them by their employers or are secured from their farms. Similarly, in America, Hawlchrone found that 38 per cent of the farmers' needs were supplied by the farm. But in India the conditions are quite different. The agricultural serf gets only food and housing but no cash; the landless field-worker or the unspecified labourer receives cash wages but no allowance, while the cultivating labourer receives money income through appropriations from his farm.

The comparative figures of percentage of total expenditure used for different items throw ample light on the standard of living maintained by the working classes in rural areas. Below

are given the family budgets of the agriculturists in South India :¹¹

(Table—See below)

A striking feature about the above budget is the large proportion spent on food by all classes. As income rises, the proportion spent on food falls. The working classes spend all their income on the bare necessities of life. Similarly, an enquiry conducted by Sri Deshpande and Dr. Ghurye into the economic condition of 145 families in four villages of Kolaba District also reveals the same sad tale that the larger portion of the total expenditure is devoted to food only. The authors conclude that there are reasons to believe that 56 per cent of the families live below the minimum level of subsistence, and that comforts are so few that they may be said to be non-existent.¹² Dr. Bhagat's enquiry in the Bhiwadi Taluka (Thana District) in 1938-39 into the family budgets of 527 families out of 760 in 32 villages is found to yield similar results. The families were divided into three groups according as they were (a) families possessing or cultivating more than 10 acres of land, (b) families possessing or cultivating at least 5 acres of land or having some other income, and (c) families which were either landless and subsisted on labour or cultivated insignificant plots. An analysis of the budgets of these three groups reveals the following results :¹³

Vadamalaiapuram											
Items	Rent-receivers			Cultivating land-holders			Tenant-labourers				
	Rs.	as.	Per cent	Rs.	as.	Per cent	Rs.	as.	Per cent		
Food	639	15	59.1	302	0	63.6	125	15	78.8		
Tobacco, drink	64	15	6.4	30	13	6.3	8	10	5.0		
Fuel and lighting	36	2	3.2	11	0	3.1	3	2	2.0		
Clothing, footwear	131	2	11.9	38	0	7.4	11	8	7.1		
Household utensils	10	0	1.0	4	9	1.0	1	1	1.0		
Other items	201	6	18.4	88	11	18.6	9	13	6.1		

Expenditure Per Capita After Reducing Children and Families to Adult Equivalents																
Items	A			B			C			All amount						
	Amount	Per cent	Amount	Per cent	Amount	Per cent	Amount	Per cent								
Food	62	0	9	63.3	54	0	8	67.5	45	7	0	71.2	53	3	1	66.5
Clothing	10	15	0	11.2	8	6	0	10.1	5	8	7	8.6	8	2	10	10.2
Medicine	3	7	5	3.6	2	6	0	3.1	1	10	9	2.5	2	8	2	3.2
Religious				—				—				—				—
Ceremony	1	12	7	1.8	1	10	1	2.0	1	7	9	2.4	1	10	8	2.3
Tea sugar				—				—				—				—
Tobacco	11	15	0	12.2	7	13	5	9.6	5	8	4	8.6	8	2	4	10.2
Miscellaneous	7	11	8	7.9	0	9	0	7.4	4	4	0	6.7	6	0	1	7.6

11. Thomas & Ramkrishnan : *Some South Indian Villages—A Re-Survey*, p. 395.

12. Quoted by Wadia & Merchant in *Our Economic Problem*, p. 237.

13. M. G. Bhagat : *Farmer—His Wealth and Welfare*, p. 178.

Dr. Lorenzo also gives us the results of the survey of family budgets of three typical groups of agricultural labourers in Oudh.¹⁴ The obvious conclusion he arrived at is that the agricultural labourers spend more than 60 per cent of their income on food, alone, whereas this figure stands as 39 for U.S.A., 55 for Russia, and 56 for Holland,¹⁵ which is an index of the low standard of living of our workers. In the case of well-to-do tenants this percentage is not high as in the case of landless field-workers who stand on the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Another important feature of these budgets is that in the majority of cases, the percentage of expenditure on physiological and basic requirements is the highest whereas the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is almost negligible. Moreover, the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is higher in the case of urban industrial workers than in the case of agricultural workers in rural areas, which again is a sure index of the low standard of living of the agricultural labourers when compared with their confereres in their urban areas:

	Per cent of expenditure Physiological and Basic Requirements	Non-Physiological and Secondary Requirements
Average Agricultural Labourer (Rural)	88.9	11.1
Average Industrial Labourer (Urban)	73.8	26.2

According to the findings of the All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, the annual income per agricultural labour family was Rs. 447 and the average annual expenditure Rs. 468 (including Rs. 7 incurred on ceremonies). There was thus a deficit of Rs. 14. An idea of the poor level of living can be had from the fact that out of Rs. 461 spent on recurring items of expenditure, as much as Rs. 393 or 85.3 per cent was spent on food and Rs. 29 or 6.3 per cent on clothing. The average annual expenditure on the rest of his necessities, viz., shelter, fuel, lighting and miscellaneous items like tobacco,

liquor, washing soap and medicine, etc., came to only Rs. 39 or 8.4 per cent of the total expenditure. The following statement gives the actual and percentage expenditure on consumption groups for the different zones and for India as a whole:¹⁶

(Table—See next page)

Agricultural labour forms an integral part of the rural population and as such their economic condition is intimately linked up with that of other rural families. In the following table, a comparison has been made of the agricultural labour families with all rural families in respect of the level and content of their living:¹⁷

Annual per Capita Expenditure (%)			
	Agricultural Labour families (A.L.E. 1950-51)		Rural families N. S. S. (1949-50)
I Food	85.3		71.4
Food-grains	4.0		47.7
Pulses	1.0		3.9
Vegetables	2.3		2.5
Edible Oil	0.7		4.1
Milk and Milk Products	1.4		8.4
Meat, Fish and Eggs	1.1		2.3
II Fuel and Lighting	0.8		3.5
III House-rent	6.3		0.6
IV Clothing and Foot-wear	6.5		13.4
V Services and Miscellaneous	6.5		11.1
Tobacco	2.3		1.9
Intoxicants	0.7		0.8
Total Expenditure	100.0		100.0

Judged by the per capita expenditure of Rs. 107 of agricultural labour families as against Rs. 204 of all rural families, the level of living of agricultural labour families is deplorably low.

STANDARD OF LIVING OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. FAMILY BUDGETS

It would not be out of place if we just compare the standard of living of the agricultural workers with that of the industrial workers. It will be found that the industrial workers are much better off than the agricultural population. Below is given the analysis of some family budgets of industrial workers in India:¹⁸ (1943-46).

14. A. M. Lorenzo : *Agricultural Labour and Market Gardening in Oudh*, pp. 63-65.

15. Sorokin, Zimmerman & Galpin : *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 372.

16. Dr. B. Ramanurti : *Agricultural Labour—How They Work and Live* (D. L. 261), pp. 31, 45 and 64-65.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

18. R. K. Mukerjee : *Indian Working Class* (1951), p. 267.

Average Annual Expenditure Per Agricultural Labour Family

	Average annual income per family			Average annual expenditure on								Average debt per family	
	Rs.	Rs.	%	Food	Clothing and foot-wear	Fuel and lighting	House rent and repairs	Services and miscellaneous	Total	Rs.	Rs.		
Northern India	551	464	84.7	43	7.8	6 1.1	4 0.7	31 5.7	548		32		
East India	506	464	87.9	26	4.9	6 1.1	5 1.0	27 5.1	528		76		
South India	382	323	81.3	27	6.8	5 1.3	5 1.3	37 9.3	397		102		
West India	391	327	83.4	34	8.7	7 1.8	2 0.5	22 5.6	392		108		
Central India	417	374	87.4	26	6.1	4 0.9	1 0.2	23 5.4	428		103		
N.-W. India	651	571	84.7	52	7.7	6 0.9	3 0.5	42 6.2	674		335		
All India	447	393	85.3	29	6.3	5 1.1	4 0.8	30 6.5	461		105		

This table also reveals that 44.5 per cent of the families (or 7.8 million) were in debt, the average debt being Rs. 105 per family. The main purpose for which the debts were incurred was consumption, which accounted for Rs. 78 out of the debt of Rs. 105. This shows the insufficiency of the income of the agricultural labour families to meet even their primary necessities.

Locality	No. of budgets	Average income Rs. a.p.	Food	Percentage of expenditure on					Miscellaneous
				Cloth	Rent	Fuel	light	H. requisites	
Calcutta	2707	70 8 4	65.66	7.74	6.71	7.28	0.06		12.55
Ahmedabad	1820	134 5 8	52.74	12.51	5.40	8.99	2.11		18.25
Bombay	2030	87 2 3	51.96	11.72	7.20	10.16	0.50		18.46
Sholapur	778	66 15 6	48.75	14.47	3.64	12.20	0.96		19.88
Jamshedpur	691	92 13 3	65.76	10.07	4.69	5.43	0.36		13.69
Jharia	999	52 0 0	77.70	6.56	0.00	0.47	0.63		14.64
Cuttack	168	43 8 0	67.15	6.88	2.97	8.86	1.64		12.60
Ajmer	375	62 12 8	63.74	7.90	2.97	8.17	0.50		16.72
Delhi	581	66 4 11	60.98	9.18	6.35	8.84	3.27		11.43
Kanpur	729	25 8 6	48.12	7.44	8.76	6.02	1.75		27.01

A comparative study of the percentage figures in the above table reveals that nearly two-fifths of the families in Bombay, three-fourths in Ahmedabad, are in receipt of income exceeding Rs. 100 a month. The corresponding figures for Jharia and Sholapur are 8 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. Only 1.72 per cent of the families in Ahmedabad, slightly less than one-third in Bombay, two-thirds in Sholapur and more than four-fifths in Jharia are receiving less than Rs. 70 per month.

All that this table tells us is that taking an average income of Rs. 73 per month about 60 per cent of the income is absorbed in food which works out an expenditure of Rs. 44 per month for the family. If we consider the first four items of expenditure in the table the average expenditure amounts to over 75 per cent of the total income. If we include other necessary expenses like washing, bedding, and household requisites, the percentage will increase to 85 per cent. Thus the proportion spent on the necessities of life is an evidence of the inadequacy of the wages and the narrow margin between subsistence and semi-starvation.

The percentage of expenditure on the various groups among the workers in different industrial centres in India may be compared with that in respect of the working class family budgets in some foreign countries, a detailed analysis of which is given below:¹⁹

Analysis of Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Some Foreign Countries

Locality	Annual	Food	Cloth	Rent	Heating	Misc.
China—						
Peiping	\$ 210	58.2	4.6	9.4	11.8	16.0
Shanghai	—	55.8	7.4	8.5	6.5	21.8
Japan—						
Land workers Average		41.2	7.9	15.2	6.0	29.7
Industrial workers	—	38.5	11.3	13.6	4.9	31.7
U.S.A. Farm families	\$1983	39.5	13.8	11.6	7.2	27.9
Lowest bare existing	\$ 744	48.2	18.2	19.3	6.7	7.6
Great Britain—						
Agricultural Wages not exceeding		48.4	9.1	8.3	8.6	25.6
Industrial	£ 250	40.1	9.5	12.7	7.6	30.1
Germany	—	46.6	13.5	10.6	3.8	—
Belgium	—	59.6	15.8	6.4	5.0	—
Netherlands	—	40.1	9.0	15.8	5.7	—

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 269.

It will be evident from the foregoing table that the percentage of expenditure on such necessities as food and clothing in respect of the total family expenditure is far higher in India than in most industrial countries in the world. According to the well-known Law of Engels this is indicative of the lowest plane of living of the industrial workers associated with the greatest urgency of food requirements as compared with other needs of the family, e.g., the percentage of expenditure on food and clothing is 60.72 in Bombay, 66.45 in Nagpur, 67.03 in Jamshedpur, 72.4 in Madras and 74.4 in Calcutta. Even in plantations and coal fields the living standard is far lower as shown by the overwhelmingly high percentages of expenditure on necessities, 80.3 and 79.7 respectively.

WAGES AND LIVING STANDARDS

Almost all over the country the method of wage-payment differs from class to class and from region to region. Both the cash and crop wages are paid on daily or monthly basis. Now the growing tendency is to substitute cash for grain wages. Besides receiving the wages in cash, the labourer sometimes also takes a plot of land either rent-free or at a nominal rental in lieu of wages. Since a large number of non-food articles enter into the family budget of a labourer, cash wages are supplanting other forms of payment even in remote rural areas. But the rates of wages prevalent in different parts of the country are so low that the majority of agricultural workers live in a state verging on starvation. The wages are not uniform. They differ with the nature of the job, such as ploughing, threshing, weeding, reaping, shading, cattle-grazing, irrigation, etc. Further the wages of the female labourers are lower but no such distinction is made when the payment is made in kind. It is very pathetic to see that everywhere the wage level is very low in agriculture as compared with industry, as will be clear from the table given below for some countries of the world before the war :

Wage Per Week in Pre-war Conditions

Country	Year	Unit	Industrial wages		Agricultural wages	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
Canada	1939	S	22.08	13.44	8.15	5.44
U. S. A.	1939	S	36.72	22.80	8.96	—
Britain	1938	Sh.	69.00	32.50	34.58	—
France	1938	Fr.	297.12	164.16	150.96	106.80
Germany	1940	RM	34.13	22.94	10.32	8.52

Italy	1935	Lire	84.48	54.72	34.61
Japan	1936	Yen	14.49	4.43	3.51
Australia	1939	Sh.	104.50	57.00	83.42
New Zealand	1939	Sh.	93.30	65.00	—
U.S.S.R.	1935	Rub.	45.80	37.22	—
India	1939	As.	88.46	27.50	—

There is also a wide disparity between the wages of industrial and agricultural workers in India and in foreign countries, but also there is a great disparity in India itself, e.g., the average earnings of the cotton weavers in 1937 were between 25 and 30 rupees and those of the spinners ranged between 14 and 20 rupees. The jute spinners on an average earn Rs. 17[4]- and the weavers Rs. 31 per month. The average monthly earnings for men for all engineering occupations excluding unskilled workers range from Rs. 22 to 41-8.²⁰ Coal-cutters get between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 per month, while unskilled men sometimes get only Rs. 10.²¹ The average rate of wages for unskilled industrial workers is Rs. 16 in Nagpur, and Rs. 18 in Kanpur and if we add the amount earned by women the representative family income comes to Rs. 24 and Rs. 22 respectively.²² In the villages the level of money income is still lower. The unskilled agricultural labourers in Oudh earn from Rs. 6 to Rs. 9 per month and even after adding the earnings of women and children the average family income does not exceed Rs. 12 per month. In Western Punjab a day-labourer may expect only Rs. 5 per month, with a blanket and a pair of shoes at the end of the year, while in the canal colonies he may earn from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per month. In Bengal the wages of the unskilled agricultural workers range between Rs. 8 and Rs. 18 per month; in East and North Bengal the rates are generally higher than that in West Bengal.²³ In Eastern U.P. the wages range from Rs. 3-12 to Rs. 7-8 per month while in Western U.P. they range from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4-5 per month;²⁴ Rs. 10 in the Central. The wages of plantation workers in India are the lowest. According to Rege Committee the average monthly cash earnings of settled labourers on the books were in 1944 Rs. 9-10-3; Rs. 7-13-1 and Rs. 5-14-0 per man, woman and child respectively in the Assam

20. *Industrial Wage Census, 1937.*

21. *Report of Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 166.

22. R. B. Gupta : *Labour and Housing in India*, pp. 76-78.

23. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*, pp. 221-222.

24. Shridhar Misra : *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 44.

Valley. These wages were supplemented by concessions in the shape of land for cultivation, free housing, medical attendance, fuel and grazing facilities, chief foodstuffs and clothing. In South Indian plantations benefits are very meagre.²⁵

*Comparative Wage Rates in Agriculture,
Factory & Plantations²⁶*

State	Agriculture (1950-51)	Plantations (1950-51)	Factory Industries (1950)
1	2	3	4
Assam	29.8	18.5-20.5	60.8
Bihar	20.2	—	68.8
Bombay	17.6	—	67.2
Madras	15.5	19.5-21.8	33.6
Travancore- Cochin	21.4	20.0	—
M.P.	12.6	—	52.8
Orissa	11.5	—	38.4
Punjab	28.6	—	44.8
U.P.	18.8	—	52.8
West Bengal	27.0	19.5-21.5	45.6
All India	17.5		54.4

It is evident from these figures that the general standard of living is very low in the towns. In the villages, the level of money income is still lower. It is true that the needs of the agricultural workers are but few and simple and their diet of necessity is very cheap but after making allowance for all these, there is no doubt of general poverty among the agricultural workers. The remuneration of the industrial worker is on a higher level than that of the agricultural worker almost everywhere in the world. But in a country like India, where there is always a vast surplus of rural labour ready to press into the factories for any wage which will enable them to live, the disparity between industrial and agricultural wages cannot be stretched beyond a certain point.

"Industrial wages and with them the living standard, of industrial workers cannot anywhere exceed rural levels by more than a certain ratio; and the rural levels are depressed by population increase to a point where they afford only the barest subsistence."²⁷

It is therefore futile to suppose that the standard of industrial workers can be improved without raising the rural levels by increasing their purchasing power.

FOOD BUDGETS AND FOOD CONSUMPTION

The quantity of food consumption does not offer a true index to the standard of living of any class or group of people. The quantitative variations are due largely to regional and physiological conditions. The true index, therefore, can only be set by the quality and variety of food consumed by the rural and urban labouring classes. Since the rural classes almost constantly supplement their diet with fruits and vegetables of the season, it is difficult to estimate the exact nature of their food budget, which is possible in the case of urban families where all things are purchased from the market. Throughout India it is only the high-class and well-to-do cultivators who consume good-quality food and draw nutrition from a variety of sources. But in the case of poor labourers, who constitute the bulk of the rural population, the diet is monotonous and limited to coarse cereal, flour, pulses, vegetable oil and occasional dishes of vegetables. However bulky, their diet falls short of the optimum standard required to maintain vigorous health and efficiency.

The effective consumption of basic food, such as rice or atta, and dal or vegetables; and energizing food, such as fruits, vegetables, milk and milk-products, oil or ghee, gur and condiments in reasonable combinations result in rational feeding and determines a high standard of living. It is not the volume of basic food, but the derivation of nutrients from a number of foods to form balanced rations for a greater effective absorption of certain basic chemical elements which determines a high standard of food consumption. The following table gives the proportion of basic food to energizing food consumed by the well-to-do cultivators and the landless workers in some provinces:

Province	<i>Food Budget of Well-to-do Cultivators</i>			
	Total	Basic	%	Energizing
	amount of food consumed (ozs)	food (ozs)		food (ozs)
Punjab	58	31	53.4	27
U.P.	42	20	47.6	22
Bengal	36	12	52.8	17

²⁵ Rege Committee Report on Labour (1946), pp. 259-61.

²⁶ Dr. Rammurti : *Op. Cit.*, p. 23.

²⁷ Lorenzo : *Agricultural Labour Conditions in Northern India*, p. 23.

Food budget of landless agricultural labourers.

Punjab	49	40	81.6	9	18.4
U.P.	33	29	87.9	4	12.1
Bengal	28	22	78.6	6	21.4

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that the amount of energizing food consumed by well-to do tenants comes up to the standard, and we can safely conclude that this class is well-fed and efficient, and maintains a high level of living, because the consumption of energizing food is greater, yielding a higher chemical value and excess of protein. On the other hand, the effective consumption of energizing food in the case of field-workers hardly exceeds 18 per cent of the total amount of food consumed.

The Health Survey and Development Committee reports that the diet of the workers in factories, mines and plantations is generally of a low standard and lack the essential nutritive elements. The staple diet of the workers in Madras and Bengal is particularly of a low quality. Milk consumption is unsatisfactory in all parts of the country. The average level of wages in Bombay and Ahmedabad being higher, a more nutritious diet is available for workers in these two cities than in other parts of India.²⁸ The Sample Survey reports "a definite fall in the intake of food-grains among working families in urban areas."²⁹

Thus it will be observed that our countrymen are doomed to a low standard of living not only because of their poverty but also due to their ignorance. They do not have the capacity to marshal their expenditure wisely, thus failing to derive even that satisfaction which they can possibly get.

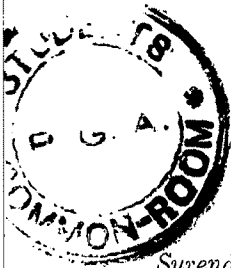
The inadequacy and injudiciousness of consumption of the people of India result in various evils. People who hardly get the bare necessities are bound to develop a weak constitution. They remain inefficient in their occupation and earn low wages. What more, they fall an easy victim to the various minor and major diseases, which either prove fatal or render them weaker still. Children and such physically bankrupt people are apt to be very weak and inefficient. Many of them swell the figures of infantile mortality, while the survivors are made worthless by the want of proper nourishment and sufficient clothes, of proper education and necessary training. When they grow to manhood they join the rank of unskilled labourers. Their poverty leads to inefficiency, and their inefficiency to poverty. This is the vicious circle in which the masses of the country have been enveloped, and from which an escape must be made.

The standard of living of the masses can be raised only if we remove the basic causes of the low standard which have been pointed out above. The removal of poverty is, in fact, the most difficult problem to solve. Our economic machinery will have to be entirely overhauled and in many cases replaced, for only a bold step can break the vicious circle of poverty leading ultimately to greater poverty. Efforts should be made to remove the ignorance of the masses. Let the schoolmaster be abroad, primary education be made compulsory, adult education be developed and arrangements be made for vocational training. Public health campaigns should also be carried on with a view to impress on the people the necessity of sanitation and cleanliness. The masses should be made to realise the value of a materially rich and full life and their hearts should be inspired to herald the Sun of Happiness.

28. Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, Vol. I, p. 81.

29. General Report No. 1 (1952), p. 30.





SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(IX) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom (*Continued*)

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I

As stated in our preceding article,¹ we propose to deal in this article with the comparative merits and defects of the American expression "without due process of law"² and the expression in Article 21 of our Constitution "except according to procedure established by law."

II

"The due process clauses of the United States Constitution—the one in the Fifth Amendment (1791), a limitation upon the federal government, and the one in the Fourteenth Amendment (1868), a limitation upon State governments³—are," observes Professor Willis,⁴ "the most important clauses in the United States Constitution. They have been involved in more litigated cases than have all the other clauses of the United States Constitution combined, and the end is not yet. What their future history is going to be, no one can prophesy, but it is safe to say that they are going to have a great deal more history. The guarantee of due process of law is so all-inclusive that all other constitutional guarantees could be abolished and there still would be sufficient protection of personal liberty. The due process limitation has already been extended to include many of the other constitutional guarantees, and there is no rational reason against its being extended to include all of them; the tendency is in this direction. Due process of law applies to personal liberty, to social control, to procedure, to

jurisdiction, and to substantive law. It applies to the police power, to eminent domain, and to taxation. It applies to the three great branches of government: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. It applies to State governments in the same way that it does to the federal government. It applies in favour of all individuals. It applies to every interest which an individual may assert whether a right, power, privilege, or immunity, whether civil or political. Due process of law, better than any of the other constitutional guarantees, gives the Supreme Court the opportunity to draw the line which ought to be drawn between personal liberty and social control. . . . The due process clauses permit of this rationalization. Whenever there is a proper exercise of the police power, or the power of taxation, or the power of eminent domain, it is due process of law. But whenever there is not such an exercise of one of these powers, but government nevertheless takes some action, such action is depriving a person of his liberty without due process of law. No better scheme could have been evolved to permit the Supreme Court to strike the proper balance between personal liberty and social control. Legislatures may have reasons for the enactment of laws, but the United States Supreme Court measures the legislatures' reasons by its own intellectual yardstick."

"The most important use," Professor Willis has further remarked,⁵ "to which the United States Supreme Court has put the due process clause is to enable it to declare unconstitutional any acts of legislation which it thinks unreasonable. . . . England, without a due process clause which applies to matters of substance, does through equity jurisdiction just about the same thing as the Supreme Court of the United States does under due process of law as a matter of substance. . . . In the United States the judges not only declare statutes invalid if in violation of prohibitions in the written Constitution, but if in violation of doctrines read into the Constitution by the United States Supreme Court. Therefore, in the United States the role of the written Constitution is insignificant, and the role of the due process clause and the Supreme Court is very significant."

1. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, p. 284.

2. "No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

Again,

"No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

See Amendments V and XIV (Section 1) to the Constitution of the United States of America.

3. See foot-note 2 above.

4. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 642-43.

5. For a detailed history of the development of the Doctrine of Due Process of Law in the United States, see Willis, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXII; also Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929, Chapter XCI; Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, Chapter IV; also *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, 1953, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 846-64 and pp. 971-81.

5. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 657 and pp. 645-46.

This view of the importance of the due process clauses in the United States Constitution has in essence also been held by Professor Willoughby⁶ and others.⁷ It may be noted here that the phrase "due process of law" in the Fifth Amendment to the said Constitution appears to have virtually the same meaning as it has in the Fourteenth Amendment thereto.⁸ Further, corporations as well as natural persons "are protected against deprivation of life, or property without due process of law."⁹ And "as to the natural persons protected by the due process clause, these include," says an official American publication,¹⁰ "all human beings regardless of race, colour, or citizenship." Thus, aliens as well as citizens are entitled in the United States "to the constitutional protection against deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law."¹¹ But it should also be pointed out here that "the due process clause protects only against governmental action" (State or federal), and that "it does not protect against the action of individuals, whether natural or artificial persons."¹²

Another point worthy of note in connexion with the question of due process of law is that "there are two kinds of due process—*procedural* and *substantive*."

"Procedural due process," observe Professors Corwin and Peltason,¹³ "refers to the methods by which the law is enforced. It requires, to paraphrase Daniel Webster's famous definition, a procedure which 'hears before it condemns, proceeds upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after (a) trial, in which the essentials of justice have been preserved.'"

Thus procedural due process "signifies a right to be heard," and when "the Constitution requires a hearing it requires a fair one, held before a tribunal which at least meets currently prevailing standards of impartiality. An opportunity must be given not only to present evidence, but also to know the claims of the oppos-

ing party and to meet them."¹⁴ Further, a law "itself may violate procedural due process if it fails to establish a definite (and ascertainable) standard of guilt or provide for fair procedures."¹⁵ According to Professor Harold Zink,¹⁶ procedural due process requires that (1) "a fair trial must be given"; (2) that "the court or agency which takes jurisdiction in the case must be duly authorized by law to exercise such prerogative"; (3) that "the defendant must be allowed an opportunity to present his side of the case"; and that (4) a "certain assistance, including counsel and subpoenaing of witnesses, must be extended."

"In every case, whether criminal or civil," Professor Zink further observes:¹⁷ "The interested parties must be given an opportunity to present their evidence. Moreover, 'procedural due process,' he adds,¹⁸ 'demands that reasonable amount of public assistance be given to litigants in those cases where for reasons of impecuniousness or lack of knowledge adequate defence has not been made. The right to counsel is specifically set down in the Constitution, but due process would go further and lay down the rule that such counsel must be reasonably competent. Likewise, the services of the public authorities are provided for the subpoenaing of witnesses, but due process would again go further to inquire whether an honest attempt was made by the public authorities to locate the desired witnesses.'"

As a jurist, Professor Willis essentially agrees with these views. According to him,¹⁹ too, the requirements of due process as a matter of procedure are (1) a notice, (2) an opportunity to be heard, (3) an impartial tribunal, and (4) an orderly course of procedure. These pro-

14. *The Constitution of the United States of America, etc.*, Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 847-49.

"In all cases, that kind of procedure is due process of law which is suitable and proper to the nature of the case, and sanctioned by the established customs and usages of the Courts (Ex parte Wal, 107 U. S. 265, (1883).—*Ibid.*, pp. 846-47.

We also find in the judgment of the United States Supreme Court (1934) in *Snyder vs. Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (291 U. S. 97) :

"Procedural due process has to do with the manner of the trial; dictates that in the conduct of judicial inquiry certain fundamental rules of fairness be observed; forbids the disregard of these rules, and is not satisfied, though the result is just, if the hearing was unfair."—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, p. 688.

15. Corwin and Peltason, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

16. Harold Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, p. 102.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

19. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 661-75.

6. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1681.

7. For instance, Corwin and Peltason (*Understanding the Constitution*, 1952, p. 97); also Ogg and Ray (*Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 170).

8. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1682; also Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 653.

9. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1682-83.

10. *The Constitution of the United States of America, etc.*, Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 981.

11. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1683.

12. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 644.

13. Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, 1952, p. 97.

cedural formalities have always to be followed "in the case of a judicial tribunal performing judicial functions."²⁰ And the usual rule is that due process, as a matter of procedure, also "applies to executive and administrative action, whether the governmental power exercised is a tax power or the power of eminent domain, or the police power."²¹

Going into details, Professor Willis observes,²² in the first place, that "when notice is required by due process of law, in order to be sufficient it must notify a person of the time and place, including the tribunal before whom a claim is to be made; apprise him of the nature of the cause against him; come to a person of reasonable intelligence; and afford him sufficient opportunity to prepare and make his answer." Secondly, he says²³ that "when a person is entitled to legal procedure by due process of law, another thing to which he is entitled is an opportunity to be heard"; that this "is a requirement which is concurrent with notice"; and that "to condemn without a hearing is repugnant to the due process clause." In the third place, Professor Willis has observed²⁴ that "wherever a person is entitled to legal procedure because of the due process clause he is entitled to an impartial tribunal." But "an impartial tribunal," he has added, "does not necessarily mean a judicial tribunal A judicial tribunal is not required so far as facts are concerned either in a tax case, or in an eminent domain case, or in a police power case." Finally, so far as the fourth requirement of due process, namely, an orderly course of procedure, is concerned, it requires a court, according to him²⁵ "to examine the entire record, to ascertain the issues, to discover whether there are facts not reported, and to see whether or not the law has been correctly applied to the facts." Further,²⁶ it requires, among certain other things,²⁷ "the presence of witnesses when the opportunity to defend oneself is involved" as well as "a public trial," and "it is due process

of law to compel the attendance of witnesses."²⁸ An orderly course of procedure "also includes the right to counsel and proper opportunity for counsel to prepare a case."²⁹

We shall now say a few words about what is known as *substantive* due process. While procedural due process is concerned³⁰ with "the manner in which governmental power may be exercised," acts as a safeguard "against arbitrary and unfair judicial procedure,"³¹ and demands that the actual conduct of a trial should be "in conformity with objective standards of justice,"³² substantive due process is concerned with "the substantive content of legislation," and requires that "the Court be convinced that the law—not merely the procedures by which the law would be enforced, but its very purpose—is fair, reasonable, and just."³³ Further, it requires that the law "must operate equally and without discrimination," and that it should be clear and accurate enough to guide the conduct and conscience of those who are to be subject to it.³⁴ Thus, the principle of substantive due process may be "invoked as a norm or test for determining the validity" of a law.³⁵ And all this occasions judicial review.

It may be noted in this connexion incidentally that "originally, 'due process of law' meant," as Professor Corwin has stated,³⁶ "simply the modes of *procedure* which were *due* at the common law, especially in connection with the accusation and trial of supposed offenders," and that "today 'due process of law' means 'reasonable' law or 'reasonable' procedure, that is to say, what a majority of the Supreme Court find it to be *reasonable* in some or other sense of that extremely elastic term. In other words, it means, in effect, *the approval of the Supreme Court*." This development in the implications of the term "due process of law"

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 662-64.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 664.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 664-65.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 665-67.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 668.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 672-73.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 673-75.

27. See *ibid.*, pp. 672-74.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 674.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Corwin and Peltason, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

31. Ogg and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

32. Zink, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

33. Corwin and Peltason, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

34. Zink, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

35. Ogg and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

According to Professor Willis, "the protection of due process as a matter of substance applies to all three branches of the federal and state governments."—See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 706-707.

36. See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 1947, p. 170.

occurred, according to Professor Willis,³⁷ "about the eighties" of the last century, when "due process of law was extended to matters of substance," that is, to "the substantive content of legislation." And, says the official American publication³⁸ referred to before, "it is because of this extension of the term 'due process of law' beyond the procedural field that the Court has been asked to pass upon literally hundreds of State enactments since about 1890 on the representation that they invaded the 'liberty' or property of certain persons 'unreasonably.' In short, this development of the meaning of 'due process of law' came in time to furnish one of the principal bases of judicial review, and indeed it still³⁹ remains such so far as State legislation is concerned."

We shall now pass on to an important point in connexion with the question we are discussing. What *exactly* is meant by the doctrine of due process of law which constitutes such an important feature of American constitutional jurisprudence as we have seen above? Is Professor Munro right when he says⁴⁰ that "few legal phrases in the whole history of jurisprudence have proved so elusive" as due process of law?

There is no doubt that there are certain inherent difficulties in the doctrine of due process of law. The Constitution of the United States has not defined the expression "due process of law." Nor has any "court of higher jurisdiction" in the United States ever clearly defined the expression. Justice Frankfurter has observed in the course of his judgment in *Solesbee vs. Balkcom*⁴¹:

"Due process is that which comports with the deepest notions of what is fair and right and just. The more fundamental the beliefs are the less likely they are to be explicitly stated. But respect for them

is the very essence of the Due Process Clause. In enforcing them this (Supreme) Court does not translate personal views into constitutional limitations."

There is certainly some amount of indefiniteness in what Justice Frankfurter has stated. As Professor Swisher has rightly observed:⁴²

"The Justice (Frankfurter) commits the (Supreme) Court to the task of interpreting 'the deepest notions of what is fair and just and right.' In spite of his disclaimer it is hard to see how in that process it can altogether avoid translating 'personal views into constitutional limitations'."

We may also note here what the Supreme Court of the United States itself has stated in regard to the meaning of the due process clauses in the American Constitution. In *Holden vs. Hardy* it declared⁴³ in 1898:

"Recognizing the difficulty in defining, with exactness, the phrase 'due process of law,' it is certain that these words imply a conformity with natural and inherent principles of justice, and forbid that one man's property, or right to property, shall be taken for the benefit of another, or for the benefit of the State, without compensation; and that no one shall be condemned in his person or property without an opportunity of being heard in his own defence."

The expression "natural and inherent principles of justice" in this extract is certainly not free from a certain amount of vagueness.

Again, we find that in *Twining vs. New Jersey* the Supreme Court observed⁴⁴ in 1908, with reference to the expression "due process of law":

"Few phrases of the law are so elusive of exact apprehension as this . . . This Court has always declined to give a comprehensive definition of it, and has preferred that its full meaning should be gradually ascertained by the process of inclusion and exclusion in the course of the decision of cases as they arise."

Thus, the highest American tribunal has, as Professor Munro has remarked,⁴⁵ "refrained from committing itself to any hard and fast definition of the term" due process of law.

We may also note in this connexion what Walter Dodd has stated⁴⁶:

37. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 705; also Swisher, *The Theory and Practice of American National Government*, 1951, pp. 458-59.

38. *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 846.

39. Professor Swisher, however, is of opinion that "beginning in the early 1930's . . . the (Supreme) Court gradually receded from this interpretation, so that business now gets little protection from due process clauses except the procedural protection which constituted most of the original meaning. Today it is only in the field of civil liberties that due process gives much more than procedural protection."—Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

Also see in this connexion Pritchett, *Civil Liberties and the Vinson Court*, 1954, p. 3.

40. See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Ed., p. 520.

41. 339 U.S. 9 (1950). See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

42. See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

43. *Holden vs. Hardy*, 169 U.S. 366 (1898)—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 824-25.

44. *Twining vs. New Jersey*, 211 U.S. 78 (1908)—See Fenn, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

45. See Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

46. See Walter F. Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 79-80.

"What is due process of law? We get little help from the courts as to the meaning of this term as it is now applied to limit legislative power . . . Speaking for the (Supreme) Court in 1921 (four of the nine judges dissenting), in holding invalid an Arizona law . . ., Mr. Chief Justice Taft said that 'the legislative power of a State can only be exerted in subordination to the fundamental principles of right and justice which the guaranty of due process in the Fourteenth Amendment is intended to preserve' . . . In the types of decisions just referred to, the Court in applying 'due process of law' is guided by nothing more definite than 'the fundamental principles of right and justice,' and has no standard other than the views of a majority of the judges by which to separate 'permissible from improper legislation.' One judge, because of his training and experience, may have one view as to what are such fundamental principles and how they apply in a particular case, and an equally competent judge may have precisely opposite views. The same individual may have different views at different periods of his life as to what is 'permissible' and what is 'improper' . . . In passing upon the validity of statutes, the judicial theory was, and still is, in the language of the courts, that of applying to legislation a precise constitutional standard, and of resolving all doubts in favour of constitutionality. In theory every statute not directly and clearly in conflict with constitutional language is valid. . . . Under this theory, if a statute is held unconstitutional, it is through no fault or responsibility of the judges. They merely apply standards given them by the people, who are responsible for the terms of the constitution. If the people are dissatisfied with the yardstick, it is said that they should change it, and not blame the judges whose duty it is to apply the yardstick as long as it remains unchanged. This theory has merit if the yardstick is precise and unchanging, and if the judicial result comes from a mere mechanical application of the measuring rod. But if the length of the yardstick may change from case to case according to the discretion of the judges who apply it, then the result is not mechanical For example, the supreme court of Illinois in 1895 declared it improper to regulate the labour or hours of women differently from that of men, and in 1910 arrived at precisely the opposite view, without any change whatever in the State constitution This is but an illustration of what State courts have done over and over again in order to readjust their views to the changing needs of the community. Had a definite and precise meaning been given to 'due process of law,' such changes of judicial attitude would be more difficult."

It is evident from what has been stated above that "in the last analysis due process is," as Professor Zink has put it,⁴⁷ "what the courts,

particularly the Supreme Court (of the United States), say it is." Professor Willis agrees with this view. He says⁴⁸:

"The Supreme Court still refuses to define the phrase 'due process of law,' yet whatever it means at the present time is what the Supreme Court says it means. It is true that the phrase 'due process of law' has very ancient origin, but its meaning at the present time is not at all what it was at first; and its meaning in the future may be very different from what it is at the present time. . . . In the development of the doctrine (of due process of law) the Supreme Court has not always been consistent. Sometimes it has favoured personal liberty and sometimes social control. . . . Frequently, the reason for this has seemed to be the personnel of the bench, but occasionally overpowering social needs seem to have been the reason. . . . The justices have not hesitated to disagree among themselves."

Notwithstanding this limitation of the doctrine of due process of law, the due process clauses in the Constitution of the United States have in effect become "a palladium of individual and corporate rights as against all governmental authority in the country."⁴⁹ Justice Frankfurter of the United States Supreme Court has gone so far as to eulogize⁵⁰ the doctrine of due process as "perhaps the most majestic concept in our whole constitutional system." And what he has further said in connexion with the doctrine is also worthy of note here.

"The requirement of 'due process,' he has observed,⁵¹ "is not a fair-weather or timid assurance. It must be respected in periods of calm and in times of trouble; it protects aliens as well as citizens. But 'due process,' unlike some legal rules, is not a technical conception with a fixed content unrelated to time, place and circumstances. Expressing as it does in its ultimate analysis respect enforced by law for that feeling of just treatment which has been evolved through centuries of Anglo-American constitutional history and civilization, 'due process' cannot be imprisoned within the treacherous limits of any formula. Representing a profound attitude of fairness between man and man, and more particularly between the individual and government, 'due process' is compounded of history, reason, the past course of deci-

47. Zink, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

48. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 657-59.

49. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 169; also Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

50. In connexion with his judgment in *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee vs. McGrath*, 341 U.S.123 (1951)—See Pritchett, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 236 and 287.

51. See *ibid.*, p. 236.

sions, and stout confidence in the strength of the democratic faith which we profess. Due process is not a mechanical instrument. It is not a yardstick. It is a process. It is a delicate process of adjustment inescapably involving the exercise of judgment by those whom the Constitution entrusted with the unfolding of the process."

III

We have discussed above the merits of the doctrine of due process of law in American constitutional jurisprudence. In the light of this discussion we should now like to consider the merits of the expression "except according to procedure established by law" in Article 21 of our Constitution. Before, however, we do this, we should like to refer to a historical matter as it might help the reader to understand the Indian position.

As we have stated before,⁵² in Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India* corresponding to Article 21 of our present Constitution, the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India had substituted the expression "except according to procedure established by law" for the words "without due process of law" (as originally suggested by the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights appointed by the Constituent Assembly on 24th January, 1947, and adopted by the Constituent Assembly during its session held in April-May, 1947), since the former expression was "more specific." But when the matter came before the Constituent Assembly, there was a very strong opposition⁵³ from several members of the Assembly to the suggestion made by the Drafting Committee, and an amendment was, in essence, moved that "for the words 'except according to procedure established by law' the words 'without due process of law' be substituted." Reference was made in this connexion to the merits of the American doctrine of due process of law. And it was argued that the acceptance of the suggestion made by the Drafting Committee would "open a sad chapter in the history of constitutional law" in India; that under it if a court of law were satisfied that the procedure established by law had been complied with, it could not "interfere with any

law which might have been capricious, unjust or iniquitous"; that the court of law should be placed in a position of going "into the question of the substantive law as well as procedural law"; that when a law was enacted, the court should "have the right to go into the question" whether it was just or not, whether it was good or not, and whether, as a matter of fact, it would protect the liberties of the people or not, and that if the court came to the conclusion that the law was unconstitutional, unreasonable or unjust, then it should have the power of declaring it so, and the law should not "have any further effect." Thus, it was held that our judiciary should have power to review legislation, as in the United States, both in respect of procedure and in respect of its substantive content. Against this view a member⁵⁴ referred to the limitation of the doctrine of due process of law as it had developed in the United States and, particularly, to the conflicting nature of the judicial decisions there, based on the interpretation of the due process clauses in its Constitution. Strangely enough, the Chairman⁵⁵ of the Drafting Committee adopted a non-committal attitude towards this controversial question, and left the decision thereon to the discretion of the Constituent Assembly. Referring to the amendment we have mentioned before he said⁵⁶:

"I must confess that I am somewhat in a difficult position with regard to Article 15 (in the Draft Constitution) and the amendment moved . . . for the deletion of the words 'procedure according to law' and the substitution of the words 'due process'."

"It is quite clear to any one who has listened to the debate that has taken place . . . that there are two sharp points of view. One point of view says that 'due process of law' must be there in this article⁵⁷; otherwise the article is a nugatory one. The other point of view is that the existing phraseology is quite sufficient for the purpose. Let me explain what exactly 'due process' involves."

"The question of 'due process' raises, in my judgment, the question of the relationship between the legislature and the judiciary. In a federal constitution, it is always open to the judiciary to decide whether any particular law passed by the legislature is

52. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, pp 279-80.

53. See *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report*, 6th and 13th December, 1948, pp. 842-57 and pp. 999-1001.

54. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar.

55. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

56. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 13th December, 1948, pp. 999-1001.

57. I.e., Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India*.

ultra vires or *intra vires* in reference to the powers of legislation which are granted by the Constitution to the particular legislature. If the law made by a particular legislature exceeds the authority of the power given to it by the Constitution, such law would be *ultra vires* and invalid. That is the normal thing that happens in all federal constitutions. Every law in a federal constitution, whether made by the Parliament at the Centre or made by the legislature of a State, is always subject to examination by the judiciary⁵⁸ from the point of view of the authority of the legislature making the law. The 'due process' clause, in my judgment, would give the judiciary the power to question the law made by the legislature on another ground. That ground would be whether that law is in keeping with the certain fundamental principles relating to the rights of the individual. In other words, the judiciary would be endowed with the authority to question the law not merely on the ground whether it was in excess of the authority of the legislature, but also on the ground whether the law was good law, apart from the question of the powers of the legislature making the law. The law may be perfectly good and valid so far as the authority of the legislature is concerned. But, it may not be a good law, that is to say, it violates certain fundamental principles; and the judiciary would have that additional power of declaring the law invalid. The question which arises in considering this matter is this: We have no doubt given the judiciary the power to examine the law made by different legislative bodies on the ground whether that law is in accordance with the powers given to it (*sic*). The question now raised by the introduction of the phrase 'due process' is whether the judiciary should be given the additional power to question the laws made by the State on the ground that they violate certain fundamental principles.

"There are two views on this point. One view is this: that the legislature may be trusted not to make any law which would abrogate the fundamental rights of man, so to say, the fundamental rights which apply to every individual, and consequently, there is no danger arising from the introduction of the phrase 'due process.' Another view is this: That it is not possible to trust the legislature; the legislature is likely to err, is likely to be led away by passion, by party prejudice, by party considerations, and the legislature may make a law which may abrogate what may be regarded as the fundamental principles which safeguard the individual rights of a citizen. We are, therefore, placed in two difficult positions. One is to give the judiciary the authority to sit in judgment over the will of the legislature and to question the law made by the legislature on the ground that it is not

good law, in consonance with fundamental principles. Is that a desirable principle? The second position is that the legislature ought to be trusted not to make bad laws. It is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion. There are dangers on both sides. For myself I cannot altogether omit the possibility of a Legislature packed by party men making laws which may abrogate or violate what we regard as certain fundamental principles affecting the life and liberty of an individual. At the same time, I do not see how five or six gentlemen sitting in the Federal or Supreme Court examining laws made by the Legislature and by dint of their own individual conscience or their bias or their prejudices be trusted to determine which law is good and which law is bad. It is rather a case where a man has to sail between Charybdis and Scylla and I therefore would not say anything. I would leave it to the House to decide in any way it likes."

The Constituent Assembly rejected the amendment to which we have referred before, and adopted Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India* as it had been placed before the Assembly by the Drafting Committee. As a consequence, Article 21 of our Constitution which corresponds to Article 15 of the Draft Constitution, appears in the shape in which it does without the "due process" provision.

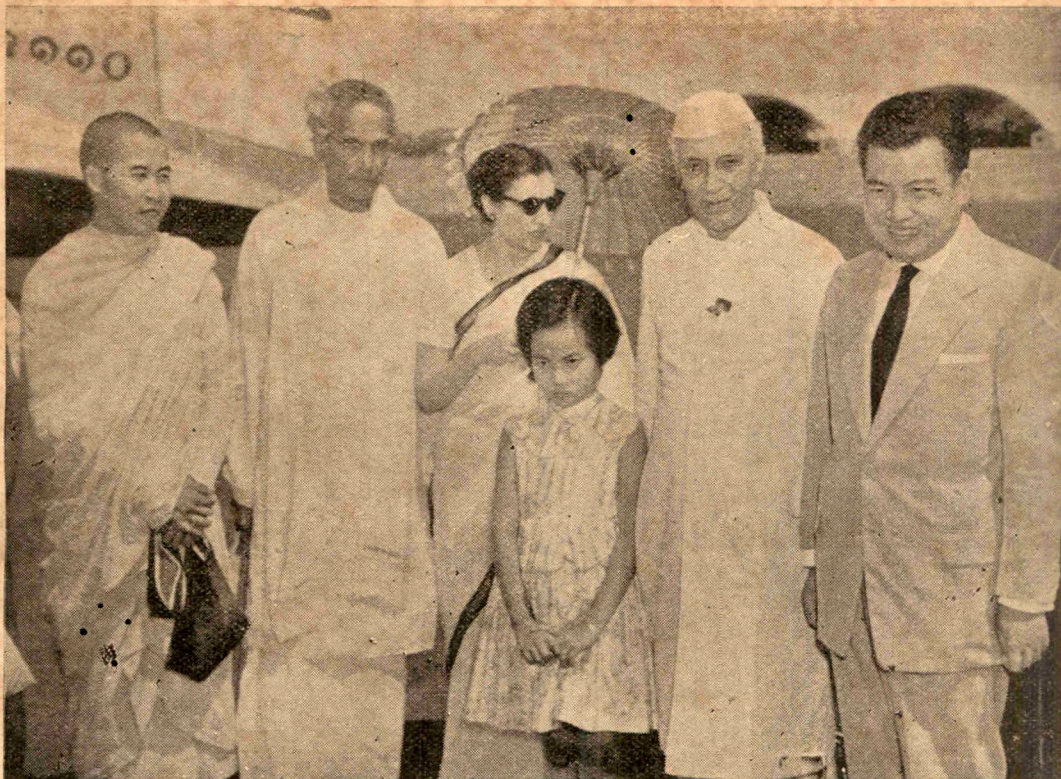
In conclusion, we should like to say that, having regard to what we have shown in our preceding article⁵⁹ in connexion with Article 21 of our Constitution and also having regard to what we have shown above, we feel that, on the whole, the American doctrine of due process of law is, notwithstanding its limitation, a better safeguard against an arbitrary Governmental action, so far as the life and liberty of the individual are concerned, than what has been provided for in Article 21 of our Constitution. As Kania C. J. has observed,⁶⁰ the expression "procedure established by law" in Article 21 "must mean procedure prescribed by the law of the State," and "by adopting the phrase 'procedure established by law' our Constitution has given 'the legislature the final word to determine the law.'" And "it cannot be disputed," as Mukherjea J. of our Supreme Court has stated,⁶¹ "that a competent legislature is entitled to alter the procedure in criminal trials in such

58. This is normally the case in a federal Union. The position is somewhat different in Switzerland.

59. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, pp. 279-86.

60. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 111-113.

61. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952, p. 322.



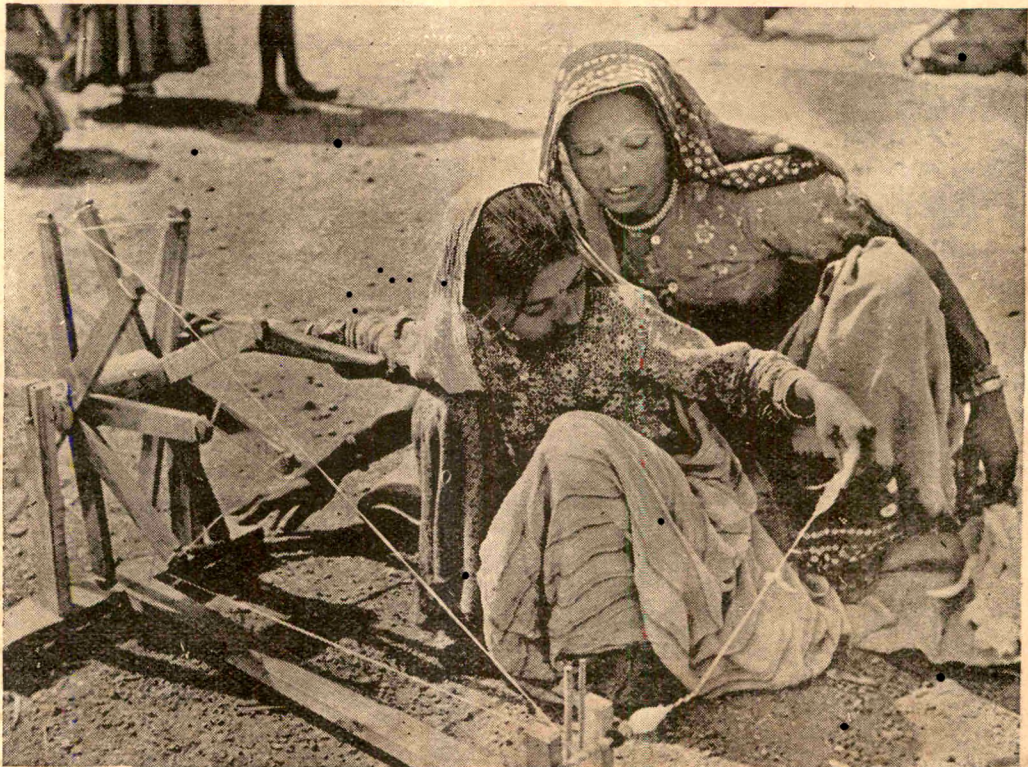
Prince Norodom Sihanouk Varman, ex-King and ex-Prime Minister of Combodia (*right*), halted at the Safdarjang Airport, New Delhi, on his way to Europe. Prime Minister Nehru along with Sm. Indira Gandhi and Sri V. K. Krishna Menon received him at the Airport



The Treaty of Cession of the Territory of the French Establishments in India consisting of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam was signed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in New Delhi on May 28



Naga Folk Dance by a Manipuri troupe



The spinning wheel

way as it considers proper," of course, consistently with the requirements of our Constitution. The court of law in India cannot interfere with this.

"A procedure laid down by the legislature may," observes⁶² Justice Das of the Supreme Court, "offend against the Court's sense of justice and fair play and a sentence provided by the legislature may outrage the Court's notions of penology, but that is a wholly irrelevant consideration. . . . The Constitution is supreme. The Court must take the Constitution as it finds it, even if it does not accord with its preconceived notions of what an ideal Constitution should be. Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any,

62. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, pp. 320-23.

lies in ultimate analysis in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself. . . . I am not convinced that there is any scope for the introduction into Article 21 of our Constitution of the doctrine of due process of law even as regards procedure.⁶³ I may or may not like it, but that is the result of our Constitution as I understand it."

The implication of this statement of Mr. Justice Das is very clear so far as the life and liberty of the individual in India are concerned, as contrasted with the corresponding position in the United States of America.

63. That is to say, not to speak of the substantive content of a legislation as in the case of *substantive due process* in the United States of America.

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GIFTS OF BUDDHISM

BY DR. (MRS.) SURAMA DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.,

Lucknow University

It was two thousand and five hundred years ago that Lord Buddha, or Prince Siddhartha, as he was known at the time, was born. He lived up to the age of eighty, and passed away into *nirvana*, the highest spiritual attainment he strove for. Eighty years look such a short span of time compared to two thousand and five hundred years, and how short is the latter in comparison to eternity. Again, an infinite range of time has no meaning if it is not filled up or lived through with depth of emotion, penetrative thought and creative activity. Mere passage of time has no significance. But when this ceaseless flow of time becomes impregnated with human thought and experience, only then it can have the fullness of meaning and value. It is not thus the mere ancient character of a certain point of time, or the far-away distance, of Buddha's life from us that can have any value. It is the rich and varied harvest of spiritual experience of Buddha himself, and of those who followed him, that has invested his memory with a special sanctity, and given a unique significance to the system of thought that he founded and which lived and grew

enormously during these two thousand and five hundred years.

MESSAGE OF FREEDOM

The personality of Buddha as a Prince, who gave up his kingdom and all usual sources of human pleasure and happiness for the quest of the great unknown, for unravelling the mystery of a Beyond, that rises above this life of ours and calls us on, stands before us with a rare charm and sacredness of its own. His later career, in which the young Prince becomes a Buddha, the Enlightened, and delivers his message of Freedom, freedom from all bondage of desire and ignorance and consequent sorrow, will never cease to be a source of inspiration, awe, and reverence to mankind. Still, it is not the person of Buddha that alone occupies our mind today; it is the fullness of his spiritual teachings which have unfolded themselves through hundreds of years, step by step, petal by petal, as it were, until they blossomed into the richness of beauty and grace of the entire range of Buddhist schools of thought, their varied contributions, intellectual, moral and

aesthetic, that command our deepest respect. We pay our homage to Buddha and the long series of holy men and saints who carried on his message, silently, continuously, and in all earnestness of spirit, and have left behind them a special heritage of Buddhistic thought. This has been possible because of a very unique tradition that has been preserved as regards the development of philosophy in India. No system of thought takes its stand on one thinker or preacher. One person might have started it, given the basic idea, but the great momentum of such an idea never ceases to exist with the thinker, but goes on forward and spins out in course of time a complex net-work of thought through the contribution of other thinkers around it. That is how we have schools of philosophy, and not one philosophy, that have been kept alive by fresh springs of thought flowing from individual minds through the ages.

The story of Buddha's renunciation is so well-known that it hardly needs to be retold or revived. The strength of his resolve to find a solution of the miseries of life, the wonderful arguments with which he met the objections of the prime-minister who was sent out to persuade him to come back to his home and kingdom are also well-known and remembered. What strikes us as unique, besides his great renunciation, is the boldness of his challenge to find out the truth, independent of all traditional preachings. His was the first message of free thought, liberation from scriptural instructions of the time, and he burnt with zeal and enthusiasm to solve the mystery of life, by his own efforts, by rational analysis, and had an indomitable will to conquer all obstructions of spiritual life; and the success that he achieved, paved the way to enlightenment for hundreds of others who followed him.

ORIGIN OF MISERY

His first analysis of the origin of misery led to the enunciation of the twelve-fold links of a cycle known as *bhavachakra*. He started thinking what being there what happens, and came to the conclusion that *avidya*, or ignorance, and *tanha* or greed, are the roots of all evils in life. This method of argument is known as *pratityasamutpada* and is sound from a scientific point of view. We can never know

what exactly the cause of a thing or an action is. All that we can say is that this being there that exists. With this is associated the idea that nothing exists permanently. Everything in this world comes into existence, produces something as effect, and dies out. Since the same thing cannot be produced a second time, the cause is also not the same. Effects are different, so are the causes. A cause is a complex moment, and so is the effect. There is a flowing series of complex, conscious units of experience, but no continuity of one and the same subject or object. It is the similarity of different states that create the illusion of identity. Memory is possible because the later moments being dependent on the previous moments, seem to inherit, as it were, the renewed tendencies similar to those of the past. Thus there is no self, but a series of discrete moments of conscious experience. This series is possible because of the greed, or desire, that creates the later moments of activity. If there is no desire, no false perspective, there will be no series of actions and experiences, the momentum of the flow will thus be destroyed, and existence will cease to continue. This final extinction of all experiences is *nirvana* after which there is no further striving or misery. The nature of this *nirvana* is inexpressible, unspeakable, but it is the going out of the world and the worldly, and is the highest good (*prapanchopasamam Sivam*).

EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH

In our country no intellectual speculations were ever empty and barren jugglery of intellect. If it was accepted as true that nothing was steady or permanent, and if it were true that the greed and false perspective were the cause of all misery, then it became binding that we should all live up to those findings. The whole life became a life of great experiment with truth, with the believers of Buddhism or other philosophical systems. Philosophy never was a theoretical speculation, it was a rationalisation of experience and a matter of active faith. Philosophy thus became dynamic in the life of thinkers and saints. It was a great heroism on their part to follow up the conclusion of rational analysis with a glowing faith. This faith has been beautifully compared to the loving mother who sustains and nourishes the spiritual life of people and leads them to the ultimate good

(Vyasaḥṣya on Yogasūtras : *Sa hi kalyāṇa-jānānīva yōgināṃ pati*). The great, fearless and sporting spirit with which the Buddhist monk experimented on their life and experience, its trial of passions and sorrows, speaks loudly from every page of the Buddhist texts.

From the point of metaphysical speculation, we have the four great schools of Buddhism : the Vaibhāsika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and the Sunyavāda. From another view-point, that is, whether individual liberation or that of all beings is the highest good, we have the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism. We have said before that besides the fundamental assumptions of momentariness and dependent origination, there is another important point on which all schools of Buddhism agree, and that is that moral purity is essential for all wisdom and enlightenment. There cannot be a wise man who is not saintly, no seer of Truth who is not holy, and there can be no efficiency without the purity of spirit. Our knowing must depend on our becoming purer in heart, on our unclouded emotions and thought. Along with subtle dialectical speculations of Buddhism, there is this greatest emphasis on moral life and values. After the Dhammapada in Pali, we have many other texts in Sanskrit of the Mahāyāna school which are full of deep and wise sayings which come out of the concrete experience of saints, as to how we can educate and improve ourselves.

We have interesting discussion in the *Viśuddhimagga* as to how we can control our anger and be forgiving to others. An intellectual analysis of a situation helps us to understand the action of a wicked man. We realise how man is merely one of the several factors in an event, and this understanding helps to ease the tension to a great extent. This text has encouraged a rational attitude towards understanding our enemies and forgiving them fully, laying the entire emphasis on our subjective outlook. If we are angry with our enemies, then we are doing the same wrong action as he has done; if we let our minds be troubled and vitiated, then we are fulfilling the object of the enemy and spoiling our own, namely, our equanimity. Everything being momentary, the wrong-doer and his wrongs are gone, so is our self, with whom can we be angry and who will be angry? This principle, of course, is intended

for the inner education of man; for any social duty, or otherwise, we have to fall back on the theory of series on which rests the moral responsibility of an action.

MORAL PROBLEMS

We do not have adequate time to deal with the moral problems as envisaged in Buddhist texts involving subtle psychological issues. There is a long and elaborate discussion on the effects of conscious and sub-conscious experience of a man on his own life and that of others in the *Abahidharmakośha* of Vasubandhu. It has been discussed how can an action, mental, vocal, or physical, leave its trace on one's own mind, creating or inducing a particular type of subjective disposition, and also affecting others. All our experiences create a history. We the individuals weave out a subjective history within, by our thoughts and actions and speech, as also create a history outside in the objective world, its situation and other minds. The conscious experience and its impressions are known as *viññapti* and the unconscious or sub-conscious impressions in the minds of a person, as also the changes in the environment unknown to himself are known as *avijñapti*. By conscious experience and action, a man thus modifies his own mind and the atmosphere (involving others) around him. This togetherness of the agent of an action, with others who are affected by it, is a very significant contribution of the Buddhist psychology. *Avijñapti* has also been regarded by some as intermediary between an action and its consequence. As regards the possibility of different levels of consciousness, there is a huge mass of materials available from Buddhist sources. But there is a marked difference in these from modern psychological approach. In our modern experiments, we take note of varied experience and reactions of adults and children more from the point of view of facts as they happen, and sometimes with a view to cure mental diseases. In Buddhism, there was investigation into the nature of certain types of mental facts, but the emphasis was on experimenting on these with a definite moral and spiritual objective, that is, of transforming one's whole personality in the light of the highest good as they conceived it. For instance, how to arrest the fluctuating mental states and passions; how to stop the

flow of one state into another; how to pass through different planes of consciousness, were of the highest interest. Enormous amount of details can be had from the different texts which had an important bearing on improving human character and moral elegance.

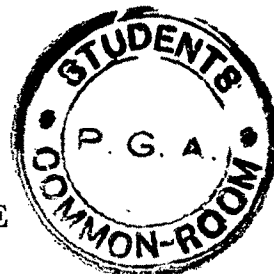
In the field of logic, contributions of Buddhism are very marked. Their theory about inference, elaborate forms of hypothetical-categorical syllogism (in the *Kathavatthu*, about the 3rd century B.C.), theory of universals and negation, theory of causation, have occupied a very important place in Indian thought and have, in many cases, anticipated the investigations of modern logic.

It is interesting to note that an argument adduced by Vachaspati in describing Buddhist idealistic position, and also by Buddhist logicians, was repeated centuries later by G. E. Moore in the nineteenth century. The illustration given was that since the blue colour and its awareness were inseparable, they were identical (*abhedo nīla-tad-dhīyoh*). In refuting idealism, Moore hit upon the same illustration. Buddhist theory of concept and intuition found its echo, hundreds of years later, in the Italian philosopher Croce. I may refer here to the International Congress, held at Naples, in 1924, where the late Professor S. N. Dasgupta read a paper on Croce and Buddhism, and showed that some fundamentals of the former's philosophical position had been anticipated by Buddhism centuries ago. Croce himself was in the Chair. At the end of the meeting, he remarked very gracefully that he had nothing to say but this: that he felt proud and happy that his line of thinking had coincided with such a great school of thought as Buddhism.

As we turn to the theory of art-creation, offered by Buddhism, we find in *Atthasakini*, the commentary of Buddhaghosa on the *Dhammasangani*, a very nice and elaborate discussion on the aesthetic state of the mind which creates the beautiful. It is the inner representation and mental creation of the artist that have been emphasised more than its translation in lines and forms in external form. Here again we find the position that intuitive perception of the beautiful and its creation are identical, which has been taken up by Croce in his work on Aesthetics.

Such is the varied nature of the gifts of Buddhism, in metaphysics, psychology, logic, ethics and aesthetics. The greatest of all these gifts is the gift of a nobler outlook and values in life as brought out by the Bodhisattvas and repeatedly emphasised by King Āśoka in his rock edicts. The Bodhisattvas strove all their lives for highest wisdom, but when the time came for the attainment of *nirvana*, they postponed it for the sake of leading others to the path of the good. The greatest message of Buddhism is love for humanity, freedom from all base passions and consequent misery. It is the love for all beings and their spiritual uplift that is the aim and ideal of the Bodhisattva. Thus we remember the prayer of saints, as given in the *Sikshasamuchchaya*, "Let all beings be happy, let them be without evil and enmity." "If there is anybody who speaks ill of me, who injures me, let him attain highest wisdom. Let me be of service to all, in whichever form may it be needed. Let me give light to the ignorant, shelter to the distressed, help to those who want it, and let me be a humble servant of all living beings."





NATIONALISATION AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE

By PROF. B. N. GIGRAS, M.A., Ph.D.

It is now generally conceded that a valid case for nationalisation arises not only in those sectors of a country's economy where the interests of a community are apparently paramount, e.g., defence and public utilities, but also where private enterprise is unenterprising or it has proved to be a misenterprise. The private misenterprise or unenterprise obviously includes cases where the private enterprise has failed to provide and maintain a minimum civilised standard of living to the workers or opportunities for their growing urge to share control and management of the concerns in which they work and derive their livelihood from and thus has failed to take proper care of the community's human capital. The State has a right to control the private enterprise, and in case of incorrigibility, to take it over to maintain and improve upon its material and human resources. The record of private enterprise, even in U.S.A. and U.K. which have achieved phenomenal economic progress is a growing chasm between Labour and Capital, and exploitation of the former at the hands of the latter, till Labour has organised itself into powerful unions and has forced Capital to come to terms with it. The employers have invariably opposed and resisted the development of trade unionism among workers and the growth of labour legislation. The control and regulation of the private enterprise by the State has failed to bring about equality of income to the extent achieved by socialist countries like the U.S.S.R. Thus the case for nationalisation from Labour's point of view arises on two grounds. In the first place, under private enterprise the workers suffer economic exploitation. "They are housed, fed and clothed worse than they need be if the society were differently organised." Secondly, the workers have to act according to the whims of their master. They resent the industrial despotism characteristic of the private enterprise. Under it they are reduced to the position of wage-slaves. Measures of co-operation between workers and employers like Works Committees and Joint Councils at different levels and profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes depend for their successful working upon the employers' goodwill and their co-operation. They are at best palliatives. True industrial democracy is possible only under nationalisation.

A worker in a public undertaking stands on different footing from a worker in a private undertaking. In the former he is both a master and a servant, master as a citizen of the country and servant

as an employee of the undertaking.¹ As such the antagonism between Labour and Capital—the owners and the employees—is likely to be narrowed down, if not disappear altogether. It will at least lose its sting. No longer shall Labour be working for the private gain of somebody, but for the community's benefit. This in itself will have healthy effect on industrial relations and labour productivity. Labour shall be a partner and a co-trustee in the nationalised industries. The State would look after Labour's welfare and provide for adequate wages and healthy working conditions. The human capital will as much be the subject of its care as the material capital. Labour-management co-operation machinery will be perfected at various stages so that an ordinary worker would have a voice in the running of his concern. "Industrial democracy" will thus become a reality. Nationalisation is, therefore, the ultimate objective of all progressive trade unions in the country.²

Nationalisation, however, brings its own problems that affect industrial relations vitally. In the first place, the public judges the success of nationalised industries from the point of view, among other factors, of peaceful industrial relations. A public enterprise, unlike a private one, has to live in the fierce light of publicity. Since it is the property of the nation, every one, the consumer, the tax-payer, the citizen, the Government, the Parliament—all regard it as worthy of notice and are anxious to know about its working and its results.³ Secondly, nationalisation tends towards monopolistic organisations, and as such industrial disputes in industrialised industries cause more serious consequences than in private enterprise. Thirdly, trade unions expect better working conditions and treatment under nationalised industries than they receive under private enterprise. Not merely that, everyone insists upon the Government being a model employer. In other words, the social costs which a public enterprise has to bear are often much higher than those likely

1. *The First Five-Year Plan: Planning Commission, the Government of India*, p. 580.

2. Vide Clause 1(ii) in the Constitution of the Indian National Trade Union Congress—"To place industry under national ownership and control in suitable form . . . in the quickest time." Also object No. VI in the Constitution of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha—"To organise for and promote the establishment of a democratic Socialist Society in India."

3. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership* by Edward Goodman, p. 85.

to be imposed on a corresponding private concern.⁴ Fourthly, it is through a change of attitude among labour that nationalisation expects to enhance the efficiency of the enterprise. Workers have to be induced to work harder than they do under private enterprise. But habits and attitudes die hard and take a long time to change.

"Only a strong moral motive based on a clear and dynamic conception of man's duties as well as his rights, to God, his fellow men, can replace the usual motives of greed and fear under private enterprise."⁵

Fifthly, nationalisation results in the centralisation of authority, one of whose consequences is the remoteness of those who decide policy from those who carry out the decision. Departmental managers, even when authorised to do so, are chary to use their power in redressing the grievances, and meeting the claims of workers. This results in considerable industrial discontent. Lastly, Labour is tempted to make in a public enterprise extravagant demands and the management is inclined to meet them partly because the loss is less personal, and partly because of the serious consequences of strike following refusal in a large monopoly.

"Accordingly, a tendency may well develop for Labour and Capital management combined, to put up costs and hence, prices, as against the consumer."⁶

Let us see how nationalisation has affected industrial relations in the United Kingdom. From 1945, when the Labour Party came into power till 1951 when it lost elections in favour of the Conservatives, five major industries were nationalised, viz., coal, transport, gas, electricity, iron and steel and civil aviation.⁷ Their administration has been entrusted to independent corporations. In each of the Nationalisation Acts there is a section placing certain duties on the Board to establish machinery for negotiation and consultation in matters concerning constitutions of employment, etc. Nationalisation in Great Britain has not come up to the expectations of the ideologists of socialism. It has not reduced inequality of income, and has left unaffected the difference between the incomes of the manual worker and the high executive.⁸

4. *Report on the Efficient Conduct of State Enterprise* by A. D. Gorwala, p. 8.

5. *Problems of Nationalised Industry*: W. A. Robson. General Conclusions by the Editor. A conservative critic opposing nationalisation points out, "It is folly to base an economy and social policy on a change in human nature for which no warrant exists and for which the people have not been educated."

6. Gorwala's *Report*, p. 26.

7. The Conservative Government has since denationalised transport and iron and steel industries.

8. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership* by Edward Goodman, p. 86.

9. *Ibid.*

The socialists' hopes of greater production and larger profits have not been realised. Nationalisation has not noticeably ennobled motives; the worker remains no less responsive to the size of the pay-pocket.⁹ On the contrary, Labour has become turbulent in the nationalised industries. Nationalisation led to diminished production in coal-mining and a complete breakdown of power in 1946. B.O.A.C. lost £12 million in the first year.

"One of the headaches of the British Government has been to keep labour, conscious of its new found power, from abusing it, to find a new incentive to replace the old incentives of competition and fear."

It is, however, the considered opinion of Professor Cole that the coal industry has improved not only in technical efficiency, but also in its relations with the work-people; much remains to be done but the National Coal Board has unquestionably made important headway in giving the miner a new deal.¹⁰ But Professor Cole has admitted that the change in the status of labour and behaviour of management in coal mines is a consequence not so much of nationalisation as such, but of full employment and of nationalisation under a Labour Government. According to him, the new spirit of industrial relations is not deeply rooted.¹¹ As many as 6,000 unofficial strikes occurred in the coal industry between the Vesting Day and December, 1950. But this in itself proves nothing. Two things have to be borne in mind while explaining such a heavy record of industrial unrest in the coal-mining industry. First, strikes might have been, who knows, larger and severer under the old regime. Secondly, "we must also remember that industrial change, as any industrial psychologist would tell us, is not only the opportunity for consultations and for co-operation in solving new problems, but also productive of unrest, of maladjustments and of the other spiritual disorders which are supposed to be behind strikes."¹² Strikes in the coal mines may be due to the speed with which the Board is going ahead with its schemes of reorganisation. It may, therefore, be concluded in the words of Mr. Edward Goodman:

"It is only reasonable caution to add that while the failure of nationalisation to work immediate miracles is no proof of ultimate incapacity, that capacity itself remains to be proved."¹³

India has not made much headway in the matter of nationalisation of the industrial sector of the country's economy. State enterprise predominantly confined to sectors where public welfare or security is dominant. It is only recently that the State has stepped

10. Vide his article in the *Problems of Nationalised Industry*, edited by W. A. Robson, p. 129.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

12. *Industrial Democracy and Nationalisation* by Clegg, p. 99.

13. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership*, p. 87.

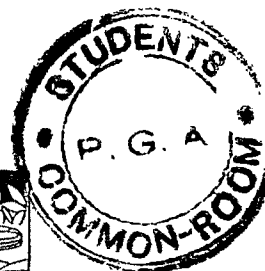
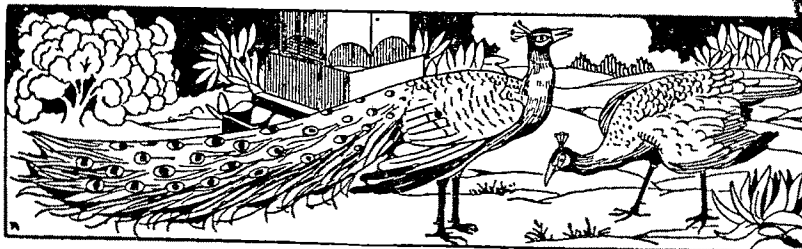
into the industrial sector as owner and controller of business undertakings. Railways and the Post and Telegraph are the older public enterprises, in which the primary motive behind State ownership and operation is public security and welfare. Air Transport and Life Insurance are the established industries which have been nationalised because of 'misenterprise' (and also to some extent of 'unenterprise') on the part of private capitalists. As a matter of fact, we are industrially so backward and our progress in this respect so slow that we want as much of the public enterprise as of the private enterprise. It is only in a State of well-developed industrial economy and political institutions that the State thinks of superseding private enterprise. In an under-developed economy like ours the State should content itself by effectively controlling the private enterprise rather than replacing it in the general industrial sector of a country. Great Britain, where such well-organised industries as coal mining and iron and steel have been nationalised, can claim to have a long history of running over 150 years of industrial development, political democracy and trade union movement. In India, the State has started to extend the public sector by establishing new enterprises especially the key and the basic industries. How has nationalisation affected industrial relations in the public undertakings in India? In this connexion it has to be noted that all the public undertakings except railways and railway collieries and Posts and Telegraphs have been started or taken over under State ownership and control very recently. Industrial relation in them have not assumed any shape for any comments to make. It may, however, be observed that the first effect of nationalisation has been that Labour conscious of being owner of an industry and of the likelihood that the State will meet their demands readily, is encouraged to put forward high demands and fight for them. A tendency towards

voluntary settlement of industrial disputes by collective bargaining is also discernible. For instance, in 1951-52 out of a total of 893 labour disputes in the State establishments, 808 were settled mutually and only 9 were referred for adjudication. The progressive growth of unity among the workers' organisations in the State undertakings is typified by the amalgamation of the Indian Railwaymen's Federation and the Indian National Railway Workers' Federation, since the State took over the railway systems under its control and management. Thus, nationalisation encourages workers to form big unions to deal with big managements.

The fundamental labour problem of the nationalised industry, as the experience of Great Britain, as also our own, clearly demonstrates, "consists partly of inculcating all who work in the organisations with a spirit of public service, partly of permeating the lower ranks of the industry with the radical change of outlook which has taken place at the top, partly of integrating and personifying the entire authority of the Corporation at the lower levels of management."¹⁴

Nationalisation will yield the benefits claimed for it by the Socialists when the whole spirit and the attitude of labour undergoes a change. The difficulty in the way is the manner in, and the conditions under which, trade unionism has developed. The trade unions under the capitalistic order of society have historically developed as organs for defending and improving the workers' standard of living. This has vitiated their entire outlook and strategy. For better industrial relations in nationalised industries, the workers "need to abandon their defensive, negative, demanding attitude and to display qualities of constructive leadership, understanding and co-operation with the management."

14. *Problems of National Industry*, p. 341.



THE POET AND THE PUBLIC MIND

By G. S. FRASER*

A month or two ago, Mr. W. H. Auden after a briskly contested election, became Professor of Poetry at Oxford, in succession to another notable poet who began to make a name in the 1930s, Mr. Cecil Day Lewis. The particular interest of this contest lay in the vigour with which he was supported and opposed. In university circles there are still many people who dislike Mr. Auden for three reasons. In the 1930s, he was a leading "radical" poet outspoken both in his opposition to Fascism and in his criticism of British domestic and foreign politics. Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War he went to the United States, where he remained during that war; and he is now an American citizen. (He is no longer a "political" poet, but writes now from what might be called a broadly Christian standpoint). There are those who disapprove of his politics in the 1930s; and those (not necessarily the same persons) who disapprove of his absence in the United States during Great Britain's "finest hour," and of his decision to renounce his British subjecthood. There are finally those who, recognising his talent, deplore the use he has made of it. It is a tribute to Mr. Auden's great gifts that he triumphed, in his election, over these three layers of opposition. There is, perhaps, a fourth layer. There are critics—of the school of Dr. Leavis, of Cambridge—who, not deploring his "modernism," and recognising his gifts, feel that a sort of undergraduate cleverness has prevented Mr. Auden from ever "maturing" properly.

Mr. Auden's latest book, *The Shield of Achilles*, is a volume essentially of occasional poems—many of the best of them being exercises in light verse—without any pronounced unity of theme. There is perhaps no single poem in *The Shield of Achilles* as beautiful as the best poem, *In Praise of Limestone*, in *Naves*, and there are some poems that have rather a perfunctory air. Yet it is impossible to read *The Shield of Achilles*, without becoming aware both of the extraordinary flexibility of Mr. Auden's technique and the range of his mind. Mr. Auden is both an oddly

impersonal and an oddly unsensuous poet. His own feelings do not often inspire him to poetry, nor do the visual aspects of the outward world. He is a poet of thought and of moral intuition, whose most profound concern is with what might be called "the human condition" in general. He uses contemporary ideas poetically; in the 1930s, he drew a great deal on Freud and Marx; in the 1950s, he draws on modern theologians like Niebuhr. But man in history, man's tragic predicament, and noble responsibility, in history, remains his central subject. The kind of human concern that moves him finds an excellent expression in the strong title poem of his new volume:

Out of the air a voice without a face.
Proved by statistics that some cause, was just
In tones as dry and level as the place:
No one was cheered and nothing was discussed;
Column by column in a cloud of dust
They marched away enduring a belief
Whose logic brought them, somewhere else, to grief.

It is in this moral realism, as it might be called, that his verse is strongest. The set of poems, *Horae Canonicae*, at the end of this new volume, which are more definitely religious in intention, are also more uncertain in tone. The lighter poems, sometimes decline from wit or gaiety to mere facetiousness. Yet this remains a much more impressive volume than most people can write nowadays. Mr. Auden's appointment at Oxford is, from an English point of view, to be welcomed. Both his technical mastery and his deep moral seriousness are likely to give young English poets a "lead" which at the moment they have real need of; he may gather again round him, as in the 1930s, a band of his disciples. And it is possible that, if he gains strength by touching his home ground again, his own poetry may benefit by acquiring a warmth, a sense of a particular time, place, and setting, which it very vividly had in the 1930s, but which recently it has tended to lose.

* Mr. Fraser is the author of *The Modern Writer and His World* and two volumes of poetry. He is a regular broadcaster and contributor to London literary journals.





The Statue of Lenin by the River Neva near the Leningrad Station

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By NARENDRA DEV

I

THE Indian delegates to the World Peace Assembly, held at Helsinki, Finland, were all cordially invited to visit the United States of Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia.

During the three weeks of our extensive tour in the Soviet land, from all that we observed there, as also from what we gathered from our intimate contact with things around, we were not only very much surprised, but felt a little ashamed at having believed so long in all that the propagandists of the Anti-Soviet Camp tried to instil in us. They scattered all over India such tendentious news as would lead people to believe that the men and women of U.S.S.R. were groaning under a system of mechanical regimentation, that they had no individual freedom, that outsiders were not allowed to see what they would like to see, but that they had to be satisfied with a strictly conducted official tour, that it was a cursed land where the people were living in perpetual darkness behind an Iron Curtain.

They disseminated such strange stories as the following: In Russia religion was a taboo. Marriage was no longer a solemn and sacred thing; it had degenerated into a sort of companionship for an uncertain period, for it could be broken off at the sweet will of either party, if he or she felt tired of living together. The issue of any of this temporary companionship were taken charge of by the State, as orphans. The people there, had no home of their own, neither any opportunity of enjoying the happiness of a family life.

The propagandists asserted: There was no freedom of the Press, newspapers and journals were

not allowed to criticise any action likely to be detrimental to the interest of the public. Even the writers of the Soviet Union were subservient to the State and they had no liberty to write or publish any book until and unless it was approved by the State authorities. There were no distinction between the intelligentsia and labour. The people were all unhappy and deserted their country whenever they got an opportunity. The police and the military were a terror to the general public of the U.S.S.R. The concentration camps were nightmares to them. The factories and workshops were no better than gaols, where labourers were treated, as if undergoing a term of rigorous imprisonment. It is needless to make the list longer.

At the very outset I would like to declare that, the "Iron Curtain" is a myth. No such rigid system prevails anywhere here to shut out anything from the on-lookers. We found the people of the U.S.S.R. very happy and contented. They have got no complaint against the Union Government, which they themselves set up through their own elected representatives to the City Soviets and through the City Soviets to the Supreme Soviets, who administer the Union Government.

All the workers in the industrial concerns of Soviet Russia are directly under their own Trade Unions. The State officers of the Supreme Council, the ministry, the police and the military authorities are all composed of the elected members of the people. Under the circumstances, no anti-Government group at all exists there.

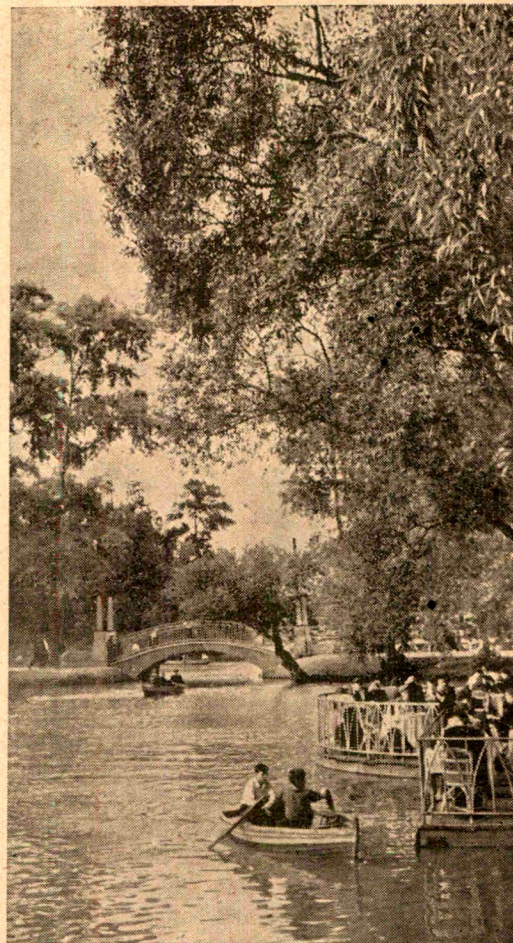
Men and women of the USSR are free to profess any religion. People may eat and drink and dress as they like. They are allowed to read any book on any subject that interests them. We have not come across any such person who is deprived of his individual freedom. As to the question regarding conducted tour, we got our first surprise when our hosts asked us to give them a list of places and things we would like to visit. They left us free to draw up our own tour programme.

At Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad and Kiev, the principal town of Ukraine, there were some places and things of common interest to all, such as the Kremlin Palace, the Redfort in the Red-Square, where within a beautifully erected mausoleum the bodies of Lenin and Stalin are carefully preserved, the great Lenin Library of Moscow, the Metro underground Electric Railway, the Gorky Park, the "Smolney" House at Leningrad, from where Lenin first directed the Revolution, the



The Gateway and the Victory Monument of Leningrad

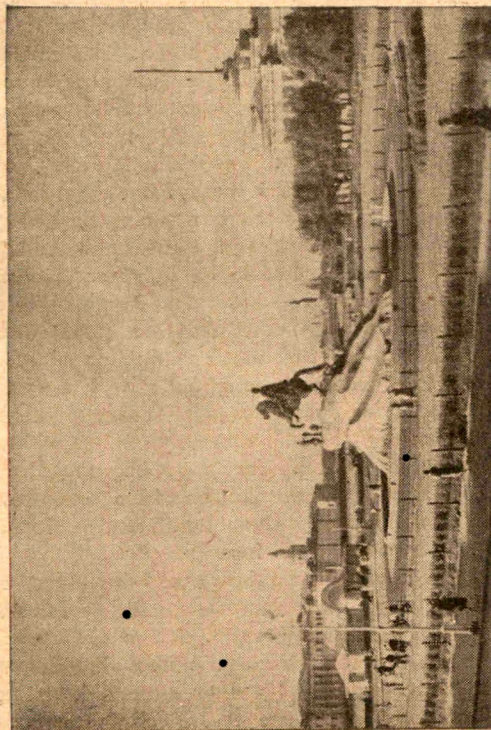
The Indian delegates were composed of people from all walks of life, and naturally their interests were diverse. The doctors expressed their desire to visit the big hospitals; the lawyers, the Courts of Justice, the engineers, the public works. The representatives for the Gandhi Sevashram asked to see the Gowshalas in the villages. Men from Vinobaji's Bhodan-movement organisation wanted to see the agricultural enterprises of the collective farms and their land settlements. The business magnets stood for factories, workshops and heavy industries, the educationists for schools and Universities, the litterateurs wished to meet the writers and visit the libraries. The scientists desired to have a look at the Nuclear Energy Institute, which was so long a top-secret of the Soviet Government. To our great astonishment our hosts readily agreed to comply with all our requests, gladly took us to all the places and showed everything to our entire satisfaction.



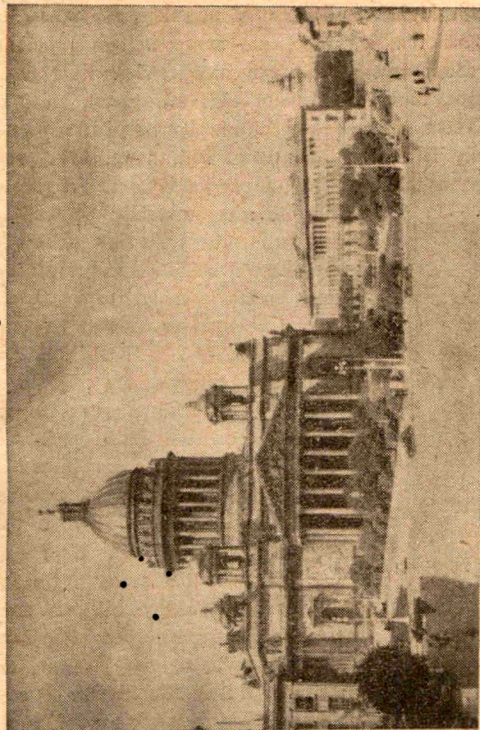
Gorky Cultural Park, Moscow

Battleship *Aurora* that first started bombarding the Royal Palace from the river Neva, the Summer Palace and Winter Palace of the Czars, the museums, art galleries, cultural parks, the Moscow Art Theatre, Bolsoi Theatre, Lenin Theatre and other places of amusements, such as the Puppet Dance, Opera, Ballet and Concerts, where all the delegates went together and enjoyed immensely.

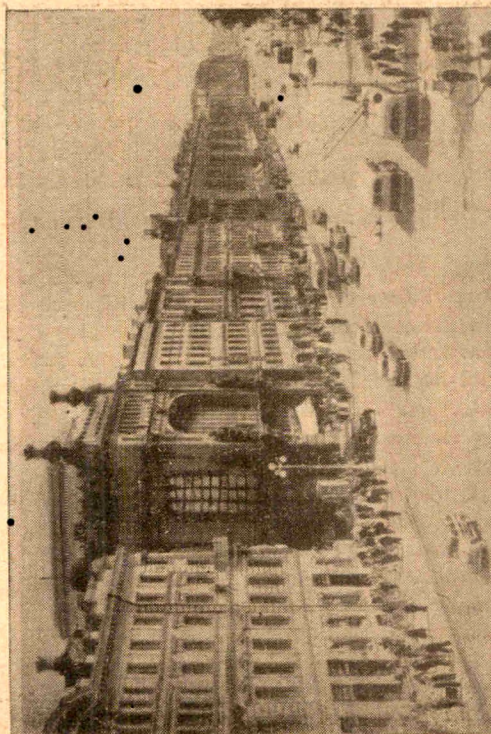
Next we visited the Great Agricultural Exhibition of Moscow. It had been running for over a year and a half. The Exhibition ground covers several square miles in area, with beautifully laid roads, gardens, flower-beds, fountains, artistic statues and decorated light-posts. All



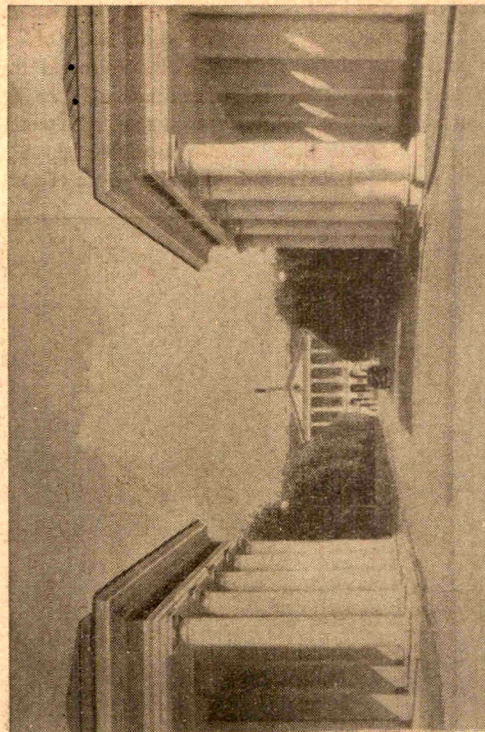
The Statue of Peter the Great in the Leningrad Square



A Church in Leningrad



A Street in Leningrad



The first rendezvous of the Russian Revolutionaries—"Smolney"

the sixteen Soviet Republics have joined in a competitive spirit in this Exhibition, vying with one another in putting up their best show. We could only manage to go through six of the sixteen pavilions erected there by each of the Republics, which can not only be described as manifestation of their wonderful architectural concepts but also all their artistic faculties; these six pavilions contained industrial products from Georgia,

The old villages have all been turned into beautiful cities with high metalled roads ingeniously planned, on both sides of which there are many well-built palatial houses, shady trees and ornamented electric light posts. Tram cars, buses, and motor cars are plying on every street. There are cinemas, opera houses, theatres, and artistically laid-out public parks with flower beds, trees with green foliage, and fancy fountains. There are public libraries, museums as well as collective farms, industrial factories, hydro-electric stations, railways, telephones, posts and telegraphs, Radio broadcasting stations, nursery schools, Kindergartens, Children's Homes, high schools and colleges, etc. All kinds of amenities of modern town-life are available there. We found men and women of these Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union steadily marching forward to an advanced stage of culture and civilisation.

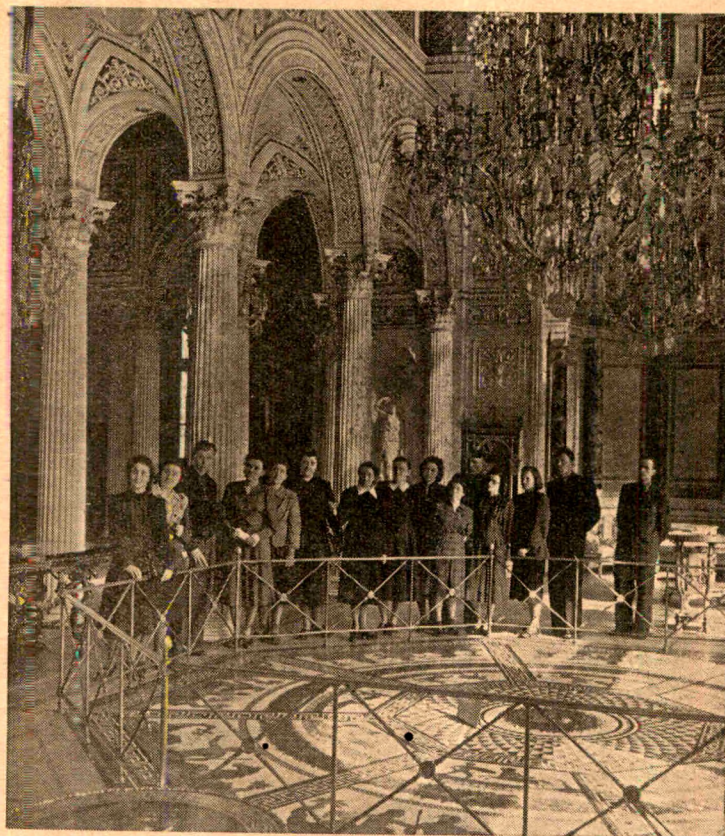
We flew back to Moscow again and after passing a couple of days more there, visiting some other important places, we went to the Ukraine, the granary of Russia. But, before I write anything about the Ukraine, I would like to say something more about what we saw in Leningrad and Moscow.

When we went to visit a yarn-factory at Leningrad, one of the members of our Indian delegation indiscreetly asked the manager as to the pay he gets for his job. This question was put to the Manager when he was gladly and with commendable patience answering many of our relevant and irrelevant questions. From our enquiries it transpired that a skilled labourer can earn two to three thousand roubles per month and an unskilled

hand about five hundred to one thousand roubles. The Manager draws four thousand a month. Besides their pay the workers get more than one bonus during the year according to extra output in their production. They also get one month's leave on full pay. If a worker desires to spend his holidays at a rest-house or health-resort, the Trade Union will arrange it for him without any obligation. He and his family get free medical aid and the children get free education for a seven-year course. The workers get cheap lunch at the factory canteen and standard cloth from the stores.

As to marriages, we found these were being solemnised either in the Church or at the Marriage Registrar's office. Young folks prefer the Registrar's office to a Church.

We met a very few police and military officers during our tour in the Soviet land and we came to know that cases of abuse of power are entirely absent there.



The Hall in the interior of the Palace 'Hermitage' in Leningrad (now Museum)

Kazakhstan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Azar Baizan and Tajakistan. This exhibition interested us so much that we felt a strong desire of visiting the above places, and as soon as it was conveyed to our hosts, all arrangements were made forthwith. Soviet planes took us to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajakistan, one after another, and we got every facility to move about and see everything we wanted to see in all these places.

People who inhabit these places are mostly Moslems. They were almost illiterate and very backward people, who had been for centuries deprived of the light of modern civilisation. Women were confined within the Zenana under a strict Purdah system. But, we were taken aback to find that, through the influence of the Soviet regime, their life and society have undergone a complete and wonderful change, which can be well described as a magical transformation.

Children are taken care of by the parents at home as well as at schools, as every school has a Parents Committee who often visit them.

In case of workers where both father and mother go to the factory, they leave their children to the care of the Nursery or Kindergarten school every morning and take them back in the evening on their way home. The workers have all been provided with good quarters at a minimum rent. None of them are afraid of hard work for long hours. They are very sincere in discharging their duties to their country and nation.

Soviet Russia has entirely solved their unemployment problem. Small joint families with brothers and sisters, and old mother or father still exist there. The various amenities provided for the workers of the Soviet Union are worth imitating by those who are eager to increase their production. We cannot but applaud the success of the Soviet Union in raising the dignity of labour. There is no inferiority or superiority complex in their society. Money is not at all the criterion for judging one's position in society. It is the qualification of a person that only counts.

The intellectuals of the Soviet land appeared to be a privileged class whose income reaches fifteen to twenty thousand roubles per month. They have motor-cars and wear best dresses. But still they are not proud

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ESSENTIAL OILS—A NATIONAL ASSET

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE, I.O.S.

INTRODUCTION

"SELL by smell" is a well-known slogan in the commercial world. Is it by accident that this slogan was coined? No. It is based on the role that the odour plays in mental dynamics. The nerves carrying the message of smell are directly connected with the brain. Hence, the sense of smell has a definite advantage over other senses. It is a well-known fact that memory associations connected with odour are deep-seated. The odour of perfume can influence that part of the brain which is not under conscious control, which is linked up with our emotions and moods. The sensations pertaining to smell are subjective.

DEFINITION

It is because of this factor probably that nature abounds in aromatic articles. Various kinds of flowers and sandal-wood are conspicuous by their abundance



The Moscow Hotel

of their high position. We found them dining on the same table with their chauffeurs. They even help their valets light cigarettes. Men and women are regarded as equals in every respect. They enjoy an equal status in all affairs, State or industrial. We found here many girls doing heavy and hard work generally entrusted to young men of nerve in other countries. The women workers of Soviet Russia execute their duties in a wonderfully perfect way.



in India. But surprisingly enough in addition to those from which a gentle breeze carry a pleasing odour to our romance and delight, there are many more which have a prime content which carries that pleasing odour. It is this 'prime content' which gives the peculiar odour a particular article has. This prime content is hidden in each article in the shape of an oil; as this oil forms the 'essence' of all odours and perfumes, the oil is technically known as Essential Oil.

GENESIS

Human beings are associated with the odour sensation from the very dawn of life on our mother earth. And it is no wonder that we are in love with it. As all articles in nature are seasonal and as these could not be controlled to give us pleasure at our will and command ingenious human brain started to devise ways and means to extract the 'essential oils'

to be used, independent of nature itself, at times and occasions at our will.

Although it is presumed that the use of perfumes originated with religious observances where fragrant incense was burnt by man from ancient times at the altar of gods, yet in the opinion of many no page in human history antedates the use of perfumes and cosmetics. Although aromatic articles play an impor-

scious about this importance. But like many others this particular branch cannot thrive unless it is tackled by the scientists and the industrial world jointly. Guided by this urge a symposium was organised at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, in early October, 1955. In this symposium some one hundred representatives took active part covering both private and public sectors. Certain foreign countries also

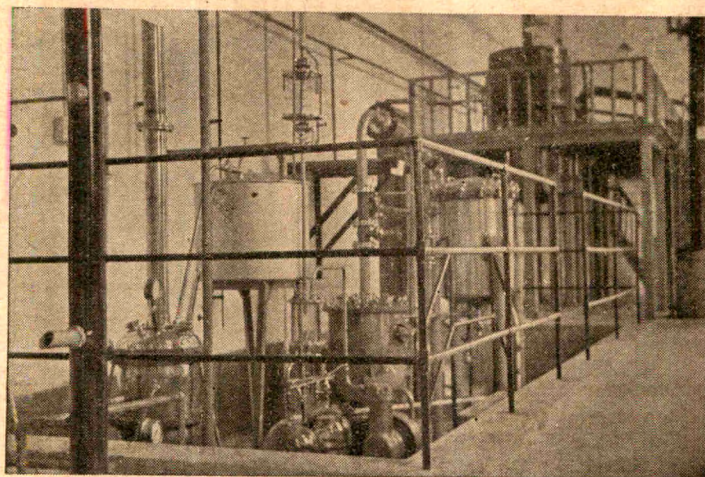
took great interest in the symposium and sent their products and representatives. An Exhibition was organised in this connection showing the different types of essential oils and aromatic chemicals and the various uses to which these are put. It was quite illuminating and I wondered how the general public was out of touch with an item of national concern. Dr. Sadgopal, the officer in charge of the Chemical Branch of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, and one of the figures behind the symposium in general and the exhibition in particular was explaining with great care the various implications of this branch of knowledge and its economy. While seeing the exhibition I came

across a few pairs of cups and saucers. As expected these were from Bengal Potteries Ltd. Dr. Sadgopal showed me two different cups with golden border lines and asked me, "Do you find any difference between these two?" I could not notice any.

"For this purpose," he explained, "some solvent oil is required which has been an imported item. After trial we have found that an indigenous product is not inferior in any way. This will save a lot of money going out of the country's border—detrimental to the benefits of our own countrymen."

Reversing the cups I could see the cards indicating in one the use of the imported oil, and in the other the indigenous oil. As essential oils form the basis of perfumes and products thereof, it has opened tremendous possibilities in Indian economy. Hundreds of tons of raw materials go out of the country every year and come back in the shape of finished products draining our country's purse several times. But strangely enough the branch of perfumery in Indian industry had been a thriving concern in the past, and has dwindled, as usual, almost to nothing through our own fault. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, in his inaugural address of the aforesaid symposium, remarks:

"There is considerable evidence to show that the production and use of perfumes and aromatics had developed to a considerable degree in our



Sectional view of the essential oils processing laboratory, C.F.P. Branch, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun

tant part in thanks-offerings for anointing and embalming, and for rendering the air in places of worship pleasant-smelling, yet the application of essential oils and aromatic chemicals extends to many more branches of human activities. In addition to perfumes and cosmetics the essential oils are required for the preparation of insecticides and have become today indispensable in many other industries—rubber, plastics, textiles, paper, ink, paint, boot polish, glue, soap, writing pads, and so many others. It is impossible to stand near a tannery for the offensive smell, but addition of the essential oils and aromatic chemicals masks this bad odour to make these usable. If you open an ink-bottle of a reputable firm it will give you a pleasing smell. On the other hand, if it happens to be one of X or Y make then in many cases you will like to throw away the bottle the moment you open the cork for use. Well, it actually happened to me. I regretted buying the unknown make.

APPLICATION AND ECONOMICS

The application of essential oils is so varied and extensive that it is sufficient to state that there are very few branches of industry which do not derive benefit out of the essential oils and aromatic chemicals in one way or the other. It will, therefore, be clear that the essential oils and aromatic chemicals are very important from our national point of view. There are signs that the people are becoming con-

country from long time past. Famous travellers of those days like Fahien have described this country as the land of aromatic flowers, fruits, woods, roots, resins, and grasses. Of these, perhaps the best known had been sandal-wood and its oil, as they have been favourites from time immemorial in the world of perfumes. In fact, there would appear to have been a regular barter trade in sandal-wood from ancient days when caravans carried the precious wood from India even to Egypt, Greece, and Rome. India came to be known for her high-class perfumes; and centres like Kanauj, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Lucknow, Poona, and Bhandarpur also acquired reputation in the past for their perfumery products."

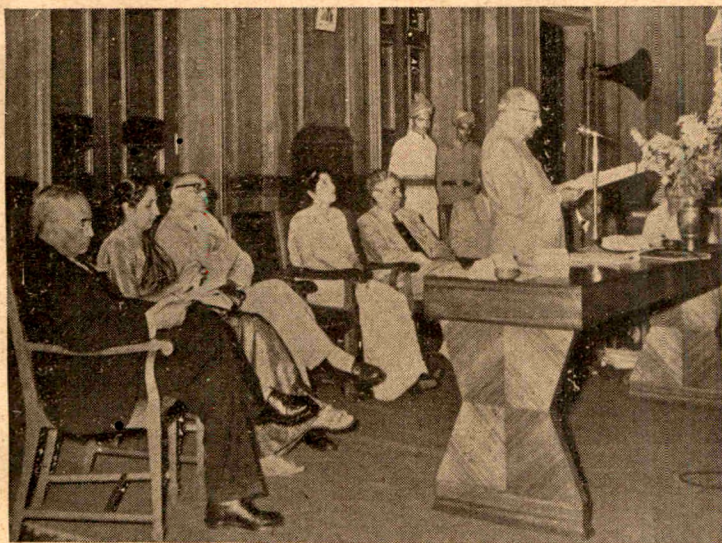
essential oils and aromatic chemicals have on Indian economy. Because, what we sell as raw materials come back in the shape of finished products costing us several times more than what we sold for.

Approximate figures of the Import during three years—1951-54

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
Quantity (lbs.)	1,009,762	831,037	1,231,113
Value (Rs.)	12,905,855	7,736,970	8,920,238

Approximate figures of the Export during the four years—1951-55

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Qty. (lbs.)	1,288,751	1,153,409	1,602,119	1,935,680
Value (Rs.)	21,069,022	11,247,054	12,671,267	23,412,631



Union Minister for Agriculture, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, delivering his inaugural address

In spite of the above how is it that we have relegated such an important matter to the importer of perfumery products? Of the many factors, a lack of desire to know other persons' taste and to improve matters is mainly responsible for this downfall. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh further states in his address:

"Like many of our old habits in most respects our sense of smell has also undergone a change which gradually discarded the *Otto-Dilbahar* and took to *Coty's Chypre*. Our manufacturers, however, like the more conservative sections of our society never imagined that our noses would refuse to smell the strong rose and *khus khus* and go in for the comparatively soft-smelling Persian perfumes. The natural result followed and many of these lost their trade."

The following tables of export and import of raw materials will indicate the economic importance the

Thinking about our past achievements and possibilities of the future, our task is then not merely to arrest decay of our old activities, but to harness the country's potentials for an all-round expansion. This cannot be achieved by mere thinking about our golden past which has crippled us in many respects. What is really needed is the concerted action of the public and the private sector.

SURVEY—RESEARCH

The essential oils and their important aromatic chemicals are mostly obtained from plants, grass, and roots thereof. It is, therefore, of prime importance that a thorough survey of what are available should be made so that we know where we stand. In many instances certain vital plants may not be available at



Dr. Sadgopal explaining to Dr. P. S. Deshmukh the latest specimens of packing materials employed in essential oils and perfumery industry

all, or what is available may not yield as much as the imported variety. For instance, Patchouli (*Pogostemon cablin*) yields an oil of high perfumery value imported from Malaya and Indonesia. The imported varieties yield more not only in quantity but in quality also than the not-very good indigenous variety. Essential Oil Research Committee of the C.S.I.R. thinks that yields from the imported variety can be stepped up by improving the cultural method. Once the survey

Ways and means must be found out to conserve these and encourage its employment for manufacture of essential oils as a profitable deal, because certain factories carrying out work in this respect are complaining of the uneconomic character of the manufacture carried in the present line.

Apart from survey and intensive cultivation, it is of prime importance that research work is conducted of the products, not only for maintenance of the standard but to enhance their quality and quantity in all directions. Research organisations are therefore as much valuable as the natural products themselves. It is strange to note that although the forests of India have been the main source of supply of many plants yielding essential oils, yet the Forest Research Institute in Dehra Dun could not afford to give it sufficient importance for more than one reason and has been dealing with it only as a 'Minor Forest Product.' But, it is gratifying to note that with the increasing activities in all directions this 'Minor' has not escaped notice. Research facilities have, therefore, been remodelled and new plants installed. In addition to the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, there are other research organisations to whose credit goes much good work, namely, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore,



Union Minister for Agriculture, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, cutting the tape at opening of the Essential Oils Exhibition

is complete the next step would be to chalk out a progressive planning for execution. Because, although many of the plants and grasses grow in our forests and meadows naturally, yet there are many which require to be cultivated intensively. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh's remarks are worth mentioning :

"It is recognised that incidence of plants yielding essential oils is very scattered in the country and the efforts to cultivate them intensively have up-to-date been on but a limited scale. There is much scope for improvement not only by adopting regular methods of conservation and collection but also by raising plantations or by improving the stocking of the desired species in the natural crops."

In addition, there are many other sources from which raw materials can be obtained, viz., peels of oranges, certain saw dusts. These saw dusts after extraction of the oil can easily be put to other uses to which these are now put without any loss in its use value from the consumers' point of view. The orange-peels produce essential oils of high grade, but think of the great waste that we make every year.

C. S. I. R., its Essential Oil Research Committee and other Institutions and Laboratories. Private firms such as, Calcutta Chemicals Co. of Calcutta; Gupta & Co. of Delhi, Standard Essential Distillery of Kanpur, and Tata Oil Mills Co., have shown commendable enterprise in developing the commercial production and utilisation of the essential oils. It is constantly reported that these concerns are not prosperous. Such complaints are mainly due to inferior products and to foreign competition both of which are in the ultimate analysis interdependent. That is to say, if good things are available out of indigenous source at competitive price, there is no reason why imports cannot be minimised if not stopped altogether.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE—CREATION OF STANDARDS

Like everything else in the commercial world, the creation of public confidence is of prime importance. In other words, reliable and dependable standards should be formulated for the essential oils and aromatic chemicals so that in the private as well as in the public sector there is no room for doubt regarding the quality of the end product. With this end in

view the Indian Standard Institute, a semi-Government organisation, has been assigned this task in addition to other spheres of work of the I.S.I. After showing the exhibition in great detail Dr. Sadgopal took me to his library, which is quite an impressive one. With smile in his face he pulled out a binder of the I.S.I. showing me the standards that have already been drawn and others that are in hand. I looked at his face, and he was quite proud of the part he played in formulating the standards. It was made clear to me that they are yet to go a long way not only in drawing fresh standards but keeping simultaneous contact with the modern trend of development for revising those already drawn. Its importance will be best understood when we remember about our past achievements and decay for the lack of our scientific inquisitiveness both in following a standard and bringing it up-to-date with the march of science and taste. That is why Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh remarks :

“(Formulation of standards) will ensure that in future this industry will not suffer in the unfortunate manner in which it received a setback due primarily to poor standards of output, adulteration and inadequate methods and processes in the past.”

PUBLICITY

Due importance should also be given to publicity. Although Indian philosophy of life does not encourage self-advertisement, it should be understood clearly that self-tombing and publicity are not one and the same thing. If the setting up of standards is important from the point of view of creating public confidence, then proper publicity to keep the public informed about achievements made is no less important. It not only creates confidence in the consumer-cum-producer world, it also attracts talents without whom it is not possible to achieve anything. Till today only a few talented persons have been pursuing this path in spite of neglect and other handicaps. Dr. Sadgopal mentioned to me the various obstructions and cold attitude he had to face when he chose this branch of Chemistry for his research work some three decades ago. This attitude, coupled with the economic condition in the country are good enough to keep away many from this line. Reverse will be the case if and when we have impressed upon the public the economic importance and potentialities ensuring a future career for those who may choose this branch as their life's pursuit.

The exhibition was one of the finest of its kind, yet attendance was poor. This is sufficient to justify the need for an all-round publicity. Dr. Sadgopal took a pad of perforated strips of paper which were being dipped into each bottle containing the essential oils, although he chose only a few out of the varieties shown, when he finished, both of my hands were full with those strips. I brought these home and have kept them in my almirah; four months have passed yet whenever I open the doors a sweet smell always greets me. After the burning summer days when the rains



Sri K. L. Agarwal, I.F.S., President, Forest Research Institute and Colleges, Dehra Dun, delivering his welcome address

drop on the hills and dales, mother earth gives out a perfume which I am sure many will not like at all. But that smell has also been condensed in the bottle in liquid form and are being put to use in so many ways.

Samples ranging from about five rupees a pound to twenty thousand rupees a pound were exhibited. This fact in price variations alone should convince one about the economic future of the essential oils and their products.

Efforts made by the foreign firms are quite noticeable. Beautiful representations of common arts and crafts, quite appealing to the aesthetic sense, were shown under the heading “Thus They Advertise”—just the type to draw attention. Graphic statistics of progress and an well-drawn map of India within the folds of ‘B’ indicating the possible sources of Vetivre Roots (*khus khus*) would attract anybody.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Sadgopal tried to impress me about the

urgency of installing distillation plants in the various research centres without which nothing much could be done in spite of best wishes of all concerned.

This was the first symposium of its kind although a representative one in every respect. The delegates

took active interest and discussed various aspects of the problem. Hopes have been raised high and there is no reason why we shall not be able to tide over the present dark days to see a bright sunny future if we are sincere enough to strive and toil.

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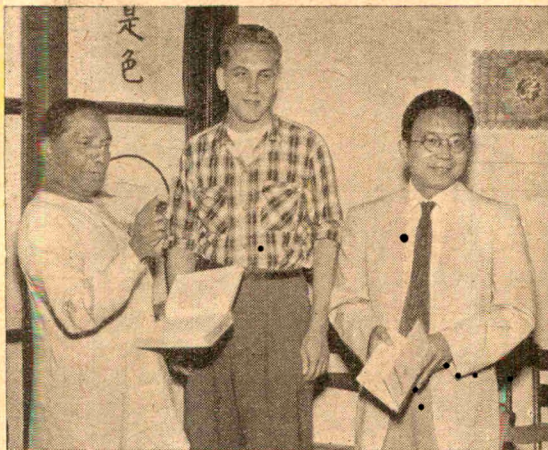
TO BROADEN ASIAN-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING

In San Francisco, a notable American institution is establishing itself as a Western center of Asian culture under the direction of a Briton who has steeped himself in East Asian, Indic and Arab philosophies since he was a schoolboy at Kings School, Canterbury, England.

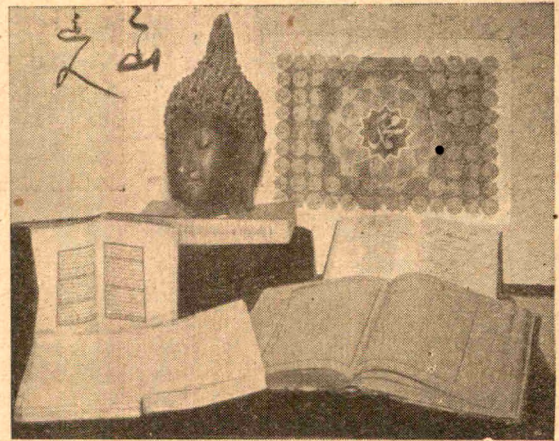
He is Alan W. Watts, now an American citizen, with an American wife and five children. He is Dean of the American Academy of Asian Studies, a graduate school of the College of the Pacific which has its under-

faculty of the new academy, which was founded in 1951. He became Dean in 1953, a year before the academy joined the College of the Pacific. This spring, the college awarded Masters' degrees to seven Academy graduates.

The school was founded through the generosity of a San Francisco businessman, Louis Gainsborough, who is now chairman of the Academy board of governors. It now operates almost as a self-sustaining institution,



Claude Dalenberg, an American student and Gi-Ming Shen, Professor of Chinese Studies at the Academy, listen while Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Dean of Sanskrit and Pali Studies at the University of Ceylon, expounds a point in Buddhist philosophy



A display at the Academy symbolic of the culture of Asian and Near-Eastern countries. A Pali book with Buddhist scripture and a Koran of the 17th century are seen in the fore-ground

graduate facilities and three other graduate schools at nearby Stockton.

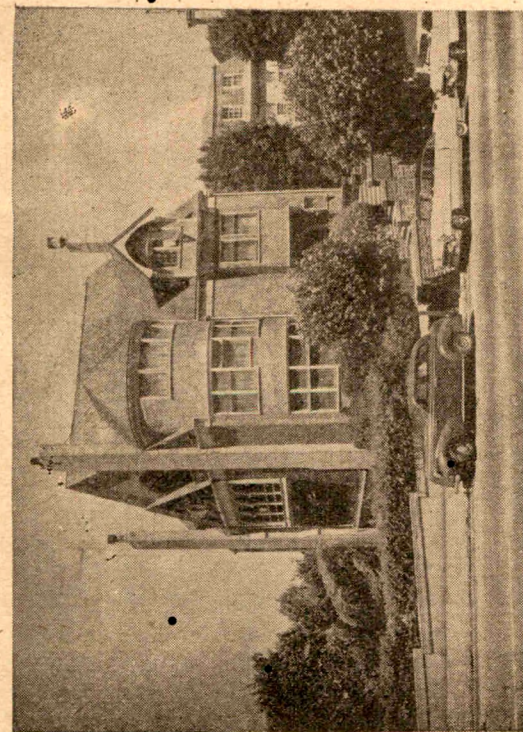
Dean Watts, now 41, was only 15 when he first became interested in Asian philosophies, and he wrote a book on Buddhism when he was 20. He has since written ten books on philosophical and religious subjects.

Dean Watts came to the United States in 1938. He wrote and lectured in New York, spent several years as a clergyman and was a religious counsellor at one of the large midwestern universities before he joined the

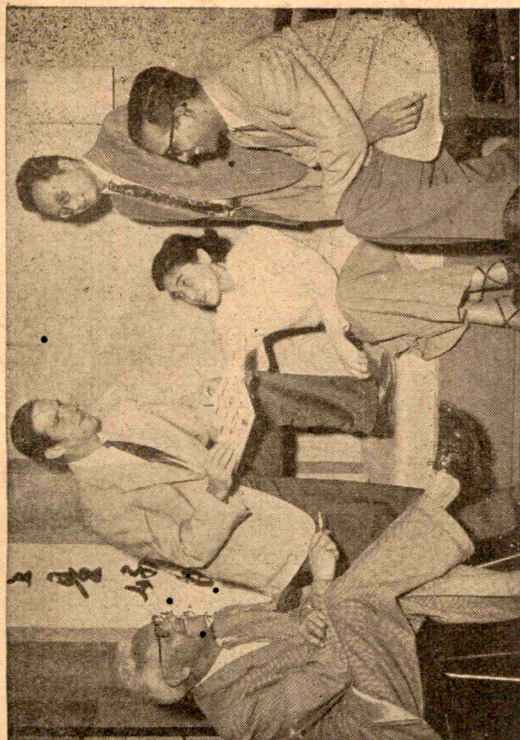
and Dean Watts hopes that in the near future it may be able to support itself entirely.

"We could operate on the basis of fees alone if it were not that we like to be able to finance a promising scholar from time to time, and we would like to pay our faculty adequately," he said. "The faculty members make great personal sacrifices to work here, because they believe so much in what we are doing."

He admits that for a man who has devoted most of his life to the most profound explorations into



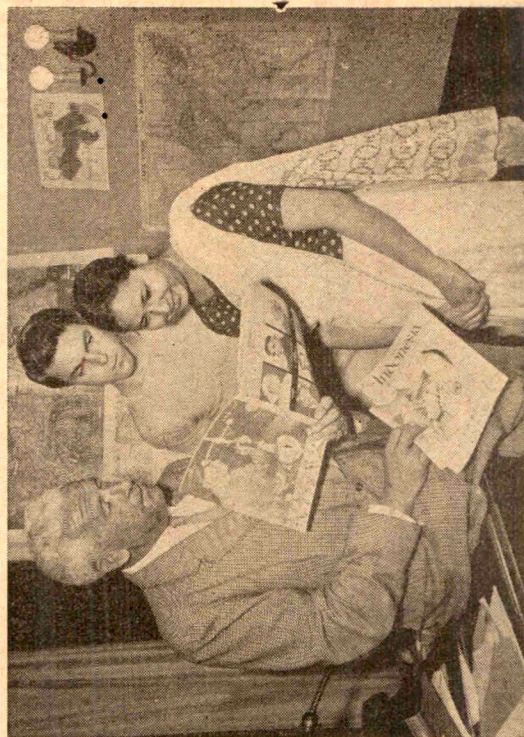
An exterior view of the American Academy of Asian Studies



A group of the Academy faculty members at an informal meeting with Dean Watts



A busy corner of the Academy library



Rom Landau (left), Professor of Islamic Studies; George Dimitroff, a student; and Urmila Agarwal, instructor in Hindi, look over the magazine *Indonesia*

philosophy and psychology, administrative tasks and managerial responsibilities in directing the school came hard for him. But at the end of the school year in



Alan W. Watts, Dean of the American Academy of Asian Studies

June, he was able to report that the school had 38 candidates for degrees—twice as many as the year before—had increased the faculty, had acquired ownership of the four-story mansion which houses the Academy, had doubled its library facilities, and had begun to publish its own series of monographs.

The academy has two main purposes: to create a deeper knowledge among Americans of the cultural, political, and economic life of the East, and to enrich Western culture with the great works of Eastern philosophy and learning.

Dean Watts says, "We especially want young Asians to know that we study their cultures with respect, and want to learn from them."

In the annual bulletin of the Academy, a statement of its history and objectives presents this broad aim: "Its function is not only to prepare students for professions and careers directly related to Asia, but also to enrich higher education in the United States with the vast cultural contribution of the Asian world."—*USIS*.

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THE QUEEN WHO WANTED TO BE AN EMPRESS

By K. R. N. SWAMY

The marriage between the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria and Princess Marie, the daughter of the Czar of Russia, was one of the most spectacular events of 1874. The wedding took place in St. Petersburg on 23rd January, 1874 and among the galaxy of guests were the Emperors of Prussia and France.

The week following the Royal couple's return to England was marked by State Banquets and Receptions and the young Duchess of Edinburgh won the approbation of all by her charms and grace.

As such, it was a great surprise to the general public, when in March 1874, the Court Circulars revealed that the Duchess of Edinburgh would in future abstain from attending Court ceremonies and receptions.

Many reasons were suggested for this decision. The *London Times* accounted for this, by stating that as Her Highness was expecting to become a mother, she deemed her retirement from society necessary.

But according to the rumours current in the Windsor Palace, her absence was not due to her state of health, but due to a quarrel with her mother-in-law, Queen Victoria, over a matter of her precedence at Court functions.

Subsequently as events proved themselves, this reason was the correct one.

As the daughter of the Czar, the Duchess of Edinburgh not unnaturally thought, that she had a right to take precedence over the Princess of Wales—the wife of Edward, the hereditary Prince of Wales and elder brother to the Duke of Edinburgh.

The children of the Czar are Grand Dukes and Grand Duchesses in their own right and are addressed as 'Imperial Highnesses'. But Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, was only the daughter of a king and was only addressed as 'Her Royal Highness'.

As such, the Duchess of Edinburgh represented to Queen Victoria, that an Imperial Highness must take precedence over a Royal Highness and that she must be given the honour accorded to the Princess of Wales at State receptions.

Queen Victoria was considerably embarrassed by this request and tried to impress upon the Duchess of Edinburgh the unnaturalness of her plea.

Even the implication, that the English monarchy is inferior to any Imperial House of Europe, would be intolerable to the English people—the Queen explained, and gently reprimanded the Duchess of Edinburgh that the Sovereigns of England had never

admitted that any of the Continental Emperors had a title to take precedence over them.

This reply did not satisfy the Duchess of Edinburgh and she informed the Queen of her decision to abstain from Court functions till a mutually satisfactory alternative was found.

Naturally the news reached the Russian capital also and England heard with interest that the Czar of Russia was about to come to England, not merely to visit his daughter, but also, if possible, to settle with the Queen the question of precedence that had disturbed her family.

Queen Victoria on her part was understood to be willing to assent to any solution, which did not confer on the wife of her second son, the right to take precedence over the consort of the heir-apparent and so the matters stood, when the Czar arrived in England on 13th May, 1874. He was received with the utmost cordiality by the Queen in Windsor.

The nature of the parley between the Czar and the Queen is not known, but the first effect of this visit was to replace the Duchess of Edinburgh in Court circulars, next of course to the Princess of Wales, but to cause her to be described as 'Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh and Grand Duchess of Russia.'

The Czar returned to Russia after a month's sojourn, but the cause of his visit and its implications long rankled in the mind of Queen Victoria.

In the Court circulars, except the Duchess of Edinburgh, no one, not even the Queen was described as 'Imperial Highness' and the Queen decided to take the title of Empress, so that none of her children would be embarrassed at State reception in Continental Europe for as the scions of the Empress, all of them would be entitled to the prefix 'Imperial' to their name.

The Queen well knew that to be known as the Empress of Great Britain would provoke the animosity of the English people against the Throne and to call herself as the Empress of Australia or Canada will invite ridicule, as these colonies were then little better than wildernesses.

As such she decided on the title of the Empress of India. This she felt to be a suitable choice as Emperors were not alien to Indian tradition and scarcely twenty years had passed since the last of the Mogul Emperors had been deposed.

But when she broached the matter to the British Prime Minister, Disraeli, he was not at all enthusiastic. There had been some question of this in 1858, at a time when India had been brought under the Crown after the Sepoy Mutiny and Disraeli had supported it in principle.

But in 1876, the moment was unfavourable. Disraeli knew that this rather un-English idea would be attributed to the Prime Minister's love for Oriental

tinsel and further he had to get the approval of the Parliament to have the Royal title changed.

As such he requested the Queen to wait for a few more years, till the atmosphere could be made more congenial for such a Bill to be brought in the Parliament. But the Queen was firm in her insistence and Disraeli had to accede to her wishes.

The Prince of Wales had made a tour of India in 1875 and the Queen decided to use the 'tumultuous' welcome he had received at the hands of the Indian Princes an excuse for her assumption of this title.

As such, while opening the session of the Parliament in January 1876, she declared that among the various Bills that were to be passed by the Parliament in that session, one would be that for her assumption of a title derived from India. She judiciously did not mention as to what the title was to be.

The Royal Titles Bill was moved by the Prime Minister in the Parliament on 7th February, 1876. He had some idea, that it would be against the prerogative of the Crown if he stated as to what the new title was to be.

But most of the members objected to this contention and during the second reading of the Bill it became apparent to Disraeli that the Bill would not be passed unless the new title was disclosed.

As such, he reluctantly made it public that the Queen would be assuming the Title of the Empress of India. The Parliament was surprised to hear this news and the public outcry was great.

The English do not like changes. The Queen had always been the Queen; why should she not continue so? "The title of the Empress," said the Puritans, "evokes the images of conquest, of persecution and even of debauchery."

Pamphlets were published, "How little Ben, the innkeeper, changed the sign of Queen's Inn to the Empress Hot 1 Ltd., and what was the result?" or "Dizzi-Ben-Dizzi, the Orphan of Bagdad."

The foreign embassies found it a comical story. "It is the freak of an artist and kingmaker in Dizzy (Disraeli)," wrote the French Charge d'Affairs. "In the Queen the freak of an upstart; she imagines that her standing will be raised and that her children will find a better place for themselves in life with this Imperial title."

"It is my impression that it is a grave mistake thus to raise the veil which ought to cover the origin of Crowns, these things ought not be played with. One is born an Emperor and a King: but it is very dangerous to become one."

The Queen was much grieved by the opposition shown to her wish and especially by the personal attacks, which her plans had loosed against the Prime Minister.

The Peers of the House of Lords were as

reluctant as the House of Commons to sanction the adoption of any exotic titles by the Crown and the Crown on its part did not scruple to bring in personal pressure. Lord Shaftesbury, the most influential of the Peers, was summoned to the Court after an interval of 20 years.

"I dread the interview", wrote the aged noble in his private diary, "the cold, the evening dress, the solitude, for I am old and dislike being far away from assistance, should I fall ill at night. The Queen sent for me in 1848 to consult me on an important matter. Can it be so now?"

But the Queen did not even as much as allude to the topic during the interview, but as Lord Shaftesbury shuffled away from the hall, a Lord-in-waiting approached him and requested him to convey the Queen's views regarding the matter to his compeers in the House of Lords.

But Lord Shaftesbury decided to act according to his conscience and on 3rd April 1876, he moved an Address to the Queen in the House of Lords, humbly beseeching her 'not to take the title of Empress.'

"As Empress, the title had a feminine softness," he appealed, but "in future as Emperor it will have an air, military, despotic, offensive and intolerable."

It fell to Disraeli's lot to reassure everybody. As regards the evil associations with the name of the Emperor, he pointed out that the golden age of humanity had been the era of Antonines.

As for the title of the Queen, it would be maintained in England and in all documents relating to Europe. Only in Acts concerning India and in the commissions of officers (who might be called upon to serve in India) the title of the Empress of India would follow that of 'Defender of the Faith'.

Finally, the House of Commons reluctantly accepted all these assurances, but strangely enough the House of Lords was more adamant. The Government got 137 votes in favour of the title and against the Bill were 91 votes including that of Lord Shaftesbury and eight Dukes.

Symbolic of the public opinion was the comment expressed by the *Saturday Review*, which termed the title as 'vulgar and impolitic appellation.'

But the Queen was overjoyed to know the result. When at last she had her title, she wrote to the Prime Minister Disraeli, a letter of thanks, signing it 'Victoria Regina et Imperatrix' with a childlike delight.

Then the New Empress gave a dinner, at which she appeared contrary to all her customs, covered with the oriental jewels presented to her by the Indian Princes.

At the end of the repast, Disraeli rose, in conscious violation of etiquette and proposed the health of the Empress of India in a short speech as crowded with imagery as a Persian poem. The Queen far from being scandalised, responded with a smiling bow that was almost a courtesy.

In India, the proclamation of the Queen as the Empress of India (Kaiser-i-Hind) was made at Delhi in the presence of the Viceroy and the great feudatories of the Empire on 1st January, 1877.

A banner and a medal were given to the princes to commemorate the event and five of the most important rulers, the Holkar, the Scindia, the Maharajah of Kashmir, the Maharajah of Travancore and the Maharana of Udaipur were granted the right of having 21 salvoes fired in their honour during ceremonies, just like the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Viceregal dignity was raised to 31 salvoes.

The latter step caused some disappointment among the princes, as the Holkar and the Scindia, whose claim was to hold higher status than the Viceroy in their own dominions and equal rank with him elsewhere, found themselves deprived of this right.

This scenic display was a little tawdry and theatrical and the grizzled English officials, who had been accustomed to see austere statesmen and stern soldiers on the Viceregal Throne, were perplexed to find the Empress of India represented by a Viceroy, who appeared to enjoy keenly the orientalism of the function and saw no absurdity in representing the majesty of the Empire on the back of an elephant, which had been painted white for the occasion.

Yet the ceremony was not without deep meaning. It represented the final triumph of the new system, by which, instead of ruling India by a paternal bureaucracy (whose aim was to sweep away all potentates who stood between it and the people), the hereditary rights of the princes were recognised and they themselves made the corner-stones in the fabric of the Empire, of which the Kaiser-i-Hind was proclaimed as the apex or the Crown.

It was therefore not without significance, that the only class unrepresented at the Proclamation was the Indian People. Yet, one occasionally heard of the Indian People.

A quarter million of them had been drowned in a cyclone in Bengal, when the debate on the Imperial title was going on in London. Eight million of them were in agonies of famine in central India, when that title was proclaimed in Delhi.

THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR-GENERAL UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By V. K. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A.,
Indian Audit and Accounts Service (Retd.)



The recent discussion in Parliament in regard to the arrangements for auditing proposed by the Government of India for the Life Insurance Corporation have brought to the fore the importance of a correct appreciation of the position of the Comptroller and Auditor-General under the Constitution. The Government of India are of the view that it is not necessary for the Comptroller and Auditor-General to be entrusted with the audit of the accounts of the Life Insurance Corporation. The Comptroller and Auditor-General's audit is stated to be 'conventional' and 'mechanical' and such audit will be entirely unsuitable to the accounts of the Corporation. They, therefore, seem to think that his audit will be undesirable. The Government of India have objected even to a proposal that the appointment of private auditors should be made on the recommendation of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and that he should have the power to conduct a test audit of the accounts in addition to the audit by the private auditors who are proposed to be appointed by the Corporation with the approval of the Central Government.

Is the position taken up by the Government of India justified? What is the kind of audit that the Comptroller and Auditor-General now conducts in regard to the transactions of the Union and the State Governments? Is the nature of the audit conducted by him in regard to these transactions and the results thrown up by his audit from year to year embodied in Audit Reports and considered by the Public Accounts Committee of such a character as to warrant the views held by the Government of India? Anyone who is acquainted with the growth of the Indian Audit Department from its origin and its present organisation and methods of work will readily appreciate that the position taken up by the Government of India is not justified. Cases of serious disregard of the financial interests of Government, misuse of public money, defalcations, serious errors in accounting, manipulations in accounts, etc., etc., reported in the Annual Audit Reports on the accounts of the Central and State Governments, the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee thereon and the orders of Governments disposing the Audit Reports, present an impressive picture of solid achievement. Certainly, the Comptroller and Auditor-General's audit has not been merely 'mechanical' and 'conventional.' No doubt there is a mechanical and conventional side to his audit. But this cannot be omitted even by private auditors; the Government of India will themselves

not agree to such an audit being dispensed with. The audit conducted by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, however, does not comprise merely the mechanical and conventional checks. His officers rise above these checks and conduct what is known as Higher Audit or audit against propriety which is explained in paragraph 84-85 of the Audit Code reproduced below :

"84. It is an essential function of Audit to bring to light not only cases of clear irregularity but also every matter which in its judgment appears to involve improper expenditure or waste of public money or stores, even though the accounts themselves may be in order and no obvious irregularity has occurred. It is thus not sufficient to see that sundry rules or orders of competent authority have been observed. It is of equal importance to see that the broad principles of orthodox finance are borne in mind not only by disbursing officers but also by sanctioning authorities.

"85. No precise rules can be laid down for regulating the course of audit against propriety. Its object is to support a reasonably high standard of public financial morality, of sound financial administration, and devotion to the financial interests of Government. . . . The proper discharge of duties by an Audit Officer in this field is a very delicate matter and requires much discretion and tact."

From the above it will be seen that it is an essential and important part of the Auditor-General's audit to see that the audit is conducted in such a manner as not to lose sight of financial propriety and the larger interest of the taxpayer. This he does to the extent he can as an 'external' auditor on the basis of the record made available to him. No private auditors can do more than this; in practice, however, they generally conduct only the routine checks and scarcely raise any questions of propriety or financial wisdom.

It may also be pointed out in this connection that the Comptroller and Auditor-General is not new to Life Insurance audit; he has been conducting the audit of the accounts of the Postal Life Insurance ever since it was started and it cannot be argued that the accounts of the Life Insurance Corporation will be far different from the accounts of the Postal Life Insurance transactions.

Apart from the Auditor-General's competence and suitability to take up the audit of the accounts of the

Life Insurance Corporation we have to consider what his position under the Constitution is and whether the attitude of the Government of India is in consonance with the position accorded to the Comptroller and Auditor-General in the Constitution. Under Article 148 of the Constitution there shall be a Comptroller and Auditor-General of India who shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal and shall only be removed from office in like manner and on the like grounds as a Judge of the Supreme Court. Under Article 149 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General shall perform such duties and exercise such powers in relation to the accounts of the Union and of the States and of any other authority or body as may be prescribed by or under any law made by Parliament. Under Article 150 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General is given the power to prescribe, subject to the President's consent, the form in which the accounts of the Union should be kept and in Article 151 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General's Reports should be presented by the President, or by the Governor or Rajpramukh, before Parliament or the Legislature of the State as the case may be. The fact that the founding fathers of the Constitution have considered it necessary to make the above provisions in our Constitution clearly shows the importance to be accorded to the office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and his indispensability. He is to be the supreme authority in regard to matters of audit of the transactions of the Union and State Governments. Although the actual content of his functions is left to be prescribed by Parliament as a matter of detail, there is no doubt that the Constitution clearly envisages the Governments in India to look up to the Comptroller and Auditor-General as their pundit in regard to accounts and audit. His independence of the Government of India and of the State Governments whose accounts he audits is fully secured by the provision in the Constitution that he cannot be removed by the Executive. He can be removed only by both Houses of Parliament on a resolution supported by a two-thirds majority in each House on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity. His Audit Reports cannot be withheld by the Executive but should be placed before Parliament or the State Legislatures as the case may be. He is an officer of Parliament entrusted with the duty of audit on its behalf and enjoined to bring to its notice all irregularities which he cannot settle with the Executive Government. These provisions make for his complete independence and he is thus in

a position to discharge his duties without fear or favour or affection or illwill according to the terms of the oath of his office. An officer who is thus given under the Constitution the highest conceivable status in matters of audit and accounts and who is in a position to discharge the duties laid upon him without fear or favour or affection or illwill cannot certainly be found unsuitable for conducting the audit of the Life Insurance Corporation. To say so will be slighting the Constitution. The private auditors who may be appointed, with the approval of the Central Government, to conduct the audit of the Corporation can scarcely claim independence for their position as they are the creatures of the Corporation and the Government and they cannot afford to do anything which will displease them; their reappointment as auditors may depend upon their being good boys. This is the weakest position in the proposal of the Government of India to appoint private auditors for the final audit of the Corporation accounts. This, together with the point already mentioned that private auditors cannot claim more competency than the Comptroller and Auditor-General for conducting the audit, completely demolishes the case for ousting the Comptroller and Auditor-General from the field.

It now remains for me to consider the British parallel. In England, the Parliament is supreme and theoretically it can do away with the Auditor-General although in practice it will not do so. But the Government of India *cannot* do so. Governed as we are by a written Constitution we are bound to have a Comptroller and Auditor-General of a sufficiently big stature to say the last word in Audit and to say it to Parliament direct. So long as we have an officer of that status and power, we should not do anything which detracts from his position. The solution proposed of appointing a Parliamentary Committee to review the working of the Life Insurance Corporation on the model of what is being done in England, cannot be a substitute for the Auditor-General's Audit. The reason is that a Committee can do little in the matter of accounts without the help of an expert audit which covers the entire ground in advance in detail. This position will be evident from the work of the Public Accounts Committee which is based largely on the Auditor-General's audit; ninety per cent of the matter on which that Committee works is furnished by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. It is universally accepted in England that the success of the Public Accounts Committee is mainly due to the Auditor-General's audit which precedes the Committee's work.



THE CEYLON CITIZENSHIP QUESTION AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

By AJOY KUMAR GUPTA, M.A.

At a time when we in India are striving for a balance between linguistic claims and the unity of the nation in the intricacies of State Reorganisation, one can fully appreciate the demographic problem that besets our Southern neighbour, Ceylon, a racial and linguistic problem which has taken on a political slant in the attitude of the Ceylon Government towards those of Indian extraction. Starting with a pioneering batch of ten thousand in 1827, Tamils and other Indians have been going in increasing numbers to Ceylon for over a hundred years, primarily to work as estate labourers in the plantations of Ceylon. These Indian Tamils were once taken as coolies on the basis of a sacred understanding between the Government of the island and the Government of British India, promising equal rights and honourable treatment. That "gentleman's agreement" has been violated in Ceylon, as it has been, to far more spectacular proportions, in South Africa. The reason behind this step-motherly treatment is that multinational Ceylon takes the problem of preserving her sovereign identity a bit too seriously. Fear is one of the sternest of task-mistresses, and Ceylon is afraid . . . afraid that the powerful Indian section of her highly heterogeneous population, especially because of their powerful stake in the economic and professional life of the country, would tilt the balance decisively not only in the see-saw of domestic politics, but, what is more sinister, also pull Ceylon into the ignoble position of a satellite revolving in the political and economic orbit of her powerful neighbour in the North, the Indian Union (to which it was probably connected geographically in some by-gone era). The Indians in Ceylon are nearly as much suspected and envied as are the Chinese in South-East Asia. And it is this Indian labour which has been responsible for transforming Ceylon into the "smiling tea-garden" or the "Paradise of the East." The British not only found them cheap and plentiful, but very much a sound investment as compared to the lazy, easy-going Sinhalese who absolutely refused to work! But, between the "Kangani" and the "Tundu" systems and the blood-sucking grip of the Chettiar moneylenders, recruiting, working and living conditions in Ceylon have been for the Indian labourer very much akin to slavery. Apart from their economic misery, most people of Indian origin do not even enjoy the consolation of the franchise. For the Sinhalese are afraid to give citizenship rights to Indian Tamils, lest their mounting numbers might unite with the eight hundred thousand Ceylon Tamils in dominating Ceylon.

So the Indian has invariably been the scapegoat for most of the politicians and leaders of Ceylon. Ever since the first Indo-Ceylon Conference in 1940, Ceylonese leaders have insisted on the total withdrawal of the Indian population from Ceylon. Only a few years back, the Ceylon Employers' Federation was asked by the Government not to give jobs to non-Ceylonese. The inevitable reaction to such discriminatory treatment has been that the Indian labourers and organisations have been increasingly looking to the Leftists in Ceylon for sympathy and support.

It is with this background that we should discuss Ceylon's Citizenship Laws, so that we may see them in their true perspectives. The General Elections were held in 1947 under the Ceylon Parliamentary Elections Order-in-Council of 1946. This provided that every British subject resident in Ceylon for six months, and otherwise qualified, would be entitled to the vote and to political office. The Citizenship Act, No. 18 of 1948 created for the first time in the history of Ceylon the status of a "Citizen of Ceylon," which was acquirable either by "Birth" (*Descent*) or by *Registration*: For "Citizenship by Descent," an arbitrary date, 21st. September, 1948, was fixed: Those born before this deadline, and on the soil of Ceylon, would be citizens of Ceylon, either if their father was born in Ceylon, or if they could satisfactorily show that their paternal grand-father and great-grand-father were born in Ceylon. If born before this date but outside Ceylon, either their father and paternal grand-father or their paternal grand-father and great-grand-father must have been born in Ceylon. If born after 21st. September, 1948, and on the soil of Ceylon, the father must be a citizen of Ceylon when the child is born. And if born outside Ceylon, registration will be necessary. Furthermore, applications for registration must satisfy the universal condition of being of full age and of sound mind, as well as satisfy any one of the following three optional conditions: First, the mother is or was or would have been if alive, a citizen of Ceylon, and the applicant must have resided in Ceylon for ten years (if unmarried) or seven years (if married). Or secondly, the applicant must be the spouse of a citizen of Ceylon, and must have stayed in Ceylon for only a year. Or thirdly, it might be a case of *animus revertendi*, that is, if an original Ceylon citizen renounces his acquired foreign citizenship and intends to continue residing in Ceylon. Besides, twenty-five important persons are given Ceylon Citizenship for distinguished services, especially in public life, to the State and people of Ceylon, or for

the eminence they have attained in the professional, commercial, industrial, or agricultural life of the country, or if naturalised as British subjects in Ceylon. The Ceylon Indians and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act No. 3 of 1949 applies to those resident for ten years (if unmarried) or seven years (if married) before 1st, January, 1946, and since then in uninterrupted residence. But they must also be of full age and of sound mind, with an assured income, with their wives ordinarily resident in Ceylon, free from disabilities making it impossible to observe the laws of Ceylon, and having renounced citizenship rights elsewhere. Finally, under the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Amendment Act No. 48 of 1949, amending the Order-in-Council of 1946, only those who were citizens of Ceylon under these two Acts, would be entitled to vote or to sit in Parliament. This was to have no retroactive effect.

All through 1948, the Indian community put their trust in non-co-operation. Only as the Ceylon Government's deadline in 1950 approached were 237,000 family applications filed in mid-1949 on behalf of 800,000 persons of Indian origin in Ceylon. But during the next two years only one per cent of these applications were considered and only 7,500 persons accepted. Thus the elections in 1952 resulted in an overwhelming majority of 74 out of 101 seats for the United National Party, because the 400,000 strong Indian vote, which usually flung its weight on the Opposition side, could not play its decisive role. Of the 237,000 applications, only 138,000 were considered by April, 1955, of which the minority figure of 10,000 were accepted. By July, 1955, nearly 34,000 persons were registered and 153,000 rejected. Such a trend indicated that of the 800,000 Indians in Ceylon, only about 40,000 were likely to acquire citizenship, that is, only five per cent of the total Indian population in Ceylon. One may recall that during Pandit Nehru's talks with Mr. Dudley Senanayake in London in 1953, the then Prime Minister of Ceylon offered to take 400,000 Indians as citizens of Ceylon and another 250,000 as permanent residents. But Ceylon's later moves utterly belied such hopes.

On January 18, 1954, an agreement was signed at New Delhi between India and Ceylon, later clarified by the Conferences in October, after India had registered her protests in June. Ceylon withdrew her demand for complete repatriation of Indians and undertook to complete the registration of Indians within two years. But both India and Ceylon agreed that illicit immigration must be suppressed. Periodic consultations were to give effect to this policy. A key clause was Ceylon's undertaking to prepare a register of all adults of Indian origin—not already on the electoral rolls, and to maintain such a register up-to-date. Any person not so registered will, if his mother tongue be an Indian language, be considered an illicit immigrant from India and liable to deportation, though the opinion of the Indian High Commissioner would be considered. No

such register was prepared! The basic controversy between India and Ceylon respectively was whether these people were "stateless" persons or automatically Indian nationals. Since such a divergence was irreconcilable, the most practical course was to expedite the two processes of registration either as Ceylon or as Indian citizens, postponing the consideration of the residuum till later. Unfortunately Ceylon had failed to implement this agreement both in letter and in spirit. The most glaring omission was the negligence to prepare the register of all adults of Indian origin not on the electoral rolls. In spite of this, the Ceylon Government had amended their Immigrants and Emigrants Act, ignoring Indian requests for postponement. Ceylon's recent stand that if an Indian were judged an illegal immigrant by a local court, India should accept him as a citizen, was rejected by India as inconsistent with her sovereign rights under Article 8 of her Constitution. Even if the courts were within their rights, India insisted that she could not be forced to accept these people as Indian citizens. Ceylon had also suggested that applications to the Indian High Commissioner for Indian citizenship should be distributed by the Ceylon authorities, but, considering the threats made by responsible persons in Ceylon against Indian settlers, India demurred!

If the principal aim of the 1954 Agreement was to expedite the enrolment of Ceylon citizens, the record of the Ceylon Government was disgraceful. The Indian Government ultimately arrived at the philosophical conclusion that if Ceylon's real object was to limit the number of Indians acceptable as Ceylon citizens to a small pre-determined figure like 40,000 there was no point in arguing about the terms of the Agreement. Events should take their normal course! The Ceylon authorities promptly denied these charges that they wished to restrict the number of Indians accepted for Ceylon Citizenship to a target figure. But, all the same, much impatience was voiced in the last Ceylon Parliament against the continuance of the Indo-Ceylon Pact. Yet it was gratifying to note that an underlying spirit of caution moderated such criticisms, for, as the then Ceylon Prime Minister aptly remarked, it is not possible to throw the Indians into the deep blue sea! Yet, in December 1955, the Ceylon Prime Minister wrote to Pandit Nehru that there was no purpose in pursuing the Indo-Ceylon Pact of 1954 relating to the future status of nearly a million persons of Indian origin there. Pandit Nehru replied to this letter in early February 1956. He made no suggestion that the Indo-Ceylon Pacts were unworkable or that they might be scrapped. He denied that India had gone back on her assurance to Ceylon in December 1947 that if all the Indians in Ceylon wished to retain their Indian nationality, they were welcome to do so. On the contrary, he reminded Ceylon that the latter had not given the Pacts a fair trial. So far, she had failed to offer inducements to

Indians who wished to register themselves as Indian citizens as proposed in the Pact of 1954. Pandit Nehru stoutly affirmed that India had consistently honoured her obligations. It was heartening to note that the tone of his reply was amicable and seemed to leave the door open for better understanding between the two neighbours on the main problem that disturbed their otherwise fraternal relations. Besides, Pandit Nehru had suggested to the Ceylon Prime Minister that the Government of India was willing to refer the controversial Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1954 to an eminent authority, acceptable to both, for arbitration, by whose interpretation India would abide. The authority could be a judicial officer or a 'foreigner'. Though receipt of this letter was acknowledged, no reply was given by the Ceylon Government, as they did not wish to commit themselves just before the general elections in Ceylon, which was impending in April 1956.

The general elections in April 1956 resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the ruling United National Party and the rise to power of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna party under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike. Indian hopes rose when the new Prime Minister declared that his views on foreign policy were identical with those of his friend, Pandit Nehru. Mr. Bandaranaike advocated Ceylon's adherence to the Principles of the "Panch Shila," and proposed negotiating non-aggression pacts with India and other Asian countries after the withdrawal of British forces from the bases in Ceylon. Thus would be enlarged the "areas of peace" so eloquently advocated by neutralists like our Prime Minister. But at the same time one must remember that one of the major reasons for the victory of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna over the United National Party was the former's pledge to make Sinhalese alone the national language of Ceylon, a decision decisively affecting the status of Tamils in Ceylon. Mr. Bandaranaike has revealed himself as a doctrinaire in some of his recent decisions, and doctrinaires can often be the most difficult people to tackle and bring around to a compromise. So Indians should not be too optimistic about the chances of a speedy solution of the citizenship problems in Ceylon. Yet some of Mr. Bandaranaike's assurances are definitely encouraging. He has promised to take every step possible to effectively complete the disposal of claims for citizenship from persons of Indian origin within a year, because he wishes to have a clear picture of the number that would qualify for citizenship before he gets down to dealing with the Indo-Ceylon problem.

The Indo-Ceylon agreement provided for the election of some members to the Ceylon House of Representatives for representing the registered citizens of Indian origin from a separate electorate. The Ceylon authorities hoped to hold these elections when the citizenship registration roll reached about 50,000, but no such elections have been held so far while the registration has been both dilatory and restrictive. Another hopeful feature of the present situation is that Mr. Bandaranaike is agreeable to reopening negotiations with Pandit Nehru for the settlement of the problem. Recently the Thondaman wing of the Ceylon Democratic Congress urged the Ceylon Government to withdraw administrative restrictions which disqualified a large number of people from acquiring citizenship, and to review the cases of unjust and arbitrary rejections of citizenship applications, as well as not to take a hasty decision on the State language issue. Meanwhile, Mr. Bandaranaike announced he was thinking of more effective steps to check illicit immigration into Ceylon from India! The Government of India too has become more conscious of its responsibilities in checking illicit emigration into Ceylon. It has doubled the police staff patrolling the coast in Tanjore, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts to prevent illicit emigration. The results have been highly encouraging, for the number deported by the Ceylon Government's immigration control organisation dropped sharply from 37 in March to a paltry 8 in April.

Pandit Nehru has frequently reiterated in the Lok Sabha his intention to settle the Indo-Ceylon issue in a friendly way, although he admitted that the peoples of Indian descent and Indian nationals in Ceylon were being unduly discriminated against. But, after all, every cloud has its silver lining. For, unlike India's tempestuous relations (or rather, lack of relations) with South Africa, the Indo-Ceylon differences have not succeeded in ruffling the smooth surface of Indo-Ceylon relations, nor diminished the mutual sympathy and fraternal feelings of these sister nations, bonds which are further strengthened by their common membership in the Commonwealth, their partnership as Colombo Powers, and their united championship of Asian regeneration and determined fight against all forms of colonialism and insistence on better living standards and a fairer deal for the downtrodden peoples of Asia. And with the emergence of the Bandaranaike regime India and Ceylon will have in common a neutralist foreign policy and the domestic ideal of a democratic socialist State.

PSYCHOLOGY : ONE OF THE PRACTICAL SCIENCES OF THIS AGE

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THOSE most closely connected with psychology are far from happy, either about its scientific progress or its public status. There are scientific problems which can engage immediate attention with hope for real profit, provided their solution is sought in the place where the problems arise. The difficulties of psychology itself are, of course, well known and require no elaboration. Fear and suspicion, often irrational in origin have contributed their obstructive share. Lack of financial support—either from government or university—has been a wellnigh insurmountable obstacle. The managements, the executive heads as well as the general public were all reluctant to give psychology a place in the research programme. As such we have to thank the perseverance and tenacity of the workers in the mid-thirties had to undergo in this country. The volume of reports published in the Western countries, specially in the United States of America and Great Britain, show the enthusiasm of young workers are showing in the application of psychological principles to the various human problems. Researches on problems of industrial accidents and safety, fatigue and morale, selection and placement carried on for years, have yielded results which are highly significant in convincing the suspicious and fastidious section of the usefulness of our science. Investigators in this field have shown how time, energy and money can be economised with proper use of techniques advocated by psychology. Research in this field is enormous as will be apparent from the published papers. Mention may be made here of a few by way of illustration : reaction time and susceptibility to automobile accidents, measurement of supervisory ability, attitude of personnel managers, relationship of masculinity-femininity to tests of mechanical and clerical abilities, a study of fatigue in air crew, incentives within the factory, an inquiry into labour turnover, a study of merit rating scheme in a factory, increased production through movement study, predicting aptitude for dentistry, an experiment on change of work, etc. One such finding shows that business executives can significantly increase their reading rate on practice.¹ The report on job satisfaction in 15 life insurance companies points out that certain attitudes held by agents are significantly related to the criterion of survival communication.²

"The relationship between the experience of boredom and changes in rate of output . . . for industrial workers" as reported by the investigator leads us to conclude, among other things that "there were fairly stable individual differences in speed of working, variability of production, frequency of rest pauses and frequency of talking."³ Absenteeism was considerably lowered in a tabulating department with the rearrangement of equipments, etc.⁴ In reviewing the occupational success of feeble-minded adolescents Dr. O'Connor suggests that "the feeble-minded, we believe, should be housed in small hostels, treated as out-patients and given extended education and occupational guidance. Under these conditions, at least two out of three will succeed at unskilled work."⁵ The study of merit rating scheme in a factory, as reported by Dr. Davis, was highly successful since "the management thought the scheme largely responsible for the subsequent rise in output per man hour, the reduction of labour costs, the decrease in absence and lateness and the general improvement in morale. The workers appreciated the considerable increase in their wages, the added interest in work and the fairness of the scheme."⁶

The position in North America is intensely interesting. While reviewing psychological development in the United States of America, Bartlett says :

"In a few places there is outstanding work on sensory processes . . . with enormously improved instrumentation and with a strong tendency to seek explanations phrased more and more in physiological, neurological or biophysical terms. But everywhere there are younger groups whose driving ideas come for the greater part from research units . . . many of them with no direct university affiliation at all, but all of them centres in which engineering, physical, mathematical and biological interests are confined."⁷

It is certain that America was vastly quicker than Great Britain in opening channels for psychology. In 1918, there were strong experimental psychological departments all over America, in universities and colleges and even there was lively interest taken by the public. While in India the picture is very scrappy

1. Bellows, C. S., *Jour. of App. Psychology*, Vol. 36, 1952, pp. 1-2.

2. Weitz, J., *Jour. of App. Psychology*; Vol. 39, 1954, pp. 294-300.

3. Smith, P. C., *Jour. of App. Psychology*, Vol. 37, 1953, p. 69.

4. *Applied Psychology in Action*, p. 322.

5. O'Connor, N., *Occ. Psychology*, Vol. 27, 1953; pp. 157-63.

6. Davis, N. M., *Occ. Psychology*, Vol. 27, 1953, p. 65.

7. Bartlett, F. C., *Occ. Psychology*, Vol. 29, 1955, p. 212.

and till 1945,* there was but one laboratory with scanty research programme, not to speak of public interests.

The spread and growth of psychological work was undertaken by the University of Calcutta which has maintained a well-equipped laboratory. The department could, after a long effort, open an applied section, with view to encourage field research. Under the auspices of the Applied Section, large testing programmes were undertaken. Soon other parts of the country followed suit and psychology found its place in universities both in the field of teaching and research. Investigators have now found their way into industrial organisations, inside Gun and Shell Factories and other institutions. The gradual interest in the different aspects of this science is rapidly increasing. Selection procedure at some places now invariably include, in their programme, tests and questionnaires. Though field research in India is of late origin, the problems that investigators have dealt with are varied in nature. A study sponsored by the Indian Council of Medical Research on "A Psychological Study of Accidents in a Factory"⁸ undertook to devise a battery of test to select industrial workers who are not accident-prone. In another accident study, the investigator goes as far as to infer, but not with much confidence that "greater the reaction time . . . the less his or her accident susceptibility. . . ."⁹ An inquiry into the absenteeism in industry showed that "those higher in age and salary, superior in education, longer in tenure had lower absent record. Skilled workers absented themselves more frequently than the unskilled."¹⁰ In an investigation into the job satisfaction, the investigators found that "salary, leave, security and advancement came to the fore and were mentioned as chief factors behind dissatisfaction. . . ."¹¹

In the field of education, scientific techniques on psychological principles are gaining importance day by day. Baxter has aptly commented that

"To-day's teacher must be a social engineer, capable of setting up a provocative environment for children's learning, charting the course of each individual child through the ever-changing social relationship in which he is involved and assisting each pupil to grow in his understanding of himself and of others."¹²

Hence the need for child guidance services is felt acutely. The interest in child study and child guidance can only be effectively grown by educating the public. This, of course, can be done by devoting to lectures and addresses usually under the aegis of some academic institutions, such as the one we have in Indian Psychological Association. It augurs well indeed that many books and pamphlets on child study and child management have been published recently in our Indian languages specially meant for the education of the parents.

In the field of child guidance we must know at the beginning the fundamental behaviour of a normal child and the subsequent abnormal, social or emotional development requiring specialised treatment. Studies in this line by various investigators lead to say that the period two to five years is one of what may be termed as 'natural' instability.¹³ Sanders¹⁴ reports that "mental maturity in terms of physical, intellectual and emotional development is positively related to mental security and perhaps to impulse to adventure." Apparently then the work with developments has to be sought in schools and the author along with others is of opinion that the nursery schools should become a part of our University Psychology Laboratory so that it can play a regular role in psychological training.

The amount of research on topics bearing on practical problems in education, industry, etc., exceeds that on pure theoretical problems. A number of papers have been published on the assessment of teaching ability. Evans¹⁵ in course of an investigation into attitude towards teaching as a profession of four training colleges and one university training department found interesting results. Some lines of investigation in other topics may be mentioned, e.g., "the incidence of nail-biting among school children,"¹⁶ "handicapped children,"¹⁷ "mental abilities of deaf children,"¹⁸ "emotional responses of adolescent groups to certain films,"¹⁹ etc. Though the number of such investigations is comparatively small in our country, yet workers have shown interest in this line as will be evident from the proceedings of the Indian Science Congress. But we must admit that time has come to promote further extensive research facilities with specialised research centres to cope with these problems, since much of the drawbacks both inside and outside the classroom can be traced and remedial measures suggested. It is gratifying to note that a Central Bureau of Educa-

* The author regrets that no substantial evidence for and against the year mentioned could be obtained.

8. Kundra, R., *Proc. Ind. Sc. Cong.*, Part III, 1956, Section XII.

9. Bannerjee, D., *Ibid.*

10. Sinha & Singh, *Ibid.*

11. Sinha & Prasad, *Ibid.*, 1955.

12. Baxter, B., *Teacher Pupil Relationship*, McMillan & Co., New York, 1950.

13. Schonell, F. J., *Brit. Jour. of Ed. Psychology*, Vol. 22, 1952, p. 32.

14. Sanders, C., *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, 1948, p. 153.

15. Evans, K. M., *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, 1953, p. 58.

16. *Brit. Jour. of Ed. Psychology*.

17. Birch, L. B., *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, 1955, p. 123.

18. *Brit. Jour. of Ed. Psychology*.

19. *Ibid.*

tion at the Capital has come into being while some provincial ones have also started functioning, at Calcutta. We doubt not they will prove to be of immense service to the well-being of our future generation. We

wish them all prosperity and conclude with the hope that more and many more of such institutions will spread throughout the length and breadth of our country.

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A REVIEW OF INDIA'S TEA INDUSTRY

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THE importance of tea industry in our national economy hardly needs any emphasis. In India today, tea is one of the three principal contributors to our foreign exchange earnings. In point of fact, tea robbed jute of its enviable position as the biggest earner of foreign exchange in the year 1954. Its importance may also be realised from the fact that this industry alone provides employment for about a million of people in our country. Besides, revenue-receipts in the shape of export duty, Sales tax, Agricultural tax, octroy, etc., should also be taken into consideration in ascertaining the importance of the industry in question. Before proceeding further, a peep into the not-too-distant past may not be quite out of place.

POST-PARTITIONAL DISLOCATION

The partition which split India into two new political units, Indian Union and Pakistan, disturbed the pre-existing equilibrium in our national economy. Like many other industries, India's tea industry was also affected to a considerable extent. In fact, the industry had been more affected than others. As a result of the partition, Assam and North Bengal, the leading producers of tea, were virtually cut off from the rest of India in general and from the Calcutta port, in particular. Prof. O. H. K. Spate in his brief but brilliant analysis of the impact of partition on India's tea industry observes :

"About 225,000 tons of coal are annually used in Indian tea factories and in 1947-48, supplies in the Assam Duars were so short that some deforestation took place."

Thanks to "the uncommon energy and skill displayed by our railway men, the line was completed and opened to goods traffic on December 9, 1949, and to passenger traffic on January 26, 1950."

There is no denying the fact that the problem of transport was thus efficiently tackled, but as Prof. Spate says, "even with this new railway, transport costs are high." Prof. Spate suggests that

"The situation may be eased if recently discovered coal in the Garo Hills can be exploited."

SLUMP OF 1952

Despite the aforesaid difficulties resulting from the partition of the country, India continued to maintain her enviable position as the biggest producer-seller of tea in the world. In 1951-52, tea occupied the second place in the list of our exports contributing Rs. 93.36 crores to our foreign exchange earning. Tea accounted for 13.3 per cent of our total exports.

In April, 1951, Britain ended the war-time and post-war 'bulk-purchase' system and the London Auction, suspended since the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, was again resumed. During the inter-war years taking advantage of the seller's market the producers were rather indifferent to the qualitative aspect of their product. But in the post-war period with the return of normal conditions, the seller's market was converted into a buyer's market much to the discomfiture of the producers since the days of 'easy money' came to a close. Besides, India had to face formidable competition especially from two countries—Ceylon and Indonesia. Yet another embarrassing factor was the emphasis on quality and the quality of Indian tea was considered to be relatively inferior to that of Ceylon and Indonesia. On the top of all these unfavourable trends a slight excess of supply further aggravated the problem and landed the Indian tea industry in great uncertainties. In 1950, and also in 1951, world production exceeded world consumption, the average over-production of each of these years being 3.5 per cent. Even this slight excess resulted in the bad slump of 1952.⁵

1. *India and Pakistan* by O. H. K. Spate, Methuen & co., Ltd., London.

2. Budget Speech for 1950-51, Minister for Railways.

3. *India and Pakistan* by Spate.

4. *Ibid*, p. 294.

5. *Statesman*, April 15, 1956.

TEA TOPS THE LIST IN 1954

The slump of 1952 naturally exercised a dispiriting influence on the producers. Discouraged by the adversities experienced in 1952, the producers evidently proceeded with caution and circumspection with the resultant shortfall of world production by 97 m. lbs. and 13 m. lbs. in 1952 and 1953. This shortfall probably resulted in the spectacular prosperity in 1954. In 1954, export amounted to 449 m. lbs. valued at Rs. 131 crores.⁶

TEA IN TROUBLE AGAIN

In 1955, India produced 663 m. lbs. and in view of this record crop Government of India raised the export ceiling to 480 m. lbs., leaving 183 m. lbs. for internal consumption. But demand in foreign countries declined by about 86,860,000 lbs. India exported 363,091,000 lbs. of tea in 1955 as against 449,951,000 lbs. in 1954.

Tea market during 1955 showed no signs of stability. In London, for example, prices rose in November and December, 1954, and this trend continued till February, 1955. Thereafter the table was turned and prices started declining. The average price of North Indian tea dropped to 42d. per lb. in May and June from the November-December average of 80d. per lb. Prices, however, moved upward again and the average price realised for North India tea in 1955 was 63.59d. per lb. as against 64.03d. per lb. in 1954.⁷

From the foregoing analysis it would thus be evident that the outlook for tea in 1955 was rather disappointing. Increased production and price recession were the two notable factors which cast a gloom over the tea market. Production was high not only in absolute terms but in relative terms as well inasmuch as there had been a fall in offtake of tea by some leading consuming countries. U.K., the biggest consumer of Indian tea, for example, lifted 249,266,000 lbs. in 1955 as against 326,489,000 lbs. in 1954. This fall in imports by countries, such as, Britain and Australia, was due to 'anti-inflationary measures initiated in these countries to curb inflationary pressures there.⁸ India's Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry stated in the House of the People that the recession of tea prices was due *inter alia* to the following reasons: (a) Slight over-production in 1955-56, (b) the credit squeeze in the U.K. as a necessary deflationary measure, and (c) the change effected in the system of auctions of North Indian teas.⁹

Thus despite increased production or rather because of it, foreign exchange earned by tea resulted in a short fall of earning from Rs. 131 crores in 1954 to Rs. 111 crores in 1955. Evidently, the yield of

export duty was less by Rs. 11 crores from the Budget estimates.

OUTLOOK FOR 1956

Price recession and a fall in offtake were the two dispiriting features in the world of tea in 1955. Of late, encouraging reports are reaching which brighten the outlook for tea in 1956. In March this year 'total shipment from Northern India amounted to 40.67 m. lbs. as against only 8.79 m. lbs. during the corresponding month of 1955 with U.K. increasing its offtake from 5.89 m. lbs. in March, 1955 to 31 m. lbs. last month.¹⁰ In London, 'Quality Teas' were higher by 2d. per lb. at the auction held on April 18, 1956. Yet another encouraging factor is increased *internal consumption*. It is estimated that domestic consumption will amount to 220 m. lbs. Competition from Ceylon is not expected to be very keen this year due to smaller production in that country. A message from Colombo received on April 26, says that the production shows marked decline in first three months ending March 31. Compared with the corresponding period of 1955 production figures officially released on April 26, 1956, are:

March, 1956 : 32.4 m. lbs.

„ 1955 : 43 m. lbs.

Production during the first three months this year totalled 84.4 m. lbs. compared with 103.5 m. lbs. during the same period in 1955. This decline is attributed to the adverse weather condition especially drought in mid-country and frost in up-country areas. Indonesia, another important exporter of tea, is reported to have produced a lower tea crop of 7.2 m. lbs. in February, 1956, as against 8.4 m. lbs. in the corresponding month of the previous year. Total crop during the first three months of this year was 15.1 m. lbs. as against 18.3 m. lbs. in the same period of 1955.¹¹

The tea crop in Pakistan also recorded a decline despite the increase in acreage in the year under review from 74,000 to 76,500. Thus while acreage increased by 3.4 per cent, production declined by 2.8 per cent. This decline is attributed to the unfavourable weather conditions throughout the plucking season.¹²

LONG-TERM PROSPECTS

India continues to enjoy the position in the world of tea as being the highest producer of tea with the largest area (789,471 acres) under the crop. The second position is held by Ceylon, and Indonesia is the third largest producer. During 1955, India produced 363,091,000 lbs. Ceylon's output amounted to 380,013,000 lbs. and Indonesia's 95,610,000 lbs.¹³ As exporter, India again holds the first position. In 1955, for example

6. Report, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1955.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Commerce, 17th March, 1956.

9. Tea Trade and Industry, Vol. V, No. 2.

10. Indian Finance, April 21, 1956.

11. NAFEN.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Indian Finance, April 27, 1956.

India exported 363,091,000 lbs.; Ceylon's exports amounted to 360,858,000 lbs. It is interesting to note that Ceylon exported almost its entire production, since her internal consumption is negligible for obvious reasons. India will continue to face keen competition especially from Ceylon. But India stands on a better footing. External market is of vital importance to Ceylon. There is no denying the fact that India, too, is interested in developing the external market. But my point is that whereas Ceylon must send her tea abroad or perish, India can afford to bank upon her vast internal market. Recent estimates put the figure for internal absorption in India around 220 m. lbs. As against our level of consumption, Ceylon's internal market is very much limited. For example, if Ceylon produces 380 m. lbs., she can at least, consume about 12-13 m. lbs. Thus it is evident, that she must find out external market for almost her entire production or perish. Since India has an extensive internal market, we are better placed in this respect. As Sri U. K. Ghoshal, I.C.S., Chairman, Tea Board, Government of India, says :

"We, in India, are drinking roughly at the rate of half pound per head per year. It is easy to envisage the difference it will make to the Tea Industry in India if consumption went up by one pound per head per year. Then we shall be drinking more than half the tea we produce and thereby we shall be in a position to bring about a certain amount of stability in the tea industry."¹⁴

PROBLEMS OF THE PRODUCERS

While presiding over the annual meeting of the Indian Tea Planters' Association held recently Mr. N. R. Ghosh is reported to have invited the notice of the Government of India to the various liabilities which the tea industry is now faced.

"It is a moot point," Mr. Ghosh observed, "how far the implementation of the Plantation Labour Act, claim of labour for higher wages, bonus and the introduction of the Provident Fund would be possible with resources at the industry's disposal."

He also criticised the imposition of certain taxes and duties levied on the industry and said that besides being the highest taxed among Indian products India's export duty on tea was the highest except that of Ceylon. Incidentally, it may be stated here that with a view to facilitating the mechanics of exports and ensuring that the duty is related to the actual price fetched for tea in the world markets, a slab system of export duties was introduced in the 1st March, 1955. The slab system works, as follows :¹⁵

Rate of duty imposed per lb.

When the price of tea—

- | | |
|---|----------|
| (i) does not exceed Rs. 2-8-0 per lb. | 4 annas |
| (ii) exceeds Rs. 2-8-0 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 3-4 per lb. | 6 annas |
| (iii) exceeds Rs. 3-4 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 4 per lb. | 8 annas |
| (iv) exceeds Rs. 4 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 4-12 per lb. | 10 annas |
| (v) exceeds Rs. 4-12-0 per lb. | 12 annas |

Sri U. K. Ghoshal, I.C.S., in his recent speech at the Calcutta Rotary Club¹⁶ exhorted the producers to keep pace with time and "to give the labour a larger share than was the case before in the over-all income." As regards the complaint against higher export duty Sri Ghoshal emphasised on "the increased contribution that the industry was expected to make to public revenue either at the States or at the Centre."

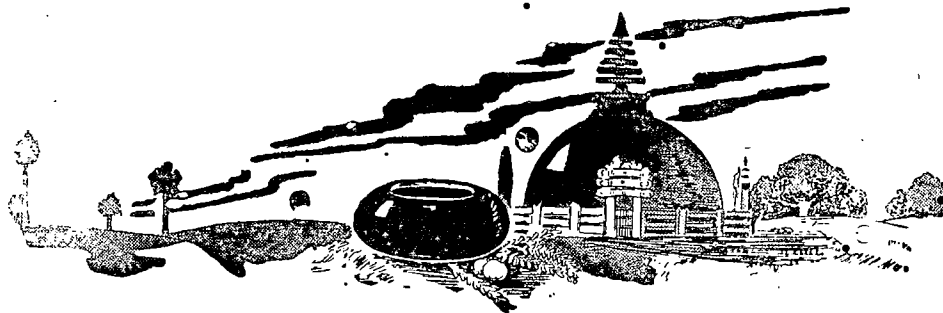
"The industry," Sri Ghoshal said, "can naturally object to being asked to pay more by way of taxes. But taxes have to be paid and the problem is to find an optimum level at which an assessee can play his part and at the same time remain in his business."

He assured the producers that the Government was trying to arrive at a pattern which would not prove crushing to the industry and would at the same time "produce from this very important industry a contribution of the size that our National Plan requires."

14. *Statesman*, April 16, 1956.

15. *Report*, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1955.

16. *Statesman*, April 15, 1956.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA: By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *National Council of Education (Bengal)*, Calcutta. 1955. Pp. 185. Price Rs. 8.

This well-written work consists of a series of five lectures delivered by the late lamented scholar as Hemchandra Basu Mallik Professor of History at the National Council of Education (Bengal) during 1949-51. It is marked by the same qualities that adorn his other writings, namely, thoroughness and lucid exposition. In this small volume in particular the author has condensed with a remarkable clarity of expression an enormous mass of material derived from the best authorities (mostly in French). His criticisms of earlier views, whenever they occur, are characterised by a penetrating analysis and sound judgment.

Of the five lectures constituting the body of the work the first deals mainly with the movements of the nomadic peoples (Scythians, Huns, Yue-ches, Hephthalite Huns and Turks) into Central Asia from about the second century B.C. to the tenth century A.D. and their profound repercussions upon the fortunes of the neighbouring lands. In the second, third and the fourth lectures the author passes successively in review the geography and history, the language and literature, as well as the Buddhist culture of the regions of Central Asia, namely, Tokharestan (comprising chiefly the Oxus river valley) and Eastern Iran, the Southern States of Eastern Turkestan and the Northern States of the same tract. The fifth and the last lecture reviews briefly the scripts and languages as well as the literature (largely Indian in the original Sanskrit or its translations into the local languages) of the peoples of Eastern Turkestan.

There are three Appendices of a more specialised character, culled from the author's previously published writings, which do honour to his scholarship. A map drawn to scale but without references to the latitude and the longitude is given appropriately enough at the beginning of this work, while a valuable bibliography and a good index bring it to a close. One minor defect which we have noticed in this work and for which the author begs the readers' apology in advance is the total absence of diacritical marks throughout its earlier portion. We have noticed a slight contradiction on page 14 where the author says in the same breath that "the civilisation of Chinese Turkestan up to about the tenth century was mainly derived from India and Iran," and that "both China and India played a dominant role" in shaping the same. The paper, print and general get-up are good.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SELECTIONS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE JUDGE-MAGISTRATE AND THE JUDGE OF PATNA, (1790-1857): Compiled and edited with an introduction by Dr. K. K. Dutt. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar. Pp. 422. Price Rs. 5.

Historical studies on a scientific basis are of recent origin in India. Increasing emphasis is now being laid on the use and publication of what Ranke called "absolutely contemporary records" and reconstructing our history on the basis of their evidences. The Governments of Madras and Bombay pioneered this enterprise. Hyderabad followed suit and now the Government of Bihar has joined in this laudable task and set an example for its neighbours to follow.

The records embodied in this volume relate to a variety of topics which have been classified under headings, such as, political, administrative, customs, excise, banking, jails, roads and bridges, public buildings, thuggee and dacoity, education, sati and slavery. They range from 1793 to 1857 and diffuse light mainly on the history of North and South Bihar.

The first portion of this volume comprising the documents on matters political have, however, a wider appeal. They relate to the French interest in India, the Danish factory at Patna, Portuguese vicarage in the same city, Nawab Wazir Ali's rising against the British and murder of Cherry, Conway, Graham and Evans (p. 73), Raja Jhao Lal alias Hedayet Ali Khan's intrigues and the visit of the Nepalese envoys of Patna, March 1802 and the Tanjore Raja (for performance of pilgrimage). This section of papers has a bearing upon Indian history as a whole, however, inconsequential it might be. There are other documents which, though exclusively of local interest, are of great merit. Read, for instance, the syllabus for the *Arabic and Sanskrit Junior Scholarship Examination*, p. 412, the Government circular (1845) announcing its desire to start 101 schools in the districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttack for education of the people in the vernacular reading and writing, arithmetic, geography and the history of India and Bengal (pp. 407-410). Even the circular, granting 15 days holiday on the occasion of the Muharram, a month's on the occasion of the Dusserah and the Diwali, a two-days' holiday on the occasion of the Harichattar Mela (with a virtual suspension of business in the Judges' Court for a week), offer an interesting reading. Similarly, the Patna Collector's statement (pp. 182-183), tabulating the expenditure of a sum of one thousand rupees by Maharaj Kalyan Singh in 1802, in gifts and charity to the Muslims on the occasion of the Id festivals as well as the assumption of the title of Hedayet Ali Khan by the Sakseha Kayeth of Oudh, Jhao Lal and

the designation of his wife as Najibunissa Begam (p. 109), give us an idea, though faint and shadowy, of the tolerance and amity that marked the Hindu-Muslim relation in those days.

In the 18th century, Patna had grown into an important centre of Muslim influence and authority in Eastern India. This city produced such eminent Wahabi leaders as Welayet Ali and Inayet Ali who fought the Khalsa army in the Panjab, Rahat Ali, Pir Buxi, and Shah Kabiruddin of this city hatched a dangerous conspiracy against the British in concert with Raja Kumar Singh of Jagadishpur in 1845 (the relevant documents will be shortly published by the reviewer). Hence, possibly the titular Nawab of Murebidabad, Tipu Sultan's son Yasin, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan's brothers, Wazir Ali's agents are described either as peregrinating or seeking asylum in this State.

There has been a considerable advance of our knowledge on the history of the Company's Rule in India in recent years. The editorial note has taken note of them and is therefore of the desirable quality and standard.

N. B. Roy

DIANETICS: The Modern Science of Mental Health: By L. R. Hubbard. Derrick Ridgway, London. Pp. xvii + 404.

The title of the book might lead one to presume the existence of an established science called Dianetics. The term 'dianetic', however, is a derivative of the word *dianoetic* which according to Warren's Dictionary of Psychology means: "pert. to the intellectual functions in general, esp. reasoning"; consequently, if it were forcibly used to mean any specific system in psychology or 'the modern science of mental health', dianetics would have little sustaining power amidst the existing schools of psychology.

On going through the book a bewildered reader may justly feel like inquiring what, after all, is the big idea? The introduction written by The Hubbard Dianetic Foundation Inc. (sic.) opens with the canonical statement, "The major contribution of the Dianetic theory to the field of psychology and psychotherapy are seven fundamental assumptions." Assumptions are assumptions even if they were made to appear like seven pillars of wisdom. Every science starts with assumption but can one accept a science whose final conclusions are admittedly assumptions? In the foreword written by a medical person we are assured, "The technique of dianetics theory is basically simple and can be understood and applied to each other by any two reasonably intelligent people after a brief study of this volume. . . . No previous background in psychoanalysis or psychology is necessary." Very reassuring indeed as it sounds very much like psychoanalysis or psychology without tears. It is rather curious, however, that a subject, to understand which no previous knowledge of psychology or psychoanalysis is required, may by itself have major contributions to make to the fields of psychology and psychotherapy!

If a reader insisted on reading the book through, as the reviewer had had to do—a task needing a very great amount of patience, he may be entitled to comment upon this enigmatic science as simply a prototype of faith cure trying to appear scientific with borrowed buntings of psychoanalysis and psychology. The underlying thesis, more precisely, the assumptions and the presumptions—are highly spiced with special terms dexterously deduced from science to suit parti-

cular occasions ('sybiote,' 'perceptice,' 'keying-in the engram') and verbiage coined with little restraint (basic-basic, 'demon,' 'bouncer').

Lest the reader may forget, he is repeatedly reminded, "Dianetic is extremely simple." Possibly. That, also, is the source of its weakness. Printing is good indeed.

S. C. MITRA

LECTURES IN INDIA: By Keshub Chunder Sen. Navavidhan Publications Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Pp. ix + 551. Price Rs. 6.

The name of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen has become almost a household word to educated India. He was a force in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He is popularly known and respected as a first-rank Brahmo leader. But those who had at least some acquaintance with the affairs of the last century, know and appreciate what a great nation-builder Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen was. He strove hard to build New India on the spiritual plane. But he did not forget the day-to-day problems of human life. He took a keen interest in things Indian. He thought and acted in terms of Mother India. And he may be called the first apostle of Indian nationhood inasmuch as he sought to blend the different aspects of Indian life on a sound foundation.

Brahmananda's nineteen speeches have been given in the book under notice. His epoch-making speeches on "Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia," "Great Men," "Regenerating Faith," "Inspiration," "India Asks: Who is Christ?," "Asia's Message to Europe," and many other speeches sent a thrill into the mind of the audience, when they were first delivered in public meetings. These speeches are still inspiring and instructive. And the country will be benefited if instructions couched in these lectures are followed by the people. These have inspired even friends of other lands, and have undergone translations in their mother-tongues. The language of the speeches comes direct from the heart and cannot but touch the heart of the reader and elevate it to a noble and high status. People who listened to his speeches have testified also this fact; and we most earnestly wish that such inspiring and soul-elevating lectures might be delivered today! The subject-matter of most of the speeches is spiritual, but it has been dressed in such an easy and flowing style, and suited to the yearnings of the common man that it cannot but be appealing and inspiring. We welcome the handsome and handy reprint. Needless to add, the book will repay perusal.

JOGESHI C. BAGAL

INDIA: DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION (A Study of the work of the Birla Education Trust): By Josselyn Hennessy. Orient Longmans Ltd. 1955. Pp. 338 + 115 photographs. Price Rs. 15.

It must have been a very auspicious moment for India when Ghanshyamdas Birla decided he would divert a part of the fabulous millions from his intricate and far-flung empire of commerce towards some really worthy, if apparently non-profit-making in the usual material sense, cause, such as the propagation of education and of all the fine values it stands for. To this admirable sentiment we owe the birth, in January, 1929, of the now-famous Birla Education Trust (of which G. D. Birla himself is chairman) based mainly on Pilani, the 'Birlas' home village in arid Rajasthan. Over the years, fed and nurtured on the right lines, the Trust has grown up into an

elaborate and well-administered organisation, modelled essentially on the English public schools system, where, in ideal physical and natural conditions, six thousand boys and girls drawn from all parts of India are given a fine, all-round, healthy modern education—the sort of equipment that our future statesmen and administrators will need in the new India that is now shaping. The Trust's activities have increased from year to year and are still expanding into fresh fields and today the Pilani endeavour must be reckoned as among the best that this country can offer in the field of education.

Somewhere along the way, it was decided that a kind of conspectus detailing the Trust's many-sided activities and experiments should be issued and a special grant was made for this purpose. Mr. Josselyn Hennessy, who was a well-known figure in India during the years of World War II, was entrusted with this task, a task to which he devoted himself with rare zest and thoroughness. Mr. Hennessy utilised this opportunity to survey the entire field of education in this country, its many ills and inadequacies and also certain dangerous recent trends in isolated areas. Mr. Hennessy has gone to the roots of his subject and the results of his painstaking investigation should be considered and deeply pondered over by our educationists and by those whose business it is to look after the interests and welfare of our students.

We unhesitatingly commend this book to educationists and public men who will find it both stimulating and profitable reading. The 115 photographs (including one of Mr. G. D. Birla) enliven the text considerably.

In the end, a spot of pious wish-making. Reading this book about Pilani, one is tempted to express a hope that many more of our leading industrialists and people who have tons of idle money hidden away in secret caches, would come forward and establish similar nation-building institutions all over the country. For, in the last analysis, glory and bliss lie not in parading shiny automobiles or resplendent palaces, nor in blandly exhibiting jewellery and rare gems, but in relieving the suffering of fellow humans and in fighting the twin curse of ignorance and hunger that ultimately kill the fine and noble flower that is human life.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

HIGHER EDUCATION AND RURAL INDIA :
By Dr. S. N. Mukerji. Published by Acharya Book Depot, Baroda. First edition. 1956. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 10.

The truth is being gradually realised that the future of the country depends on the education of the people of the country and after the attainment of independence the country's mind has been deeply stirred for a solution of this vital problem. The soul of India lived in villages. To educate and vitalise the people the countryside cannot be brought to the towns and the cities but educational institutions have to be spread to the rural areas and adapted to the regional needs.

In the present volume Dr. Mukerji has examined the educational problems of rural India and offered schemes of higher Secondary Schools and Universities on the models of American institutions for improvement of Indian villages. His analysis and suggestions are thorough and comprehensive and deserve careful consideration. Printing and get-up are excellent.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

DIVINE LIFE FOR CHILDREN : *By Swami Sivananda. Published by the Yoga Vedanta Forest University, Ananda Kutir, Post, Rishikesh, Himalayas. Pp. 106. Price Rs. 1-8.*

The author of this little volume is a prolific writer and dynamic Hindu-monk devoted to the spread of our religion and multifarious allied activities residing in the quiet and cool atmosphere of Rishikesh. This book is essentially meant for little ones who are the citizens of tomorrow. It is written in an easy and lucid style. A number of interesting stories from our immortal epics and Puranas, the inspiring anecdotes of sages and saints, moral instructions and indispensable information of general knowledge fill the pages of this little book. It has, in fact, ended in eighty-five pages and then a long list of panegyrics of the eminent persons of modern India and the West have been collected from different sources to blazon the greatness and magnanimity of Swami Sivananda. Frankly speaking, it is nothing but a kind of self-advertisement which is the less done the better. It has belittled the force and worth of the booklet and defeated its purpose. The book is expected to be useful to the English-speaking children for whom it is mainly written.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

THE TECHNIQUE OF PLANNING IN INDIA :
By N. B. Sapre, M.A. Published by the author from 855, Shivajinagar, Poona-4. Pp. 171. Price Rs. 3-8.

In this book the writer has given a short history of various plans for industrial development of India since Netaji Subhas Bose as Congress President appointed a planning committee under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The book is divided into ten chapters and the subjects discussed are Assumptions and Form of Planning, Establishment of Central Organisation, Objectives, Priorities, Estimating, Building Targets, etc. The author on several occasions has compared the English industrial methods with the planning of other countries although the former refers to yearly programme in place of three to four years' planning of other countries. The treatment in these pages is more or less statement and examination of the theories regarding planning and as such only satisfies requirements partially of students and general readers.

A. B. DUTTA

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MSS. (Āsiatic Society, Vol. XIV) *Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A. 1955. Pp. ix+62. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This neat volume, the last and the smallest of the Series, describes 89 MSS. only on eight different subjects. Prof. Chakravarti has given all up-to-date information on the works which are surveyed in a brilliant and interesting introduction. Scholars working on Sanskrit books of music, game of chess, erotics and such other minor subjects will be benefited by a perusal of the volume. The price of the small book seems to be prohibitive.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SCIENCE IN THE VEDAS : *By Hans Raj. Published by Sakti Publications, Model Town, Ludhiana. Price Re. 1-12.*

This booklet seeks to shew that the Vedic hymns have reference to a number of scientific theories of modern times, especially regarding electricity, magnet-

ism and water. Elaborate quotations are given from different parts of the vast Vedic literature in support of the views of the learned author. In his opinion Vedas indicate that Agni and Soma and the two Asvins represent two kinds of electricity, positive and negative (p. 16); that the ancient Aryans believed that the basic elements of the material world are two kinds of electricity now called 'electrons' and 'protons' (p. 26); and that water (*Vasistha*) is produced by the combination of oxygen (*Mitra*) and hydrogen (*Varuna*) as father and electricity (*Urvasi*) as mother (p. 29). It is true that the Vedas have been interpreted both figuratively and mythologically from very early times. But it would seem that the latter method has appealed to the people at large who are generally attracted to the Vedas for their spiritual outlook which is more apparent or sometimes for their poetry which occasionally is vivid and fascinating.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RAJNARAYAN BASU: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1.*

This is the forty-ninth book in the series entitled "Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala." As a thinker, writer, social reformer, patriot and above all as a man, Rajnarayan Basu is held by his countrymen in high esteem. Rabindranath has drawn a memorable pen-picture of this eminent man in his *Reminiscences*.

In this short but copiously informative biography, the author has not only given us a full record of his life, but also shown his relation and contribution to our cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century. Sri Bagal has voluntarily undertaken the task of presenting before us the great ideas and achievements of our last generation and this book may be regarded as a part in the execution of that task. This too, like his other works, is marked by his characteristic precision and careful selection of materials. Not carried away by sentiments, he ably builds up the character he means to present, on the solid foundation of facts.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

BHARAT DARSHAN—CHITRON ME (Seeing India—Through Pictures): *Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, March, 1956. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This is an attempt to give a bird's-eye view of India through illustrations. It is divided into ten parts, each with a preface of its own. Natural beauties, ancient heritage, modern life, social work, scientific researches, commercial enterprise, military administration and Government secretariat—are all represented. Sports, recreations, festivals, health resorts have their share. Surely the volume does not attempt a complete representation; the four hundred pictures are not sufficient to give one a complete understanding of our country passing through different phases, but the object is different; it is an acquaintance with India, an introduction to this marvellous land.

The brief prefaces to the different parts have been ably written. The style is lucid. The book provides both entertainment and information, and it contributes a substantial addition to the publications of the Government of India.

P. R. SEN

GOKHALE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.*
ASPRISHYATA: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 20. Price three annas.*

HARIJAN SEVAKON KI LIYE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 46. Price six annas.*

VIDYARTHIYON SE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 226. Price Rs. 2.*

All available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

The late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, founder of the well-known pioneer institution for self-sacrificing national service—the Servants of India Society—was Gandhiji's political preceptor. At their very first meeting in 1896, each seemed to recognise in the other his long-lost kindred, and from that moment there grew up between the two a holy and wholesome relationship. And Gokhale continued to be Gandhiji's shining pillar of strength in the latter's epic non-violent struggle in South Africa. The pamphlet, *Gokhale*, is an account of Gandhiji's several meetings with his political master and mentor and of his touching tributes to the latter's memory.

Untouchability is a heinous crime against both Man and God. And as such it has no place in religion as well as society. It must, therefore, go root-and-branch. *Asprishyata* deals with Gandhiji's views on the subject in question-and-answer form. *Harijan Sevakon Ki Liye* is a companion volume, in which Gandhiji has given detailed instructions to workers who have engaged themselves in the righteous crusade to erase "man's inhumanity to man" in India.

Vidyarthiyon Se contains Gandhiji's answers to the one-hundred-and-one questions pertaining to politics, religion, character, marriage, education, constructive work, violence, etc., referred to him by a large number of students. These are full of the affection of a true friend, and the admonition of a true father. And was not Gandhiji both a unique friend and a father to the people of India, particularly to the students? *Vidyarthiyon Se* should be on the shelf of every student.

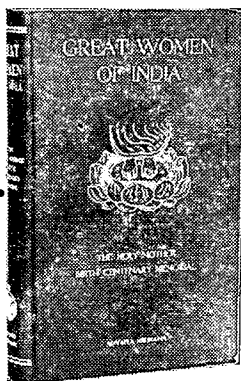
G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARATNA NAGARONUM FARSI BHASHA ANE SAHITYANUN KHEBAN (Intimate Knowledge of the Persian Language and Literature of the Nagars of Gujarat): *By Prof. Dr. Chhotabhai Ranchhodji Nayak, M.A., B.T., Ph.D. Published by the Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad. 1950. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper-cover. Pp. 112. Price As. 12.*

Persian was the Court language during the time of the Muslim rule in Gujarat as elsewhere in India. Those persons, therefore, who aspired to be court functionaries and favourites had to study that language. The Nagar Brahmin community of Gujarat and Saurashtra is by instinct an intelligent community and no wonder if it produced intellectuals of high calibre, whose study was deep and wide. Names like Sarabhai of Ahmedabad and his son, Bholanath, Ranchhodji Divan of Junagadh, are outstanding examples in this category, who knew Persian as well as their mother-tongue. The Kayastha community of Surat, followed closely in the wake of the Nagar community in this respect. The writer has worked well in the way of research and, given as much biographical details as possible, of all the scholars therein; the last one being Balashankar Kantharia of Nadiad. They were good scribes and calligraphists.

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA



Issued to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of
Sri Sarada Devi—the Holy Mother, the illustrious
spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna

Editors

SWAMI MADHAVANANDA

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Introduction by

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN



“The position of women in any society is a true index of its
cultural and spiritual level.”

“THIS VOLUME, which commemorates the Birth Centenary of a Great Woman of our time, is an attempt, the first of its kind, to survey the position and prospect of women in Indian society during the last five thousand years, and to present a kaleidoscopic picture of their dreams and visions, hopes and aspirations, through an illustrative study of the lives and achievements of the more outstanding among them.... Quite a fascinating picture unfolds itself in the pages of this book. It is a long procession, through the ages, of Indian women who attained greatness in various spheres of life and culture—political and aesthetic, moral and spiritual,” says Dr. Radhakrishnan in his Introduction.

THE VOLUME is divided into two main sections. The first gives a general survey of the ideals and position of Indian womanhood in different spheres of life, both in the past and in the present, together with a chapter on the evolution of Mother worship in India. The second section is a study of the lives of great women in India—not only those who actually lived and died, but also many others who are known only from literary sources such as the Vedas, Epics, Puranas, and classical Sanskrit literature.

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 3. GRAM VIDYAPITHA: *By Gokaldas Patel and Nikulbhai Katarthi. Pp. 137. Price Re. 1-12.*
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 5. ISLAMNO SUVARNA YUGA: *By Chunilal Purneshottam Barot. Pp. 90. Price Re. 1-4.*
 6. GANDHIJI—A STUDY: *By Shantilal Maganlal Desai. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 4.*
- All paper-cover. Published by Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1951: 1952.*

This highly admirable and useful series of publications, published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, founded by Mahatma Gandhiji, as the list shows, consists of books in various subjects. The book on the art of spinning contains directions in easy language for those who desire to take to spinning, and explains the method with illustrations. *Typhoid* is a useful brochure, and explains anything relating to that fell disease in popular language from the bacillus to its destroyer Chloromycetin. The advice given to a typhoid patient is to go to hospital, as one's home does not contain all those amenities and facilities which a well-conducted hospital does. *Gram Vidyapitha* is founded on Dr. A. E. Morgan's *Higher Education in Relation to Rural India*. He was a member of the Radhakrishnan University Commission and has devoted much space in its Report as to how to turn the present Degree-conferring Universities into such as would help the rural population to be both educated, cultured and useful members of society. The pace of modification of the British-founded Universities has begun but progresses lamentably slow. To such progress, this book is a good guide. The Constitution of the Indian National Congress as passed at its Ahmedabad session on 29th, 30th and 31st January, 1951, is presented here,

complete in the Gujarati language, with specimens of application forms for membership. The Golden Age of Islam gives a faithful picture of the times when its prevalence and power—worldly and religious—were at their apex. Mr. Barot's study of the subject is intimate; e.g., he has described how a Faithful starts and says his prayers, the genuflections and the words uttered when offering them, God as conceived by the Muslim and the Koran, etc. It is a most useful contribution to the study of Islam, for a Gujarati-knowing person. To those interested in Gandhiji's life and activities in various spheres, this book—*Gandhiji*—furnishes a very valuable means, written as it is, in close association with him at Sevagram. It is fittingly published as the first volume in the Mahadev Desai 'Memorial Series.' Shriji Shantilal's labour is sure to be rewarded by attracting numerous and serious readers.

EKANKI (One-Act Plays): *Edited by Gulabdas Broker and Jayanti Dalal. Published by the Indian National Theatre Prakashan. Printed at the Chitra Press, Baroda. 1951. Paper-cover. Pp. 99. Annual contribution Rs. 2.*

The Editors contemplate the issue of three such collections of One-Act plays in Gujarati per year. The present issue consists of the plays written by eminent writers like Umashankar Joshi, Jayanti Dalal, Gulabdas Broker (the Editors) and Santprasad Bhatt, all of them readable and promising better work hereafter.

PRARTHANA: *By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Published by Ishwarlal Vaulya, Kachholi (via Amalsad). Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, 1951. Illustrated. Paper-cover. Pp. 32. Price not mentioned.*

This small book describes the efficacy of prayer offered sincerely and with due humility. It is written in memory of Shri Gangeshwar.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Grace Plunkett SYMBOL OF YOUNG IRELAND

Grace Plunkett is one of those Irish patriots who forgot themselves in devotion to their cause and toiled and suffered that their people might be free. R. M. Fox, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

One of the most romantic and tragic stories of the 1916 Rising in Ireland is recalled by the death in Dublin, on December 13th, 1955, of Grace Plunkett, who had married Joseph Plunkett, the rebel leader, at midnight in Kilmainham prison chapel, just before his execution. She has a special place in the history of those stormy, heroic days.

Had he lived, Joseph Plunkett would have made a big reputation as a poet, for already his verse had made him pre-eminent among the talented group. Just before the 1916 struggle began, Plunkett had to enter a nursing home for an operation. He left on Easter Saturday and stayed in a Dublin hotel. He was determined to take part in the fighting, but had arranged to marry Grace Gifford on Easter Sunday morning. Through some mistake on the part of a messenger this plan miscarried.

Grace Gifford and her three sisters were all active in the militant Irish National movement. She was unhappy at home, for her people were bitterly opposed to her activities. Her sister Muriel was already married to Thomas MacDonagh, also executed for his part in the Easter Week rising. When the rebels surrendered, Plunkett was held in Kilmainham Gaol. He had sent a message to Grace asking her to complete the arrangements for their marriage. She had the help of the priest who was to have married them earlier and she went to the prison. For the sake of historical accuracy it is best to give what followed in her own words:

"I entered Kilmainham Gaol on Wednesday, May 3rd, at 6 p.m. and was detained there till about 11-30 p.m., when I saw him for the first time in the prison chapel, where the marriage was gone through and no speech allowed. He was taken back to his cell and I left the prison with Fr. Eugene MacCarthy of James's St. We tried to get shelter for the night and I was finally lodged at the house of Mr. Byrne—bell founder—in James's St. I went to bed at 1.30 and was wakened at 2 o'clock by a policeman, with a letter from the prison Commandant, Major Lennon, asking me to visit Joseph Plunkett. I was brought there in a motor and saw my husband in his cell, the interview occupying ten minutes. During the interview the cell was packed with officers and a sergeant, who kept a watch in his hand, closed the interview by saying 'Your time is now up.'"

Every detail of that night was deeply imprinted on Grace Plunkett's memory. A few points deserve emphasis. She entered that prison for the first time

at 6 p.m. She was kept waiting for five and a half hours—till 11-30 p.m.—without being allowed to see the condemned man she was about to marry. Near midnight he was taken from his cell and conducted to the altar in handcuffs. These were removed for the ceremony and put on immediately after it. Then he was marched away. The prison chapel was in darkness, except that one soldier held a lighted candle. About twenty soldiers were present and one acted as witness.

Grace Plunkett was sent away without being granted any time with her husband after the ceremony. But, at 2 a.m. they came for her again. This second time she was allowed a bare ten minutes in his cell. Even for this brief period they were given no privacy. The cell, she recalled, was crowded with officers while the time was regulated by a soldier with an open watch. "We who had never had enough time to say what we wanted to each other," she said wistfully, "found that in that last ten minutes we could not talk at all."

According to convention, a criminal condemned to death is granted certain comforts. But in the case of this patriot and his wife nothing was done to soften the harshness of their fate. Although he was still ill, Joseph Plunkett was kept in a narrow, cold cell in a disused prison where the guards needed a roaring fire. His wife had the bleakest part of the ordeal to bear. At home there was such hostility to the National struggle that she was refused admission when she returned after her husband's execution.

It happens sometimes that an ordinary man or woman, without any outstanding qualities other than faith or love, is lifted up at the crisis of a movement and remains always as a symbol of humanity, showing to what heights of sacrifice one can reach. But, besides this, Grace Plunkett was a woman of artistic gifts in her own right. When she was an art student at the Slade School in London, Sir William Orpen painted her portrait as "Young Ireland" and this hung in the doorway of the Leicester Galleries for many years. He painted better than he knew, for Grace Gifford—as she then was—has remained ever since as a symbol of the Young Ireland of those stirring days. She used her artistic gifts in the National struggle and, later, she was known for her clever cartoons of Abbey Theatre celebrities.

Her verses are an index to her personality. She wrote one in memory of the 1916 leaders who were her personal friends:

- Little we thought who watched your strength
and power,
That you would lie "defeated" 'neath the sod;
The flag is furled that knew your glorious hour,
Your eyes are closed now by the Hand of God,
(And yet from age to age remember we Christ
did not die in vain on Calvary.)

When this was written, the issue of Ireland's freedom still hung in the balance. Her idealism found more ringing utterance in these later verses:

Who battles with fire,
 Who breasteth the flood
 On the wings of desire
 And armoured by God?
 Round his head bowed by sorrow
 The hero-light gleams,
 Rise! Bright dawns the morrow
 O dreamer of dreams!

Although Joseph Plunkett's name was not used in connection with this verse, I do not believe that he could have been out of her heart and mind.

Seven years after that nightmare ordeal of her marriage in Kilmainham Gaol she was bought there as a prisoner. In the struggle between the Free State and the Republic she took the Republican side. This cold, stone prison, long disused and now a ruin, was then the place where women and girl prisoners were held. She saw again the cell where the last ten minutes with her husband were spoilt by the inhumanity of his captors. Into this place of terrible memories she was hurled once more. A nurse in the prison hospital took pity on her and brought her a box of cheap paints. With these she painted the graceful figures of the Madonna and Child on the rough wall of her cell. I saw it there years later when the prison was broken and deserted, pigeons flying through the gaping windows and weeds sprouting among the ill-famed stones. It was still an appealing picture, the colours fresh and gleaming.

In this prison there was much sickness, for it was without heat and had been condemned as unfit for use many years before. Yet, when the women prisoners were told that they would be removed to the North Dublin Union, they refused to go without two of their number who were on hunger strike. Soldiers were sent at 9 p.m. to remove them forcibly, dragging them from landing to landing, throwing them down the iron staircases. Grace Plunkett described it to me as being like a picture of hell, with oaths, screams, struggles and blows. This military operation went on all night. But she paid a tribute to the wardresses who shielded the girls from brutality as far as they could.

In the early morning she was transferred to the North Dublin Union and remembered the journey, for it was in May and she saw the river and the green trees as she sped by. She was glad to be out of that grim bastille of unhappy memories. But she had to spend a further three months in the North Dublin Union before she was released. When the order for release finally came, she refused to leave without her sister, Mrs. Gifford-Wilson, who was imprisoned with her and shared her home.

I met her after these troubles, in the early thirties. And even then an artist could have taken her as a model for Young Ireland. She had not been broken by suffering. The storms had left her young, slim, erect in body and in spirit. Her proud, sensitive face had vivacity and animation. Time the greatest artist of all, had pencilled in those lines of character. Her firm chin and delicately moulded features were as clear-cut as a cameo.

I understood the terrible aftermath of 1916 when she told me how empty Dublin seemed to her then. It was not just the death of one man, however dear, but of a whole intimate group. "Something would happen," she said, "and I would think, I must tell so-and-so, then I would suddenly remember that he, like the others, was dead."

Never did she adopt any pathetic pose. She carried her courage like a gay plume. But she had quick transitions. Sometimes she was a graceful dancing

figure, in a frieze-like design, then a devotee kneeling at the altar or lighting candles at a shrine. For her generation she lit the candles of truth and loyalty at the Altar of Life.

When her health failed I saw her in a nursing home. Her talk then was of early days with the Countess Markievicz and of pictures she had been painting.

At her death the wheel turned full circle. After her marriage in Kilmainham she was hurried out of the prison to make way for the firing squad which ended her husband's life. At her funeral in Dublin, picked men of the National Army fired a volley over her grave as a last salute from the Irish nation.

A New Civilisation for Africa

Rev. Michael Scott writes in *Careers and Courses* :

ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS

During the past years that the United Nations has been in existence, history has moved forward at an ever quickening pace in Africa and in the world at large. The role of the United Nations has also been assuming an increasing importance in African affairs. For many peoples in vast areas of Africa, the United Nations is the only international channel of expression of their hopes and needs to the conscience of the world. In the sphere of trusteeship and non-self-governing territories a struggle has been going on between emergent nationalism striving to find expression at the United Nations and the administering powers which, on the whole, have been on the defensive. At the time the United Nations Charter was drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks in San Francisco, it was hardly dreamt by any of the administering powers that the non-self-governing peoples would receive so much of the time and attention of the United Nations on that a special committee on non-self-governing territories would be established. At the most it was thought that Article 73, Chapter XI, would place upon them the obligation of submitting information year by year, and it came as a surprise to many of the administering powers when a special committee was appointed to deal with this information, to examine it, and make a report on it to the General Assembly. Inevitably, in a country like Africa where people are awakening quickly and are passing rapidly from the kindergarten to the adolescent stage in the growth towards self-government, there are conflicts between those who control their destiny and those who are striving to gain more and more control over their own fate.

India, through her representatives on the Trusteeship Council, has played a notable part in the work of the United Nations.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In many parts of Africa, the development of hitherto non-self-governing peoples is not a straightforward question of nationalism. There are people of many different races living in areas of Central and East Africa. In South Africa it is the white population which governs. A white minority of two and a half million holds the overwhelming proportion of political power over the so-called non-European peoples who number ten and a half million. Asian peoples have no representation in the Councils of the State in South Africa. The African people who number three-fourths of the population are represented by three members of Parliament out of a total of 156 members. Thus, the situation has come about in the Union of South Africa whereby the great

mass of the population are unable to secure release from the many and increasing burdens which they bear and the just grievances which they find it hard even to utter. The Western world has failed to take adequate account of the fact that the character of this State is a menace to all Africa. It is spreading disillusionment and desperation amongst the non-white sections of the population and threatening to poison the whole blood stream of race relations in Africa, south of the Sahara. How much of the terrible situation now prevailing in Kenya is not due to the frustration and disillusionment which has been emanating from South Africa?

THE BRITISH ATTITUDE

In all this seething ferment which is going on in Africa today, there is need of a new stocktaking by Britain of her policies in these multi-racial territories. What is the role of Britain in Africa today? In the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Britain has to her credit a low advance in self-government on the part of the African population. Few would have believed some years ago that the Gold Coast would have an African elected Prime Minister. On the whole, it is probably true to say, especially in regard to these territories, that Britain has led the way in progress towards Constitutional Government and indigenous Parliamentary institutions. Neither the French, Belgian nor Portuguese administrations nor can the other administering powers show the advancement which has taken place under British administration in West Africa. Those of us who criticise Britain's role in other parts of Africa today can draw some inspiration and encouragement from these happenings. We should not fail to give credit where credit is due. But the problems in East, Central and South Africa are very different from those of West Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. And it is here that many in Britain believe that the time has come for a re-examination of the role of Britain there. This role is two-fold. It is that of trustee for the African people who sought Britain's protection during the days of slavery and the arrival of other great European powers in these African territories. But her role is also that of a mediator between the different races who have settled in Africa, who took their capital there, who have pioneered in trade, industry and education and who settled down there and who regard Africa as their home. This applies to the many hundreds of thousands of Asian people in East, Central and South Africa and also to white people who have contributed much and who could continue to contribute as much towards the future peace and prosperity of these countries, if only they would pursue policies which were not based on fear of competition from the other people who belong to the country and to whom the country belongs.

FRESH OUTLOOK NEEDED

Nowhere in the world it is more dangerous than in the emergent Africa of today for preachers and politicians to proclaim doctrines of racial supremacy. Europe has been threatened twice in our generation by this doctrine which captivated Germany and her allies and intoxicated their people with dreams of world domination. It was this doctrine that brought Europe to the verge of destruction. The menace to Africa from the doctrine of racial supremacy is in no way less. African civilisation also cannot be based on racial discrimination or it will perish miserably. We need a new kind of civilisation in Africa, not a slavish imitation of Western systems but one which will conserve and utilise to the full the vast human and natural resources of

Africa and at the same time offer increasing opportunities and freedom to people of all races to develop their own lands, their own skills, that God has given them in industry, trade agriculture and professions. Britain and India can both help Africa in this task.

It is sometimes said that the method of gradual constitutional reforms followed by Britain in Africa leads to stresses and strains which are not apparent in some other territories, such as the Portuguese, for example. This has led some people to claim that the Portuguese methods is more peaceful and to be preferred. But Britain must go forward with faith in the future for there can be no turning back towards old mythologies and the false doctrines that were so prevalent at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Africa, like India, stands at the beginning of an age of industrial and agricultural revolution and possesses political and economic problems of a much greater magnitude than those which confronted the politicians and industrialists of Britain in the hungry 40s. These tasks call for statesmanship of a high order. We cannot afford to place Africa's destiny in the hands of those whose bigotry enables them to think only in terms of negative fear and suspicion of all the hopes and aspirations of peoples other than their own. Africa is a great continent. Great varieties of tradition, language, culture and the colour and rhythm and drama of its life must be appreciated in all their richness and diversity by those responsible for making its laws and its constitutions. Otherwise, the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the people will go on coming into violent collision with one another, and the immense God-given possibilities of Africa will be over-shadowed by the evil spectre of race hatred and suspicion which can only destroy and can never create the means towards a new and happier destiny.

POLICY OF NON-DISCRIMINATION

The outlook for the white race if it pursues an oppressive or exclusive policy towards other races is not pleasant to contemplate. It may be that the time has come before Britain surrenders any more power to the people of her own kith and kin in Africa, to recall them to the sense of the high purposes and mission which Britain undertook when she offered her protection to these lands and peoples a century ago. Now, indeed, her task is that of a mediator as well as that of a trustee, and if all the mistakes which have led to the tragedy of South Africa and Kenya are to be avoided, we must be bold. We must take stock of the situation before it degenerates any further. We must re-examine the whole field of agricultural and industrial possibilities and see what is required in the sphere of education and politics and constitution-making to enable this growth and development to take place without recourse to violence. In these multi-racial territories, constitutions, which emphasize racial and communal differences, may not be the best means of evoking what is best in human nature. What is needed is a political system which emphasizes all that human beings have in common in the development of their land and people, not what keeps them apart. Apartheid is a doctrine of despair and does not correspond to the basic economic and political trends of a twentieth century State. It drives apart what God and History are drawing together, for, we cannot speak of a white civilisation (despite Mr. Lytton's remarks about the poverty of Africa's contribution to civilisation) because it was probably on the African continent, in Egypt, that one of the first civilisations was born and flourished and, at all events, almost all races have contributed towards all

that we now mean when we speak of civilisation. Certainly, civilisation cannot be thought of exclusively white. If it were exclusively white, it would not be a civilisation.

HOW INDIA CAN HELP

There are many practical ways in which India and the Indian people living in Africa can help in the political tasks immediately confronting Africa and in the promotion of better understanding between the races living in East and Central Africa. It should be possible for more of those qualified in the methods of basic education to come from India and assist in the reorganisation of education and its adaptation to the needs of African society at the present time. I have seen a great deal of the work that is being done at Sevagram and by the Indian Village Industries Association. I know of many places in Africa which are crying out for just the rural reconstruction that is being achieved in some of India's underdeveloped areas and the new life that is being brought both to land and people by the application of the principles of basic education.

In many respects, the problems of Africa have more in common with the problems of India than of Britain. A large-scale agricultural as well as industrial revolution is now taking place there, and along with the rapid awakening of great masses of people through a large-scale migration to the towns, there is the inevitable break-up of the old society and the social disciplines that in Africa went with the tribal system. The break-down of old faiths and old tribal organizations led to a discarding of the old standards of morality. And the widespread disillusionment with the white man's law and justice has spread also to some forms of the Christian religion which seemed to sanction apartheid and racial discrimination. Many Africans have left the more orthodox churches in search of some means to express their own feelings and yearnings for deliverance. There are some 800 different Christian sects in South Africa at the present time. Many Africans feel the need of a religion which, while conserving all that is best in their own traditional way of life, will inspire them in their struggle for freedom and justice on earth.

To very many Africans, India's struggle for her independence, and the non-violent methods that were used by India's peasantry and middle classes are still a great inspiration. I believe that India has a great and vital part to play in the future development of Africa, and it is important that this should take place in a manner consonant with the needs of that great Continent and its human problems. Especially there are great possibilities in the sphere of education and technical assistance, in the rehabilitation of Africa's rural areas and social economy, in the use of her great water resources, irrigation and power, and the adaptation of Africa's social and religious life to the rapid changes that are taking place in the direction of industrial development and urban life and the changing agricultural methods needed to conserve and

utilise her soil to the best advantage. The immense psychological changes that are taking place and the conflicts which are being set up through the past and present policies of racial discrimination cannot be avoided. These are the stuff out of which the future of Africa will be fashioned and it is for all of us to find techniques of struggle whereby the necessary change can be brought about without violence and hatred. This was the task to which Mahatma Gandhi devoted himself, and it was in Africa that the spirit of Satyagraha was born. India which has contributed so much to ancient civilisation must take a leading part in the great renaissance of science and culture and their application to the problems of hunger and poverty in Africa.

Little Magazines

Prof. P. Goswami observes in *Triveni* :

The Little Review, an American literary periodical (1914-1929), is considered one of the most outstanding of the Little Magazines. *The Little Review* championed all experimental movements of this century and published the work of eminent American and European writers. It was in this magazine that Arnold Bennett read fragments of *Ulysses* after having been told by Wells of the new writer Joyce. A taste of Joyce made Bennett puzzled, but the older author recalled "the time when I laughed at Cezanne's pictures. I wondered whether there might not be something real in the pages after all." The serialization of *Ulysses* nearly resulted in the suppression of the magazine.

In America, the generic term has been taken as "Little Magazine" of which *The Little Review* is an example. In Britain, however, the term preferred is "Little Review," taking its name from the famous New York *Little Review*. Should we use the term Little Magazine(s) or Little Review(s)? The chief aim of a periodical of this type is the promotion of literary experiment and reform and the encouragement of obscure and hitherto unpublished authors. This is done frequently in accordance with a definite editorial viewpoint in the matter of aesthetics or politics. Such a magazine is not concerned much with high sales or profit-making. By the very nature of its activity it cannot appeal to all and sundry, and if it can impose itself on a large public, well and good but if it fails to do so, it does not care.

These Little Magazines are an interesting feature of the present century. Both in the U.S.A. and England there have been some influential periodicals of this type. One of the earliest in Britain was Katherine Mansfield and Middleton Murry's *Rhythm* (1911). It was the first to publish Picasso and discuss Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Croce. And what was the financial status of this brave magazine? Stephen Swift, the publisher of Katherine Mansfield's books and *Rhythm*, failed, leaving Mansfield and Murry



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with a printer's debt of £400. They, however, decided to continue the magazine and clear the debt from the allowance she used to get from her father. The magazine belied their hopes and in July, 1913, publication ceased. Another English magazine had more influence. It was *The Egoist*, having in its coterie among others, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. *The Egoist* published Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist* in 1914 and 1915. It was in this magazine that T. S. Eliot made his famous statement of poetic faith: "Tradition and the Individual Talent." The essay repays perusal even now:

"No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead. I mean this as a principle of aesthetic, not merely historical, criticism . . . the emotion of art is impersonal. And the poet cannot reach this impersonality without surrendering himself wholly to the work to be done. And he is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past, unless he is conscious, not of what is dead, but of what is already living."

It was in *The Egoist* that in April 1918 May Sinclair wrote an article analysing the technique of Dorothy Richardson, the first exemplar of what was called "the stream of consciousness" method of writing fiction. A more influential magazine was the quarterly *The Criterion*, founded by T. S. Eliot in 1922 and edited by him till its disappearance in 1939. The first number of this magazine published *The Waste Land* and the fact considerably fortified Eliot's critical reputation. The Editor broadcast a series of talks to Germany in 1946 on "The Unity of European Culture," and in one of these talks he spoke on the policy with which he had started *The Criterion*. He made it clear that the magazine did not have any particular credo, excepting an unconscious assumption "that there existed an international fraternity of men of letters, within Europe: a bond which did not replace, but was perfectly compatible with, national loyalties, religious loyalties, and differences of political philosophy. And that it was our business not so much to make any particular ideas prevail, as to maintain intellectual activity on the highest level."

The essays that T. S. Eliot wrote for *The Egoist*, the *Athenium*, or *The Criterion* were the portents of a new movement in the literature of the present century. Another magazine of considerable influence was Cyril Conolly's *Horizon* (1940-49). Some of the articles of this review were recently anthologized under the title *The Golden Horizon*.

Many of the Little Magazines in America popularised Marxian socio-historical methods of criticism. The proletarian literature of the thirties had these as its organ, and sometimes the discussion of the philosophical aspects of Marxism and the application of its concepts to literature, science, history, and sociology that these magazines carried on, was of a high level. Professor Isaacs observes rightly:

"These Little Magazines are the foundations of the literature of our time, the battlegrounds of new movements and new ideas, the seed-grounds of all new literature, sheltering the young writers while they are growing, bringing them, while they are new, to the audiences ready for them, and offering them to the commercial world, which will decide their fame

or their fate . . . The function of such reviews, as Mr. Allan Tate says, is "not to give the public what it wants, or what it thinks it wants, but what, through the medium of its most intelligent members, it ought to have."

Indeed, how important these magazines with their rather restricted circulations have been will be evident, if we only remember some of the outstanding writers of this century who came to be first known through these vehicles—Katherine Mansfield, Sherwood Anderson, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, D. H. Lawrence, James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, E. E. Cummings, William Faulkner, Edmund Wilson, Dylan Thomas.

In India possibly most magazines are of the Little Magazine type. In a land where most of the population is illiterate and where all cultural moves have to be made by the educated few, however reactionary they may be on occasions, each magazine has its own coterie to inject it with life-blood and hope. Only as an exception does it attain to a wide circulation. In Assam it is more so. Assamese magazines do not have a wide audience, either because they are not well edited or because they are in truth *Little Magazines*.

ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চা ও কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সুত্রাবলী

শ্রীনরেন্দ্রনাথ বাগল জ্যোতিষশাস্ত্রী

(বিশুদ্ধ সিদ্ধান্ত পদ্ধিকার জ্যোতিষী)

প্রকাশক—ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ

২০ নং হারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

গ্রন্থখানি ২১ অধ্যায়ে সমাপ্ত। বাঁধাই মূল্য ১০ টাকা। ডবল ডিমাই সাইজ ৫২০ পৃষ্ঠা। বৈদিকযুগ হইতে, বর্তমান যুগের ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চার গবেষণামূলক ইতিহাস প্রথমে প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে। কোষ্ঠী-বিচার ভাগে—নৈহজে কোষ্ঠী গ্রন্থত, গ্রহফুট, ভাবফুট গণনা শিক্ষা, দ্বাদশ ভাবের কারকতার সঙ্গে রাশীর দ্বাদশ ভাবের কারকতা, দ্বাদশ ভাব বিচারের নানাবিধ সঙ্কেত, রাজযোগ, বিংশোত্তরী, অষ্টোত্তরীদশা বিচার, মানবের দৈহিককাস্ত ও কণ্ঠস্বর হইতে গ্রহপ্রভাব বিচার, রেখাষ্টবর্গের ডিগ্রী গণনা হইতে দৈনিক গ্রহমোচর ফল, ৩০০ শত বৎসর পূর্বের সাগুসের নিয়মে, মানবের শরীরচিহ্ন দ্বারা নষ্টকোষ্ঠী উদ্ধার, গ্রহ প্রভাবে নারীর মাসিক ঋতু আবর্তন ও সহজে সন্ধাননিয়ন্ত্রণ বা স্বসন্তান লাভ প্রভৃতি বিচার, বিবাহ মিলন বিচারে, দম্পতির দৈহিক স্বপ্ন, সৌভাগ্যবুদ্ধির বিচার ব্যবহার জ্যোতিষ, পিথাগোরাসের নিয়মে সপ্তগ্রহ প্রভাবিত সপ্তগ্রহ হইতে সঙ্গীতের উন্নতি বিচার প্রভৃতি গ্রন্থে সরল বঙ্গভাষায় সর্বশ্রেণীর পাঠকগণের উপযোগী করিয়া রচিত হইয়াছে।

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Religion of Walt Whitman

John H. Hershey writes about the philosophy of the greatest American Poet, Walt Whitman in *Unity*, Jan.-Feb., 1956, as follows:

The year 1955 was the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of the famous book of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, by Walt Whitman (1819-92). But the reception of it at first was not gratifying. The Quaker, John Greenleaf Whittier, for example, definitely did not like it; one story is that he threw it into the fire! Ralph Waldo Emerson, however, was one of the few who did give it a boost very soon after receiving a copy. He wrote the poet in July, 1855: "I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed." With regard to Whitman personally, John Burroughs, his friend for three decades, went so far as to say that he was "the greatest personality that has appeared in the world since the Christian era," and he also wrote a little book about him.

One could look at Whitman from many sides; but let us examine only his religion. Indeed, he himself wrote that the main purpose underlying his writing of *Leaves of Grass* was religious. He did not mean by religion the conventional doctrines as they were held by many of the churches; rather, he sought what he called a "more splendid theology."

Let us, then, begin with his general attitude toward Bibles and religions, as found in his poem, "Bibles and Religions." He does not deny that they are not divine, but nevertheless asserts emphatically that they all have their origins in the life of man himself. Human beings give them the life, rather than contrariwise. In this respect he was in accord with the teaching of his friend, Emerson.

Miracles—what are they for Whitman? A miracle, its root meaning being "to wonder," may mean either a supernatural or a natural wonder. Our poet seems clearly to emphasize the latter. It is in this sense that he says in his poem, "Miracles," that he knows "of nothing else but miracles." Viewing the wonderfulness of sky and earth and sea and living creatures, he asks, "What stranger miracles are there?"

The brotherhood of man was sung by Whitman in his poems: "I will sing the song of companionship," and "All men ever born are also my brothers." Although optimistically inclined, he saw, as expressed in his poem, "By the Roadside," the arrogance of persons toward laborers, the poor, and Negroes, as well as the evils of pestilence and tyranny, and wars. He practised as well as sang of brotherhood. As a volunteer he helped the sick and wounded and dying in the hospitals of Washington, D.C., for twenty months during the Civil War. Working a few hours each day to earn just enough to get along, he spent the rest of the day visiting the soldiers, writing home for them, giving them tobacco or fruit, playing games, and even, though sickened by what he saw daily, managing to greet them with a cheery smile.

Whitman had a keen interest not only in individual human beings, whether Emerson or cab-drivers, but also

in individual things and creatures of nature. We find this in both his poetry and prose. He wrote of "the large pale thin crescent of the new moon," "the chirping of crickets in the grass," "the odor of the neighboring ripening corn," "the distant guttural screech of a flock of guinea-fowls comes shrilly yet somehow musically to my ears."

But our poet did not limit his interest to particular things and beings of creation. What is important to note is his seeing that to which the particular is related: the Whole, the Universal, God. Many Americans, it seems, see the part but not the Whole; extreme mystics, on the other hand, seem inclined to withdraw from the things of this world in order to fasten their attention on an absolute being having no vital relation to the parts of creation. Whitman avoided these extremes, seeing both the reality of the part and the Whole, the particular and the Universal, the created and God, and their relation to each other. Something of God he saw in "each hour of the twenty-four, and each moment then, in the face of men and women I see God." "I hear and behold God in every object." But he did not profess to know much about God. He was certain that God is but not what God is. "With the mystery of God we dare not dally."

Whitman felt the reality of God rather than merely believing in God. He wrote of his experience once when he was observing the night sky. He referred to "the visible suggestion of God in space and time—now once definitely indicated, if never again." He seemed to see "a flashing glance of Deity, addressed to the soul. All silently—the indescribable night and stars—far off and silently." At another time, near the end of his days, he tells of his experience in an outdoor spot: "How it is I know not, but I often realize a presence here—in clear woods I am certain of it, and neither chemistry nor reasoning nor aesthetics will give the least explanation. . . . And he adds that this experience of "a presence" has helped to strengthen him in body and soul.

Such was the view and vision of one of America's religious personalities, the "good gray poet," Walt Whitman. Although his message was written in the past century, it seems as fresh and vital as if it were written only yesterday.

Buddhism in China

Chou Shu-chia, Deputy Secretary-General of the Chinese Buddhist Association, writes in the *News Bulletin* of the People's Republic of China, May 31, 1956:

Buddhism was introduced into China during the first century A.D. At that time the Madhyamika School was flourishing in India, and so China accepted the Mahayana thought of the Madhyamika School at the very beginning.

From the opening years of the Later Han Dynasty to the end of the Wei Dynasty during the Three Kingdom Period (i.e., 25—264 A.D.), it was the period of inception of Buddhism in China. Since the wide

circulation and learning of the *Maha-prajna-paramita-sutra* at the end of the Wei Dynasty, the Chinese Buddhists began to propagate this sutra by copying, annotating, preaching and debating on it. At the beginning of the fifth century (during the Later Chin Period 384-417 A.D.), Kumarajiva came to China, and his profound learning of the Madhyamika School and his fluent style of translations of the Buddhist scriptures surpassed all his predecessors. At the same time the *Four Agamas* of the Sravakayana and the *Vinayas* of the different schools were translated into Chinese one after the other. Thus Buddhism in China possessed a complete set of the holy scriptures and afforded its followers a way of practice.

Since then many experts of Buddhism emerged, some being teachers of Dharma who engaged themselves in theoretical researches, and others, teachers of Dhyana who solely practised meditation, and still others, teachers of Vinaya who made analytical studies of the *Vinaya*. And there were also many different kinds of view regard-

ing the teachings of Buddhism, arising from different kinds of views regarding the teaching of Buddhism, arising from different scriptures, upon which these views were based. The arguments and disputes arising from these different views furthered the study of Buddhism to a deeper degree.

During the sixth century (during the Liang Dynasty and the middle of the Northern Wei Period) the Yoga School of Buddhism was gradually developed in India. Since then most of the Indian teachers who came to China belonged to the Yoga School, such as Bodhiruchi and Ratnamati who came during the Northern Wei Period and Paramartha who was in China at the end of the Liang and in the beginning of the Chen Dynasties. They propagated many of the works of the Yoga School.

The various schools of Chinese Buddhism, each having its own particular points, were founded successively. The first one was the Tien Tai School, founded by the venerable Chih Yi at the beginning of

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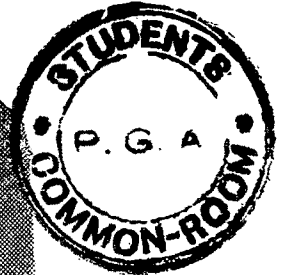
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the seventh century with a newly-created system of thought to mediate between the theories of the Madhyamika and the Yoga Schools. The "Three Treatises" School (basing on the *Ma-hyamika-sastra*, the *Sata-sastra* and the *Dvadasanikaya-sastra*) was also founded to propagate the teachings of the Madhyamika School. Being discontent with the different views and not knowing which was right, the venerable Hsuan-chuang went to India with a resolution to acquire a complete and thorough solution of the question at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty. After going through many hardships he arrived in India where he studied Buddhism, and returned to China, spending altogether seventeen years abroad. When he had returned home he translated a great number of sutras and sastras into Chinese (of the 5,000 volumes of translated works as collected in the existing Chinese Tripitaka, one-fifth was done by him alone). His disciple, the venerable Kuai-chi, succeeded him in his system of thought and founded the Tzu En School.

Bodhidharma who came to China in the middle of the fifth century, advocated the knowledge of Dhyana, and this system of thought later developed into the Dhyana School in the middle of the Tang Dynasty. The school that proposed to harmonize the theories of the Tzu En and Dhyana Schools with another system of thought, was the Hsien Shou School, founded by the venerable Fa-tseng. During the eighth century when the Esoteric School flourished in India, two Indian teachers, Bajramati and Amogha, introduced the theories of this school into China.

The Pure Land School which taught its follower to repeat the name of the Amita Buddha so as to be reborn in the Western Paradise, and the Vinaya School which chiefly devoted in the study and practice of the Vinaya rules, were also founded one after the other during the seventh and the eighth centuries. The seventh and the eighth centuries were the golden time of Buddhism in China, and the various schools and sects which became prevalent among the Chinese Buddhists afterwards, were all founded during this period. It was also in this period that Buddhism was introduced into Tibet from the interior of China on the one hand and directly from India on the other hand. And this was the Former Period of Buddhism in Tibet.

During the tenth century (Song Dynasty) the Esoteric School was again introduced into the land of Han from India, and at the same time it was also brought into Tibet and formed the Later Period of Buddhism in Tibet, laying the foundation of the Tibetan Buddhism which is prevalent today. At the end of the twelfth century (the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty) Buddhism of the Pali system gradually spread among the Tai tribe in Yunnan province, and Tibetan Buddhism was also introduced into Mongolia. Thus the southern Buddhism of the Pali system and the northern Buddhism of the Chinese and Tibetan systems were all disseminated in China.

Since the introduction of Buddhism into China during the Han Dynasty, it was always studied and propagated, although not without hindrances, throughout the succeeding Tsin, the Six Dynasties, Tang, Sung, Yuan and Ming Dynasties. The salient points of Chinese Buddhism are that it advocates all the three "yanas," but lays stress on Mahayana teachings, and that under the guiding thought of "benefiting all sentient beings and purifying the world," the Chinese Buddhists positively promote the good traditions of Buddhism and obtain their own liberation by working for the liberation of others.

At the end of the Ching Dynasty when imperialism

invaded China, Buddhism suffered the same fate as the original culture of China (and the Buddhists also shared the common fate of the Chinese people). Buddhism was rejected and the Buddhists were despised, Buddhist temples and monasteries being demolished and destroyed. During the forty years before the liberation, there were, however, many enthusiastic Buddhists who tried with utmost effort to renovate and bring about a renaissance of Buddhism, but they all wasted their time and energy without any achievement. During the twenty years of Kuomintang regime, the destruction and oppression which Buddhism suffered increased ever more than before.

In 1949 China was liberated, and under the protection of the policy of religious freedom (which was first fixed in the Common Programme and is now prescribed in the Constitution) as adopted by the Communist Party and the People's Government, the religious faith of Buddhists is protected and respected, and the political and social status of Buddhists is unprecedentedly elevated. Many of the important Buddhist temples and monasteries which were damaged before the liberation, have been repaired or reconstructed by the People's Government. In June, 1953, the Buddhist Association of China, which is constituted by the leading Buddhists of the various regions, nationalities and schools of all China, was founded in Peking. In August, 1955, the second (expanded) session of the Board of Directors, the Buddhist Association of China, was convened in Peking and it was resolved to found a Buddhist Academy of China for the purpose of educating competent persons to disseminate the Dharma. The meeting also passed a resolution that the Buddhists should positively promote the good traditions of Buddhism, maintain the purity of the Tathagata's holy teachings, support the socialistic reconstruction of our mother country and protect world peace.

A number of regional Buddhist associations have now been established one after the other, and the Buddhist followers of the different areas in the whole country have already made a certain amount of achievements in the study and practice of Buddhism, as well as in the promotion of the good traditions of Buddhism. Owing to the full realization of the positive Buddhist spirit of "benefiting all sentient beings and purifying the world," Buddhists are now supported and esteemed in society. Now, the Buddhists of China, under the leadership of the Buddhist Association of China, are working hard with a full confidence together with the people of the whole country for our socialistic reconstruction, for protecting world peace and for the further promotion of the good traditions of Buddhism.

1956 is the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvana. The Chinese Buddhists do not have, however, quite the same calculation as regards the year in which the Buddha entered Nirvana, with the Buddhists of the various southern Buddhist countries, but we also have a great esteem for the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvana, which is to be held in 1956, and therefore the Chinese Buddhists are making due preparation for the celebration and will undertake a series of memorial works for the occasion.

An Outline of Egyptian Culture

The eminence of Egypt in the world of today is due to its geographical location which has facilitated development and progress in spiritual, scientific and material fields. Its situation between the three main continents, namely, Africa, Asia, and Europe helped in

making intimate contacts between the Egyptian and the other civilisations. Its situation near the Holy Lands of Judaism, Christianity and Islam has made it conversant with the teachings and philosophies of these religions. The respective nature of the Egyptian civilisation has enabled it to draw the best from the culture of its neighbouring countries, and thereby improve and enrich its own culture and civilisation. The other nations too can benefit in the same way from the Egyptian civilisation. Thus Egypt was and still is in a position, due to its geographical location, to influence and be influenced by the culture of the neighbouring countries.

Egypt is endowed with an equable Mediterranean climate. A sunny, clear and blue sky is to be found all the year round. The climate on the whole is moderate, both the winter and the summer are mild and salubrious.

What really distinguish Egypt from other countries are the customs, habits and ideas of its people which are peculiar only to Egyptians.

The Nile, the most precious gift of nature to Egypt, passes right through the heart of Egyptian land bringing fertility and prosperity at its full. Not only the agricultural but also the cultural development is due to the welfare and prosperity brought by the Nile. It is this river which is responsible for nursing the old Egyptian civilisation.

The old civilisation of Egypt is universally proclaimed to be one of the oldest and the most developed in the world. An idea of the progress made and standard attained in science, art and literature is clearly visible in the ruins and antiquities found in Egypt. These ruins and antiquities even today baffle the minds and speak very high of the culture and civilisation of that time. Some historians are of the opinion that Egyptian culture was the spring which watered Greek philosophy and civilisation. Plato confessed the influence of Egyptians and regarded them as professors of the world. After the fall of the Greek civilisation it was Egypt that became the torch-bearer of the Hellenic civilisation. The School of Alexandria was once the biggest cultural centre. Its library contained a very great number of high class works of Greek philosophy, literature and science, and it is a well-known fact that research scholars from all over the world used to come to Egypt to study Greek works. Neo-Platonic Philosophy was inspired in Egypt. Plautus, the famous Latin dramatic poet, mentioned that he had to go to Egypt to translate some old Greek plays. And recently some parts of the comedies of Menander, the Greek comedy poet of the third phase, were found only in Egypt.

Egypt was conversant with the Roman culture also, but never gave it a way. It proved to be a shield against the Romans who tried to ride roughly on Christianity. Egypt learned and preferred St. Mark Angle's vision of the Christian education over the Arius Angle and became the focus of St. Mark Pope. Some of the most able and universally respected theologians like Clement of Alexandria, Origen, the philosopher. John of Nikius and others have flourished in Egypt.

Islamic Egypt took its birth with the settling of different Arab tribes. Once again Egypt achieved the highest dignity by becoming the leader of Islamic nations and defender of Islamic civilisation. It played major role in defending the Islam in the Crusade Wars. Egypt again successfully fought back the barbarians who attacked Persia and Iraq and were plan-

ning to invade Syria. This saved the West also from the ruthlessness of the barbarians.

Egypt maintains an exalted position in the Islamic culture too. Azher University, established in the 10th century, is the only Islamic University in the world where its traditions, customs and literature still flourish and are most preserved even now. This University is the oldest educational institute in the whole of the world. It diffuses the light of knowledge all over the Islamic world.

Amity with all and enmity with none is the motto of the Egyptians. They are the people with refined and aesthetic tastes. They draw the best from other nations, build a culture which fits their customs, habits and taboos and even so to say, send it to other nations. They like to keep old teachings and at the same time they like the new. They mix the old and the new and evolve something which suits their conditions, habits and temperaments. For example, the typical Egyptian literature is a mixture of both the old and the new literature and this concoction is neither eastern nor western literature, but purely Egyptian literature. Similarly the Egyptian culture, frankly speaking, is the mixture of various cultures detaining her own traditions and customs intact.

It was only due to adverse political conditions that her cultural advancement received a setback. But now after the 1952 revolution Egypt is straining its maximum to attain its old place in the world of letters and culture.

The Ministry of Education is working for the educational and cultural progress in all fields.

The Council of National Planning aiming at the increase of the national income and raising the standard of living recommended the establishment of several industries. For implementation of the recommendations several industries are built in different parts of the country in a decentralised form.

Agricultural improvement is taking place day by day. Major and minor irrigation projects are being constructed for the purpose. Co-operative societies and collective farming, the basis of agricultural development, are now established on a large scale.

Social centres, for health conditions and social improvement, and to supply trained personnel, are now scattered all over the country in both rural and urban areas.

New Egyptian Government is marching on solid and concrete basis in every branch of advancement and development, to place Egypt in its right position and march along with the world of today.

This bulletin aims to show the steps that Egypt is taking to fulfil its goal in the cultural field and definitely Egypt will retain its right position under the new regime.—*Culture of Egypt*, June 1956.

Nepamills Now Progressing Toward Real "Stability"

K. P. Narayanan writes in the *American Reporter*, June 6, 1956:

Newsprint is more than newsprint; it is food for freedom, raw material for democracy.

There is the story of a pompous official of the unhappy, forgotten days of newsprint control who asked, "What is newsprint?" and went on to say pontifically, "I know 'news' and I know 'print' as well, but what is this newsprint control? It possibly has something to do with controlling the printing of news."

Today, India has her first newsprint factory, the National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited plant which, designed to produce 100 tons daily, meets about 40 per cent of the country's total requirements, and saves nearly Rs. 2 crores' worth of foreign exchange. Until lately, not a sheet of the nearly 90,000 tons of the country's annual consumption was produced in India.

This factory was formally declared open by Prime Minister Nehru at a glittering function at Nepanagar. In the course of a vigorous speech on the occasion, Mr. Nehru referred to the machinery installed in the factory and asked Pandit Rs. S. Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, who was seated on the dais, "Where does Nepa machinery come from?" Pandit Sukla looked to Dr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, chairman of the Nepamills, who was also seated on the dais. He promptly said, "America."

The machinery came from America. The factory was designed by Ebasco Services, Inc., of New York. Earlier, to determine whether commercially acceptable newsprint can be made from a combination of salai and bamboo pulps, the company sent raw materials to be tested at the Herty Foundation Laboratories in Savannah, Georgia, U.S.A.

When forwarding the results of these experiments, the engineers observed:

"We are thoroughly satisfied that commercial newsprint can be made from salai and bamboo. The test data is better than the average required by the American Newsprint Association."

To American help in building this factory, Chairman Ramaswami Mudaliar paid tribute in his welcome speech: "The Technical Co-operation Mission had helped by obtaining technicians from the U.S.A. The consultants, Ebasco Services, New York, had proved trustful friends and their advice and experience had always been at the disposal of the mills."

The gigantic paper machine of Nepamills is the finest of its kind in the East. It can make a continuous sheet of finished paper 18 feet wide and operate at a speed of 1,500 feet per minute to produce 100 tons of standard newsprint in 24 hours, enough to form a continuous 18 feet wide carpet from Nepanagar to Bombay, 325 miles away.

A LANDMARK

Nepamills is a landmark in the cavalcade of India's progress. Here is an instance, not of erecting just another factory, but a case of establishing a pioneer industry. This pioneer industry has given lead in a significant matter. The Nepamills management and workers have signed an agreement that they would maintain industrial peace during the Second Plan period.

The site of the new plant in Chandni, north-west Madhya Pradesh, was once described by Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar, first chairman of the board, as "a God-forsaken, malaria-infested forest venue" where the howling of jackals vied only with the whistling of wild winds. In this once snake-abounding, tiger-haunted jungle tract now has risen the sunlit, 400-acre township of Nepanagar, where the high chimneys of the new factory tell of the birth of a pioneer industry for India.

The total cost estimate of the Nepamills today stands at Rs. 6.5 crores. Of this, the subscribed capital is about Rs. 1.4 crores. The remainder is represented by States and Union Government loans and by American Point Four aid.

The anicut on the Tapi River for supplying the mill and the township about eight million gallons of water every day, costing Rs. 12 lakhs, was built by Govern-

ment, the plan being to recover the amount in instalments. The State Government has undertaken to supply forest raw materials to the Nepamills from the reserved forests of the state.

Nepamills had a shaky start. In the words of Dr. Mudaliar, the plant was "every now and then faced with unpredictable difficulties." Dr. Mudaliar himself referred to "the wastage involved in the earlier period in designing the factory" and to "the years the locusts have eaten." Mistakes have been many. Misfortunes have not been fewer. For example, a ship carrying electrical equipment for Nepamills sank on the high seas, delaying work by four months.

But things have changed. The dull grey in the canvas is gradually turning into crimson. Today, as Pandit Shukla said in his message, "The sky is clear and we look straight ahead . . . Nepamills has now come into its own and is well on the way to stability and progress."

Book "Hospital"

The Lenin Library in Moscow has 18,600,000 copies of books, magazines, yearly files of newspapers, etc. They are under the constant observation of the employees of the hygiene and restoration department which is a kind of hospital: here care is taken of the "health" and prolonging the life of books, manuscripts, newspapers and maps. The meteorologist, for example, sees to it that the humidity and temperature of the air is maintained at a definite level. The entomologist, too, has his eye on every corner of the library protecting the books against moths and bookworms. Every book is regularly vacuum-cleaned to remove the dust, the library's horrible enemy. If a book is found to have a torn sheet, spoilt binding, or mould it is removed from the library for "treatment."—*News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

Chain of Dnieper Power Stations

Although the construction of the Kakhovka Hydro-power Development, the fourth unit of which is about to be put into operation, has not yet been completed, the noise of new building sites floats over the Dnieper. A chain of power stations is being erected on the Dnieper. Near the city of Dneprodzerzhinsk a hydro-electric station of 250,000 kw. capacity is being built; electric transmission lines, a railway branch line and sidings are already being laid here. As soon as the ice melts on the river, suction dredges will commence work.

In Kirovograd Region one of the large Dnieper power stations is being built: the Kremenchug Hydro-electric Station with a capacity of 450,000 kw. The builders, armed with up-to-date machinery, quickly completed the cofferdam, protecting the construction, site against the spring floods, and stemmed the oil bed of the Dnieper. The dam has caused a reservoir to be formed, which will ensure the uninterrupted work of the turbines of another three power stations, besides that at Kremenchug, belonging to the Dnieper chain. It is planned to increase the power supply to Kiev by building a new station—the Kiev Hydro-electric Station. This will be the last large hydro-power station in the lower part of the Dnieper chain.

The Dnieper, the third largest river in Europe, possesses power resources calculated at many thousands of millions of kilowatt-hours. The upper reaches of the river also hold out a promise of cheap electric energy.—*News and Views from The Soviet Union.*



Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Born: July 23, 1856

Died: August 1, 1920



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THE LAST LESSON
By Bireschandra Ganguly

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Month in Review

At home and abroad the month of August last has been exceptionally full of disturbances. Here at home, we are back to the humdrum everyday problems, but abroad the signs of a lull is not yet seen.

The five statesmen, led by Mr. Menzies of Australia, who are out on a forlorn hope mission of negotiation with President Nasser of Egypt, cannot hope to arrive at a solution of the Suez *impasse*, in view of the diametrically opposed ideology of the two groups. The Western group and their satellites are pressing for an "international" control of the Suez Canal, in order that the world has an unbroken right of the way through the Canal, come war come peace. Much has been made of the Egyptian embargo on Israeli ships and chartered bottoms with cargoes meant for Israel. But not a word has been said regarding the British record, during the Turco-Italian War over Tripoli, and during the two World Wars. We are unable to make any fine distinction between that chapter of British Imperialism and what is now proposed by Mr. Dulles, unless it is in the U.S. participation in that colonial procedure.

The British have reverted to the time-dishonoured practice, so well-known to us, of repression in preference to conciliation, in Cyprus. The results would be the same as it always has been in all history. Further the landing of French troops in Cyprus, in preparation for the Suez debacle, has given a particularly vicious mediaeval tone to the entire situation.

In Central Europe, there is a mild outbreak

of "cold-war" as between the Soviets and the West German Government at Bonn. It started with the indictment of the Communist Party of West Germany as being an illegal body. Since then the Soviet Ambassador to Bonn, V. A. Zorin, has been recalled, and the relations between the two countries have deteriorated very considerably.

Between the last-ditch stand of the old colonial powers, and the reversion to the Communist witch-hunt in West Germany, by the enforcement of the legal issues in a five-year old case, the balance between war and peace was rendered somewhat precarious in the past month.

At home the phase of rabid parochialism has, perhaps, come to an end after the quietening of the masses in Ahmedabad. The most curious fact that has emanated during the investigation of the causative factors in the outbreaks of violence in Ahmedabad, is the complicity of the rich land-speculators of the city, who had banked on the possibility of a steep rise in land values, if Ahmedabad became the capital of Guzerat. It should be an eye-opener to those who prate about the "Will of the people" and "Student movement," in and out of season, on the slightest provocation. Ahmedabad has shown how shallow and thoughtless mob-psychology can drive both Labour and Student bodies to a frenzy, when skilfully guided for ulterior motives, by brainy scoundrels.

Luckily the situation has remained normal in other parts of India affected by boundary re-adjustments.

Price Increases and Government Policy

There has been countrywide anxiety over the steep rise in the prices of essential goods during the past few months. The increase covered both industrial and agricultural growths. While a part of the rise in the prices of agricultural commodities might be looked upon as corrective to the steep fall in 1954-55 it did not explain the abnormal rise. The anxiety was reflected in questions in the Parliament. In reply to a question in Rajya Sabha, the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture admitted that the rise was in part due to the effects of deficit financing. Among other reasons the Minister listed short production of *kharij* coarse grains this year leading to greater pressure on wheat and rice; the speculative activities of hoarders and the failure of rice crop in East Pakistan and consequent pressure on supplies in the border States of Assam, West Bengal and Tripura.

But from a careful reading of the Minister's statement it would reveal that the most important factor of price increase was deficit financing. Otherwise how could the rise in prices in the South, where production of rice had risen by ten lakh tons, be explained? The Minister's statement, as reported by *PTI* runs thus: "Mr. Jain said that during the second half of 1955 the prices of foodgrains began to rise and it was rather sharp towards the end of the year. This rise in prices persisted in the South even after the paddy harvest in January-February, 1956, although the production of rice this year had been one million tons more than that of last year."

Shri Jain added that Government had already adopted certain measures to check the rising tendency of foodgrain prices. Those measures included: (a) Total ban on export of rice and other foodgrains; (b) Stoppage of purchases of foodgrains by the Government in internal markets; (c) Issue of rice and wheat through fair price shops set up by the State Governments; (d) Issue of wheat freely from central stocks in important centres; and (e) Restrictions on advances by scheduled banks against stocks of rice and paddy.

Three days later the Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, Shri Arun Chandra Guha, gave the Lok Sabha almost the same

reasons for the rise in prices with the difference that he clearly tried to minimise the effects of deficit financing in this regard.

The tendency of official pronouncements to lay stress only on the aspect of price increases of agricultural commodities to the exclusion of manufactured goods and the difference of emphasis on the relative importance of the vigorous factors for such increase in prices disclosed a lack of proper appreciation of the problem and a lot of confused thinking. The *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial article on the subject criticizes the lack of a positive price policy on the part of Government. Anti-social activities on the part of traders were to a great extent responsible for the rise in prices. Government had threatened action against those who would indulge in malpractices. "But," the *Chronicle* points out, "repeated warnings of other kinds in the past and periodical action have not been able to bring down prices to a level which is desirable or to obviate the risks of renewed upward trends in the future."

Referring to the official policies the newspaper writes:

"Ministers have been known to speak in different voices about the gravity of the price position and about the causes which have contributed to its creation. The need for a rise is sometimes justified and at other times questioned implicitly or explicitly. It may be argued that the maintenance of fair level of prices and their stabilisation are largely a psychological matter in a free economy. But even from this point of view, periodical official utterances are not calculated to inspire confidence. It is time the Government made up its mind to have a positive price policy to avoid any more complications during the crucial Second Plan period."

Increase in Cloth Duty

There goes the saying in Bengali that he who goes to Lanka (Ceylon) turns to be Ravana. This has made no exception even in the case of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari who has recently been elevated to the Finance portfolio of the Union Government. Hitherto Mr. Krishnamachari was the champion of the mill industries, so it came as a great surprise that immediately on his assumption of the new portfolio, he is following the footsteps of his predecessor. A Bill has been passed by the Lok Sabha authorising the

imposition of an excise duty of 6 as. per square yard on fine and superfine cloth and 4 as. per square yard on coarse and medium cloth. The increase in cloth duty has come into effect from September 1, and it will bring an additional revenue of Rs. 17.5 crores during the current financial year.

Mr. Krishnamachari justified the increase on the dual ground that it would check any more rise in prices of cotton cloth and that it would mop up excess profits when all available financial resources have to be mobilized for the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan. It is just incomprehensible to us how these two objectives could be achieved by raising the cloth duty. The statement of the objects and reasons of the Bill does not claim that the measure is intended to or can control prices. The measure is reminiscent of the Quixotic adventure in trying to give relief to a boy who was being whipped by his master and the result was that following Don's intervention, the boy was administered double the stripes which he would have originally received had not Don intervened. Similar will be the result with the increase in the cloth duty. Not to speak of lowering the prices, a boy of five can realise that the increase in the duty will forthwith raise the prices of cotton textiles and actually that has been the case. We wonder whether the new Finance Minister has been bereft of the normal senses which even a boy of five does possess. Further, how the higher duty on cloth will curtail the rate of excess of profits? This is plain commonsense, which seems to be an uncommon thing to the Finance Minister, that such a measure of taxation is an indirect levy on consumption and the incidence will be shifted to the consumers. The result will be that the cloth prices will inevitably go up and the dealers will continue to earn a higher rate of profits over cloth deals. The price of cotton textiles will go up as a result of the rise in duty, not in the same proportion of the increase in duty, but at a much higher rate.

In other words, the measure is intended to secure to the dealers windfall profits at the cost of the consumers, though the Minister pretends that the effect would be otherwise. The measure is well timed, just on the eve of the Pujas when the cotton textiles will have large demands. Ever since the budget of the current year, the last budget of Mr. Deshmukh, the prices are

progressively on the increase. The budgetary measures have cast a spell of economic disaster with an allround rise in price level. The main cause of Mr. Deshmukh's resignation is his last budget which is the epitome of blunders in economic thinking. Mr. Krishnamachari seems to have learnt nothing from the example of his predecessor and he indulges in the same unrealistic attitude.

Mr. Krishnamachari is reported to have said that the former Finance Minister had observed while enhancing the excise duty on cloth in his budget proposals that the steadily expanding demand for mill cloth had resulted in substantial reduction in cloth stocks in the mills and with dealers. The former Finance Minister also referred to the rise in the prices of agricultural commodities. These trends have continued during the post-budget period and prices have risen even beyond the limits justified by the increase in the duty. Mr. Krishnamachari explains that in the Second Plan encouragement to the handloom sector in the interests of larger rural employment has resulted in the adoption of some restrictive policy in regard to any increase in production in the mill sector. This is another factor which has resulted in the demand for mill cloth running ahead of its supply.

It is a great folly of the authorities to restrict the production of mill-made cloth by direct and indirect deterrents. Had the Finance Minister thought about the good of the people, certainly he could not have imposed such a discriminatory duty whose effect will be adverse on the consumers. It is just as clear as daylight that in the face of ever-increasing deficit financing, increased supply of consumer goods is an inevitable necessity. The authorities are just following a reverse course, the result being higher cost of production following higher cost of living.

Vaulting ambition overleaps itself and the power-drunk mind brings its own downfall by resorting to arbitrary measures. The rising cost of living will be the main plank of opposition parties against the Congress Party in the next general election. Such measures of economic disasters will act as hidden rocks on which many a ship of the Congress Party will founder during the election. Instead of raising the cloth duty, the dealers and producers should have been subjected to a higher direct taxation.

Indian Economic Policies

The World Bank Mission that recently visited India has submitted a report to the Government of India on the economic programmes and policies under the Second Five-Year Plan. The Mission has many good things to say on the Government policies. The Mission entertains substantial doubts about some parts of the Government's programme relating to cottage and small-scale industries. It fully endorses the Government's effort to raise the efficiency and standards of these industries and also appreciates the practical necessity of providing moderate subsidies to enable these industries to compete with factory enterprise, at least until modern industrialisation has made greater advances in India. At the same time, however, the Mission thinks that the difficulties inherent in an effective expansion of small enterprise are considerably underestimated, that the impact of the programme will be slow in manifesting itself and that, therefore, the contribution to national income expected from small-scale and village industries under the Plan is probably substantially overestimated. The Mission questions the wisdom of insisting on so-called common production programmes whereby the required increase in output of more or less essential consumer goods is allocated between the factory and non-factory sector, thus involving excessive reliance on the unproved ability of the non-factory industries to meet the necessary demand.

The Mission has rightly criticised the Government of India's textile policy. It has serious misgivings about the recently announced compromise for meeting the expected increased demand for cotton textiles. It believes that this compromise will prove largely unworkable and in its judgment, the compromise greatly underestimates the practical difficulties of installing and getting into operation the requisite number of Ambar Charkhas and powerlooms on a decentralised basis. It doubts the feasibility of making the installation of automatic looms in the mill sector conditional on the allocation of the output of these looms to exports and of making the failure to meet this condition subject to a penalty, the nature of which appears to be unspecified. The Mission is inclined to doubt that the mills will have adequate incentive to instal the additional spindles necessary to supply much greater

quantity of yarn to the handloom sector, in view of the uncertainty that the handloom sector will really be capable of producing the increased production expected of it; the fact that the existing quota for spindles has apparently not been taken up in full appears to bear out its misgivings.

The Government is prepared to review this programme if experience indicates that the hand-spinning and decentralised weaving sector does not live up to expectations, but the Mission fears that the necessary remedial action might well come too late in view of the time required to procure and instal mill machinery and to reach a consensus that the programme has really been a failure. The Mission, therefore believes that the current programme will either jeopardise the supply of an essential consumer item at reasonable prices on the domestic market or bringing about a serious curtailment of exports at a time when prospective export earnings appear already far short of what is required. It remains unconvinced that sufficient attention is really being given in the Plan to the promotion of exports. Quite apart from the harm which may be done to exports by restrictions on the output of cotton textiles, more could and should be done actively to assist exports in other fields.

The Mission gathers the impression, for instance, that tea exports are being adversely affected by inadequate facilities for transport to Calcutta, by shortage of coal on the tea estates, by constant pressure for higher wages, bonuses and improved social amenities and, on some of the more progressive estates, by the restrictions on replanting. These are small matters which can in varying degrees be influenced by the Government and the Mission feels that the Government has not always used its influence in the way best calculated to foster the competitive power of this vital export industry. The Mission urges too that greater emphasis be placed on the production of other cash crops for export, particularly, vegetable oils and cotton. In this connection the Mission suggests that the policy of imposing restrictions on exports of commodities such as groundnut oil, in order to conserve supplies for domestic consumption, is generally a misguided one, and that it will usually be in the best interest of economy to allow producers to export whatever they can.

The Mission believes that the Second Five-Year Plan is somewhat too ambitious. The Plan seems too large in relation both to the administrative and technical resources and to the financial resources likely to be available on even the most sanguine assumptions. Having, however, now committed itself to the Plan and targets in it, the Government must henceforth concentrate on widening the administrative, technical and financial bottlenecks, on the one hand, and prepare itself to make such timely adjustments in the programme as circumstances may require.

The Bank Mission appreciates the emphasis laid on flexibility in the Plan and on the need for year-by-year programming within the broad framework of the Plan in the light of changing circumstances. It stresses that in advance planning, a distinction would obviously have to be made between the adjustments required by a shortfall in foreign exchange resources and those made necessary by a failure to mobilise sufficient domestic resources. The need for flexibility in planning is all the greater in an economy which is still largely agricultural, and where marked fluctuations in the agricultural output, owing to variation in the incidence and distribution of rainfall, are bound to recur. Past experience and particularly experience in the last year, has demonstrated that even small changes in the harvest produce disproportionately large changes in the availability of food to the market sector of the economy and correspondingly large fluctuations in food prices and in imports. In this connection the Mission suggests that it would be appropriate for the Government to consider raising the target of foodgrain buffer stocks which are necessary to keep the price of food more stable in the interest of avoiding urban unrest.

The Mission is deeply concerned about the transport situation. It is impressed again by the inability of the railways to cope with the existing traffic, and by the congestion in the ports, which was itself partly due to inadequate rail facilities. While the Second Five-Year Plan contemplates a substantial increase in railway investment, and port congestion is being relieved to some extent by expansion of physical facilities and the introduction of incentive schemes for stevedoring labour, the Mission is by no means fully assured of the adequacy of the measures. It urges that the Government should review its whole transport policy and programme with a

view to maximizing transport by all available means—by rail, roads, coastal shipping and inland waterways. The Mission considers it important that both the level and structure of railway rates be revised promptly so as to provide more incentive for the utilisation of other means of transport. It is inclined to discount the objection that an upward revision of rates would impose an excessive burden on the economy, because there is no justification for maintaining rates at economically unrealistic levels, particularly if these result in a transport bottleneck which would make it impossible to achieve the production targets of the Plan. Nor is the Mission impressed by the fact that, on the present system of accounting, the railways are already earning a substantial profit; it is clear that, the Mission says, the provision made for depreciation in the past has been quite inadequate to meet replacement needs in full and the railways ought to be financing a much larger proportion of their current development programme out of their own resources. As additional measures to overcome transport difficulties, the Mission suggests that the Government consider: (a) more energetic measures to remove State and inter-State restrictions on road transport; and to reduce tax rates bearing on road transport; (b) greater emphasis on the use of special wagons for the movement of coal and ore and on the establishment of fully mechanised loading and unloading facilities, in order to reduce the time during which such capital-incentive facilities as railway wagons and ships are kept immobilised; (c) the possibility of changes in the present system of allocating coal wagons to the collieries on a day-a-day basis; (d) examination of the feasibility of a fully mechanised coal and ore port on the West bank of the lower Hooghly, in order to relieve congestion in Calcutta and as a possible alternative to the plan for the expansion of ore exports through Visakhapatnam; and (e) lifting, at least for a time, the prohibition on the chartering of coastal vessels so as to increase the carrying capacity of the coastal fleet.

In this connection we regret that the Government policy over the extension of port facility is unfortunate in so far as it has failed to develop a second port in the Calcutta area to relieve the congestion in the Calcutta port. Geonkhalli, lying at the confluence of the Ganges and the Rupnarayan, will be a suitable port for the

export of iron ores and other minerals. The Government of India's indifference in developing a second port in the lower reaches of the Ganges in the vicinity of Calcutta still remains inexplicable. Calcutta is still the biggest port in India and the hinterland facilities available here should be encouraged and utilised by establishing a second port. Instead, the Government of India are rushing to develop another port in Cochin the economic prospects of which are still unknown. A mechanical port will be best suited and utilised in Geonkhalli and for the administration of that port, the experience of the Calcutta port authorities will be available. With the mechanical loading and unloading of ships, a much more swifter turn-round of vessels will be possible. Further, Geonkhalli is situated at a much nearer distance to the iron-ore belts; and it has the advantage of level terrain area. It could be developed into a coal bunkering station and this will be a welcome proposal to the shippers. The new railway track that is required to be laid down will not exceed 25 miles. During the Second Five-Year Plan cargoes destined for Calcutta from its hinterland will rise considerably and for that purpose Geonkhalli should be given the top priority for opening up port facilities. Geonkhalli offers the facility of being turned into a two-way port.

In the financial sphere, the Mission urges (a) considerable caution in resorting to deficit financing, (b) a greater emphasis on raising more revenues through the adoption of more realistic pricing policies for the services and benefits rendered by Government to the people, and (c) care in raising the additional taxation required to avoid such increases as might seriously impair the incentives of, and the resources available to, private business. While it recognises that a certain measure of deficit financing may well be necessary to make money supply fully responsive to the needs of an expanding economy, the measure of such financing proposed in the Plan will produce an expansion of money supply considerably exceeding the requirements of the economy. Quite apart from the possibility of raising more tax revenue, the Mission believes that there is still considerable scope for increasing Government income by raising railway rate, charges for power and water and, in some cases, port charges. In view of the great need to capture a considerable portion of

the rise in national income for reinvestment, it is necessary to make certain Government enterprises, particularly those in the field of power, irrigation and transport, earn larger surpluses. In raising more taxes, the Mission thinks it important that the Government avoid an all-out effort to increase direct taxation just for the purpose of achieving public investment targets, if this can be accomplished only at the risk of substantially impairing the resources and incentives of the private sector; for the latter is still expected to contribute the lion's share of the anticipated rise in national income.

Banking Statistics

The Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India, 1955, a publication just issued by the Reserve Bank of India, contains a wealth of statistical data pertaining to individual banks and the banking system as a whole based on their balance sheets. The report on the "Trend and Progress of Banking in India in 1955," which was published early in June by the Reserve Bank contained a review of banking mainly based on the various statements submitted by the banks under the Banking Companies Act. Thus the two publications together will provide a full picture of the progress of banking during 1955.

This publication on statistical tables contains comprehensive data on the working of Indian and foreign banks operating in the Indian Union as well as the more important items of the balance sheet in respect of each individual bank. Besides, information in regard to the addresses of agents or correspondents abroad of Indian scheduled banks including those in London is also given. The rising level of economic activity in the country was fully reflected in the growth of bank deposits, on the one hand, and of advances and investments, on the other. Over the year, the total deposits of joint stock banks increased by Rs. 92 crores. The rise was largely accounted for by the scheduled banks (Rs. 87 crores), deposits of non-scheduled banks having risen by only Rs. 5 crores. The total deposits of Indian scheduled banks both within and outside the Indian Union rose by Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 887 crores. The expansion in deposits in 1955, though similar in magnitude to that in 1954, differed markedly in certain directions. In 1954, current deposits had shown a larger rise of Rs. 68 crores than fixed deposits (Rs. 34 crores), whereas in the year

under review, the expansion of fixed deposits by Rs. 53 crores was substantially higher than in current deposits (Rs. 22 crores). Deposits of co-operative banks having paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 1 lakh and over maintained the uptrend and rose by Rs. 16 crores, the rise being significantly greater than that in the deposits of non-scheduled banks.

Over the year, bank credit rose nearly as much as the rise in deposit resources (Rs. 92 crores). The investment portfolio of the joint stock banks was strengthened by Rs. 42 crores, of which more than Rs. 39 crores represented investment in Government securities. The additional gilt-edged investment was entirely accounted for by the Indian scheduled banks. During the year, the number of offices of joint stock banks in India recorded a significant increase of 63 as compared with that of 21 in 1954, despite a reduction of 24 in the number of banks. The number of offices of scheduled banks expanded by as many as 93 while those of non-scheduled banks declined by 30. The number of banks as well as the number of offices of co-operative banks rose during the year, continuing the trend of expansion in co-operative banking. There was one office for every 11,121 of the population served by banks and on an average, there was one banking office for about 70,000 of the total population. As usual, about 54 per cent of the offices of scheduled banks were concentrated in the larger towns having population of over 50,000 whereas in the case of non-scheduled banks, the corresponding proportion was hardly 33 per cent.

Offices of Indian joint stock banks outside the Indian Union numbered 106. As compared to 1954 there was a reduction of 1 despite an increase of 2 in the number of offices of the scheduled banks. Deposits and credit (including money at call and short notice and bills purchased and discounted) extended by the Indian banks outside the Indian Union declined by Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 8 crores each as compared with rise of about Rs. 1 crore each in 1954.

The current operating earnings of Indian scheduled banks increased by Rs. 4.2 crores over 1954 while their current operating expenses increased by Rs. 3.9 crores with the result that their net profits before taxes (after taking into account recoveries and depreciation in assets) increased by about Rs. 33

lakhs. The rise of Rs. 58 lakhs in net profits of exchange banks was contributed by a rise in earnings of Rs. 1.9 crores offset partly by a rise of Rs. 1.4 crores in current operating expenses. The ratio of current operating expenses to current operating earnings of Indian scheduled banks stood higher at around 82 per cent. For exchange banks, this ratio was somewhat steady at 77 per cent.

Life Insurance Corporation

The Life Insurance Corporation of India comes into being on September 1. Its headquarters will be in Bombay. It will have five regional head offices in Calcutta, Kanpur, Delhi, Madras and Bombay; thirty-three divisional offices and about one hundred and eighty branch offices.

Life Insurance thus becomes a State-undertaking. But the inauguration of the new Corporation has not been hailed with the same enthusiasm as was the case at the time of the promulgation of the ordinance eight months ago.

Apart from questions of general policy, grave misgivings have been expressed about the employment policy of the Corporation and several speakers in the Parliament have successfully asked for a full discussion on the matter. Work in all the offices have deteriorated as a result of the great feeling of uncertainty among the employees about their future status and pays. Then there are the large number of *pro rata* field workers whose case is yet to get a just consideration from the Corporation. Unless the Corporation can find out a solution satisfactory to its employees the prospects of nationalized life insurance are bleak indeed.

London Discussions on Suez

An international conference was held in London between August 16 and August 23 to consider the issues arising out of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt. The conference was proposed on August 2 by the U.S.A., U.K. and France jointly after five days' consultations. Of the 24 countries invited to attend the London conference, two—Egypt and Greece—did not participate in it. The countries which took part in the conference were: France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain,

Turkey, Britain, USSR, Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Ethiopia, Western Germany, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Sweden and the USA.

India's acceptance of the invitation to join the conference was announced by Shri Nehru on August 8 after clarifications had been obtained from the British Government that participation in the London conference would not injure the interests or the sovereign rights of Egypt. Pandit Nehru said that Egypt could not or would not take part in such a conference and added that the Government of India was well aware that the conference could not reach any final decision "for that requires the agreement of Egypt." He criticized the list of invitees prepared by Britain, USA and France and referred in particular to the omission of Burma and Yugoslavia.

Pandit Nehru declared that India could not join any conference which bound its participants beforehand. Neither could she be a party to any arrangements for war preparations. India had agreed to join the conference only after she had received satisfactory clarifications from Britain, Shri Nehru said.

The Egyptian rejection of the invitation to attend the London conference was announced by President Nasser at a Press Conference in Cairo on August 12. He said: "The Egyptian Government cannot consider the proposed London conference, with all the attendant circumstances, as an international conference competent to take decisions".

At the same time, however, President Nasser indicated Egypt's willingness to reach a peaceful settlement as he said that Egypt was prepared with all the signatories of the 1888 Constantinople Convention (i.e., Britain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia and Turkey) to sponsor any international conference to which other Governments whose ships used the Canal would be invited.

The London conference began on August 16 as scheduled. The day was marked by widespread strike in the Arab countries from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. Egyptians stood five minutes in silence at noon—the time the conference met—as a further protest.

On the opening day Mr. John Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State, pre-

sented the conference with the American plan. Mr. Dulles laid down that the recognition of four principles were essential for an equitable solution. Those principles were: "First, the Canal should be operated efficiently as a free, secure, international waterway in accordance with the principles of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888;

"Second, the operation should be divorced from the influence of national politics, from whatever source derived;

"Third, there should be recognition and satisfaction of all legitimate rights and interests of Egypt in the Canal and its operation, including an equitable and fair return;

"Fourth, provision should be made for the payment of fair compensation to the Universal Suez Canal Company."

Accordingly Mr. Dulles put forward the following four-point plan for the consideration of the conference:

First, the operation of the Suez Canal would be entrusted to an international board to be established by treaty and associated with the United Nations. Egypt would also have her representative in such a board which would be free from domination by any one single power.

Secondly, "Egypt would, by appropriate arrangement, have the right to an equitable return which will take into account all legitimate Egyptians' rights and sovereignty."

Thirdly, the nationalized Suez Canal Company would be paid "fair compensation."

Finally, "differences on the last two points, that is, the right of Egypt to an equitable return, and fair compensation to the company, would be settled by an arbitral commission to be named by the International Court of Justice."

Such a plan did not infringe upon Egyptian sovereignty which "is, and always has been, qualified by the treaty of 1888 which makes of the Canal an international—not an Egyptian—waterway," Mr. Dulles added.

The four-point plan presented by Mr. Dulles was the slightly amended version of the statement of general aims agreed upon by the three sponsoring powers earlier and circulated to the nations invited to participate in the conference.

The Soviet Foreign Minister opposed the

Dulles plan because it "unfortunately, takes into account neither the real situation nor the legitimate national requirements of Egypt."

Mr. Dmitri Shepilov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, said that the establishment of an international authority would contradict the provisions of UN Charter and of international law as it would amount to interference in domestic affairs and "would actually mean the restoration of the former Suez Canal Company, but under a new signboard and with the participation of some other States."

He particularly warned against the dangers of the use of force for any solution of the Suez problem and said that armed conflict, once started, could not possibly be restricted to the Middle East. Such a situation could not be desirable to anyone and the Soviet Union therefore stressed upon the need for a peaceful solution.

Mr. Shepilov said: "There are two aspects of the Suez Canal question: that of nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and that of the free navigation of the Canal." Egypt's competence to nationalize the Company was beyond question. Only the second aspect—free navigation—was a matter for international concern. With this end in view Mr. Shepilov suggested the conclusion of a new agreement "taking into account new circumstances in line with the spirit of the times" in place of the existing Convention of 1888 or of an agreement supplementary to the Convention of 1888.

The Soviet plan, as detailed by the Foreign Minister, contained the following points: There should be no resort to arms. Egypt's inalienable rights to the Suez Canal should be recognized as well as "the importance in international commerce and for world communications of the Canal, used by many States interested in the maintenance of free navigation in it." The Canal should always be free and open to the vessels of all countries on equal terms. Egypt would ensure such freedom of navigation by all means. Tariffs and charges would be fixed by discussion between Egypt and the interested countries. The parties should undertake to guarantee the inviolability of the Canal under all circumstances and not to make it a theatre of war, not to subject it to any kind of blockade. The form of international co-operation to achieve these aims could be arrived at after

discussions with Egypt. For such discussions the Soviet Government endorsed the Egyptian proposal of August 12 for a broader 46-nation conference; and suggested that USA, UK, USSR, India, Egypt and France might act as convenors for that conference.

The British Foreign Minister, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, opposed the Soviet proposal for a wider conference. He urged for the formulation of a declaration of principles resulting from the discussions and expressed the hope that unanimity might be reached. Accordingly a draft declaration was formulated by the Western Powers and circulated among the delegates.

On August 20 Shri Krishna Menon, leader of the Indian Delegation, opposed the Western Plan and presented instead a five-point proposal which received the support of Egypt and the USSR. The Indian Plan said:

"(1) That the Constantinople Convention of 1888 governing the operation of the Suez Canal be reviewed to reaffirm its principles and to make such revisions as are necessary today and, more particularly, incorporating provisions in regard to just and equitable tolls and charges and the maintenance of the Canal.

"The Canal should be maintained on the basis of tolls and charges being just and equitable, and facilities of the Canal being available to all nations without discrimination. The Canal should be maintained at all times in a proper condition and in accordance with modern technical requirements relating to navigation.

"(2). That all steps, not excluding a conference of the representatives of the signatories of the 1888 Convention and all user nations of the Canal, for the purpose mentioned in proposal one, be considered.

"(3) That consideration be given, without prejudice to Egyptian ownership and operation, to association between international interests using the Canal and 'the Egyptian Corporation for the Suez Canal.'

"(4) That a consultative body of user interests be formed on the basis of geographical representation and interests charged with advisory, consultative and liaison functions.

"(5) That the Government of Egypt transmit to the U.N. the annual report of the Egyptian Corporation for the Suez Canal."

The plan was formulated on the basis of "(1) recognition of the sovereign rights of Egypt; (2) recognition of the Suez Canal as an integral part of Egypt and as a waterway of international importance; (3) free and uninterrupted navigation for all nations in accordance with the Convention of Constantinople of 1888; (4) the tolls and charges being just and equitable and the facilities of the Canal being available to all nations without discrimination; (5) the Canal being maintained at all times in proper condition and in accordance with modern technical requirements relating to navigation; (6) the interests of the users of the Canal receiving due recognition."

The Indian plan was, however, opposed by the Western Powers. As a last concession to Asian feelings they accepted a minor Pakistani amendment which sought to ensure that the status of "Suez Canal Board" mentioned in the Dulles plan would be defined in the Convention which the tripartite (USA-UK-France) proposals hoped to establish.

On August 22, Krishna Menon made a last-minute appeal to the conference not to endorse the American-sponsored proposals as they would bar the door to negotiations with Egypt. At his suggestion the conference adjourned for a day to enable delegates to receive instructions from their respective governments as to the manner in which the conclusions of the conference would be put to Egypt.

New Zealand, with the support of Western powers, introduced a resolution that a number of delegates should be chosen from the supporters of the Dulles plan "to approach Egypt to place the United States statement before it" and to find out whether Egypt would agree to negotiate a Convention on that basis.

Shri Krishna Menon, supported by Indonesia, Ceylon and Russian delegates, opposed the New Zealand proposal. He asked how the U.S. plan which represented a part of the views in the conference, could be presented to Egypt as the decisions of the conference.

New Zealand subsequently withdrew the controversial resolution and instead made a statement on behalf of the Western powers that they had requested Australia, Iran, Ethiopia, Sweden and the USA to negotiate with Egypt

under the chairmanship of the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies.

A French proposal requesting the chairman of the conference, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to communicate to Egypt a document comprising the entire proceedings of the conference was also adopted without much discussion. Thus ended the conference on August 23.

The British Attitude

The following editorial, which appeared in a May issue of the *New York Times* throws a lot of light on the why and wherefore of the "Die-hard, last-ditch" attitude of the present British ministry.

This was written before the Suez Canal impasse, and before the messing up of the E.O.K.A. offer in Cyprus. But taken as an indication of the predisposition factors, it serves very well to show why and wherefore.

In passing it should be remarked that "relinquished" is a queer word to use in connection with the ending of British Imperialism in the East. The record of black-treachery in the acquisition and the long-drawn struggle for independence against organised force that continued over five decades, can hardly be described by that graceful term:

"In a mood in which the pride of Victorian days is giving way to a justifiable sense of achievement in another direction, the British people prepare to celebrate on Thursday this week a traditional holiday—Empire Day.

"This holiday used to be a day to pay homage to what, in the age of universally pursued power politics, was a most amazing but also most enlightened consummation of valor and statesmanship—The British Empire. For almost a century it was the guardian of world peace, if not always of local peace. But beginning with the First World War and at a vastly accelerated pace since the Second World War, the British Empire has transformed itself in the spirit of the new age into what is, now predominantly a Commonwealth of free nations over which the sun still never sets and which forms an inspiring contrast to the Communist slave empire in which, as has been said, the sun never rises.

"The extent of this transformation is evidenced by the fact that since the Second World War Britain has relinquished colonial control over Asian and African regions totaling 2,813,000

square miles and possessing a combined population of 472,000,000.

"Excepting Egypt and the Sudan, which were never real colonies, only Burma has severed its ties with Britain completely. The rest, including in particular India, Pakistan and Ceylon, have remained within the Commonwealth and empire, which now embraces not only people of all races, colors and creeds but also virtually all forms of government, from the monarchical to the republican, and from the strictly colonial to various transitional orders on the way toward self-government. That process is still under way in Asia, in Africa, in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, and in the Caribbean, where new nations or new federations and associations are emerging. This is an accomplishment which justifies a new pride that may be symbolized by changing the name of Empire Day into Commonwealth Day.

"But the transformation of the empire into a loose association of free nations has also precipitated new problems which are emphasized by trouble in various key spots that guard the communication lines of the Commonwealth, which would be in danger of falling apart without them.

"These key spots are Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Aden and Singapore, to which some would add Hong Kong. Gibraltar is under pressure from Spain for its return, Malta is attaining a new status and Hong Kong is quiescent for the present. But Cyprus and Singapore, and now Aden, have generated powerful movements for self-determination, independence or change of sovereignty which have reached a particularly dangerous form in Cyprus but may also engulf Singapore.

"Foreign Secretary Lloyd has just declared that Britain is determined to retain these 'positions of strength' at any cost because of their vital strategic importance, and nobody could expect or wish Britain to give them up in the present-day world in which their surrender would precipitate a major world-political upheaval. But this still leaves room for an adjustment between British strategic interests and the desire for self-government voiced by the people in these strongholds in line with the freedoms granted by Britain to other former parts of the empire. The British public and press are growing increasingly aware of the need for such an adjustment and there is every reason to expect that the British Government will in due time act accordingly."

Russo-Japanese Peace

Technically Japan and Russia are still at war. Very recently the negotiations for a formal declaration of peace has been started. The most important item in it happens to be the demarcation of territorial boundaries, on which depends the vital fishery industry of Japan.

The following news report was released on the eve of the Suez talks in London:

Tokyo, August 12.—"Russia has given Japan until tomorrow to accept her terms for a peace treaty—which include a definition of territorial boundaries with which Japan has refused to agree—or else suspend the current peace talks.

"A Japanese emergency Cabinet meeting decided here tonight however that it could not accept the Soviet proposals with regard to the territorial and boundary clauses. But rather than reject a treaty outright it would advise Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, at present in Moscow, to suspend the Japanese-Soviet peace treaty negotiations pending the return of Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov from the London international talks on Suez.

"At yesterday's session of the Moscow talks Mr. Shigemitsu was reluctant to agree to Russia's proposal for the territorial boundaries. Mr. Shigemitsu was said by Japanese sources to have given up his claims for the return of the islands of Kunashiri and Iturup but to have felt acceptance of the boundaries proposed by Russia would imply that the claims could never be raised again.

"The boundary line the Russians want incorporated in the peace treaty—the two nations are still technically at war—would be the strait between Kunashiri and Japan's northern island of Hokkaido and not Suke between Iturup and the island of Shikotan which, according to the sources, Russia will agree to return together with the Hasomai Island group.

"Under the peace treaty Japan would obtain confirmation of important fishing concessions for Japanese salmon trawlers as well as the release of Japanese war criminals still in the Soviet Union."

"N. Y. Times" and Apartheid

The *New York Times* views the latest developments in South Africa with "malancholy and foreboding," as is set forth in the editorial quoted below. These comments have a special significance when they are compared with the comments that appear on Communist actions. For example, in the same issue of August 27, there is an editorial on China and Burma:

"It is difficult for the foreign observer to view current events in South Africa with anything but a sense of melancholy and foreboding for the future. The Government of South Africa, supported by only part of the white population there and by only a small minority of the total population of the country, is now engaged in a massive effort to impose segregation upon that country's people. In Johannesburg alone over 100,000 Negroes, Indians and other non-whites have been ordered to leave their homes within the next year or two, resettle in other areas and make way for whites to live and work where these people live now. Among those affected are persons who have lived in these areas for many years, as well as owners of shops and other business who must expect substantial losses when they try to sell their property within the time limit inexorably set before them.

That such a racist policy should be carried out in the year 1956 is a terrible anachronism of the most obvious sort. No world problem today exceeds in importance that of establishing a *modus vivendi* of mutual respect and mutual consideration among the peoples of the world, of all colors, religions and races. The old colonial empires which held so many non-whites in thrall for centuries have dissolved before our eyes this past decade, and the newly freed colored peoples are daily assuming a more important and more responsible world role. Against this massive trend, which must rejoice every believer in the dignity and equality of man, the South African effort to impose a new variety of white supremacy and a new era of segregation appears like an effort to turn back the clock of history, an effort which must surely fail.

As the full implications of this segregation policy becomes clearer more and more South African voices, white and non-white alike, are being heard in protest. This at least is a good sign. For the basic problem in South Africa, as in many other world areas—our own included—is

for people of different backgrounds to learn to live with each other in peace and in harmony, rather than in conditions of hatred and discrimination. The policy of enforced segregation in South Africa is not only political and economic madness, but may well be the sowing of a future whirlwind whose consequences tomorrow may be dire indeed."

Red China and Burma

Late last month came reports about some acute boundary disputes between China and Burma. The *New York Times* of August 27th carried the following editorial on that occurrence:

"Because of geographical factors reports of the latest Red Chinese incursions in northern Burma take on more significance than those that have gone before. The threat is more clearly pointed up and the Red Chinese action is apparently more reckless.

"The first 'occupation,' by a small force, was in a completely 'tribal' area in which there was at least some question of what national boundary existed and where it was. That is wild country, of course, and movement of any sort might be dictated by local conditions without much thought of consequences.

"This more recently reported incursion and blockhouse building is of a different sort. It is presumably taking place in an area where there is no boundary question. It is an area of relatively good communication—although the relative factor should be emphasized—and it lies close to other main channels of communication. This Myitkina area was considered to be really 'strategic' by our own forces in the Burma campaign. The jump to the old 'Burma Road' into—and out of—China is a short one.

"Burma's anxiety about this situation will naturally be heightened by the developments affecting another neighbor on her eastern border, Laos. This least populous of the states that were formerly Indo-China has been under heavy Communist pressure, especially since the Geneva conference of two years ago. Two northern areas were left in Communist control, and 'coalition' was advocated.

"Now Laos has apparently felt Red Chinese pressure to the extent that a state visit to Peiping has been regarded as necessary. Out of that visit has come the declaration of the full 'neutrality' of Laos and the commitment against the existence

of any 'foreign bases' on the soil of the country. This means, of course, any bases of the free world and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. Red China has had and has kept its base through the Pathet Lao from the beginning.

"Burma will obviously recognize the pattern of pressure all along those northern borders both on herself and on her neighbors. Burma has had to fight the Communists at home. Burma, like Laos, is not yet free from continuous pressure from abroad. For this reason 'border incidents' must be taken seriously and the most recently reported incursion held to be genuinely alarming."

U.S. Government and the Press

On August 6, the Chinese Communist Government invited twenty-two American newspaper and radio correspondents to visit China. The United States Department of State immediately announced (on Aug. 7) that it would not allow any American newspapermen to visit Communist China, first, because the U. S. Government could not extend the protection traditionally given to holders of United States passports into China with which the U.S.A. had no diplomatic relations; and secondly, because trips to Communist China could not be approved while American citizens remained imprisoned there.

Several American newspaper and radio correspondents had at first decided with the tacit support of their employers to disregard the State Department ban and were prepared to go to Communist China even at the risk of punishment on return. However, the employers retracted their previous approval when it was made known later on that the State Department ban had the complete backing of President Eisenhower.

Frank H. Bartholomew, president of the *United Press* of America, said in San Francisco that although he believed that American public should be given access to the reports of American newsmen in China he had ordered its correspondent not to make the trip.

The *New York Herald Tribune* said that it would respect the State Department's view although it did not accept the policy.

In an editorial article entitled "Reporting Red China" the *New York Times*, International Edition, questions the wisdom of the State Department on restrictions on the gathering of

news and President Eisenhower's action in upholding those restrictions. The newspaper writes: "The people of this country (USA) are entitled to as much truth about the world as they can get. It is the business of newspapers, news agencies and broadcasters to bring it to them. There is a serious constitutional question involved as to whether the State Department has the right to deny the public the right to read about certain subjects and to listen to discussions about them. The whole truth may sometimes be strong meat but it is not for the Government to decide how much of the whole truth we are to have."

About the prospects of getting objective and truthful information within Communist China, Greg MacGregor, Hong Kong correspondent of the *New York Times*, quotes French and British newspapermen, who had been in China during the last eighteen months, as saying that the Chinese Government had all but removed restrictions that usually hampered the press in totalitarian countries. According to those correspondents some of whom had been both to China and the Soviet Union, Mr. MacGregor writes, "China was a newsman's utopia compared with the Soviet Union."

Soviet-Chinese Co-operation

China and the USSR recently concluded an agreement for the joint development of the electric power and navigation potential of the basins of the Amur, Agun and Ussuri rivers which formed the river boundary between the two countries, writes Harry Schwartz in the *New York Times*. The plan agreed upon by the two countries envisaged the establishment of hydro-electric plants which would have an ultimate capacity of 13 million kilowatts with an annual production of 70,000 million kilowatt-hours of electrical energy. China's prospective share of this planned power production would exceed her total electricity production in 1955 which had been 12,100 million kilowatt-hours.

The increased supply of electric power would help the development of industries on both sides of the border and would augment the power supplies of such Chinese cities as Peking, Ashan, Munden and Harbin. On the Soviet side Chita and Amur provinces, Birobidzhan, and part of the Khabarovsk Territory would benefit from the power supplies. Power for the

scheduled electrification of the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Irkutsk to Vladivostok would also be taken from this project.

Mr. Schwartz points out that the difficulties of navigation in the Amur River lay in its relative shallowness and in the fact that the Amur Estuary, where the Amur joined the Pacific Ocean, remained frozen much of the year. A new outlet channel was proposed to be constructed under the Sino-Soviet agreement.

According to Mr. Schwartz three possible channels for the Amur River were under consideration, two of them passing through Soviet territory and one through Chinese territory. "The shorter Soviet channel would reach the sea at De-Kastri south of the present Amur Estuary. A longer outlet would make use of the Ussuri River and reach the Pacific near Vladivostok."

"The Chinese alternative would traverse all of Manchuria by way of the Sungari and Liao Rivers and terminate in the Gulf of Liao-tang of the Yellow."

West Germany Outlaws Communism

The Communist Party of West Germany was declared unconstitutional on August 17 by the Federal Constitutional Court at Bonn. The ruling was made by the court in response to a charge filed by the West German Government in November, 1951, that the Communist Party was committed to the overthrow of the constitutional Government of the country and that it stood for the establishment of a "Socialistic-Communist" Society through a proletarian revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat. In a 420-page opinion, read by Dr. Joseph Wintrich, President of the Court, the Court accepted the Government's thesis and declared the Communist Party and its front organizations unconstitutional. The ruling ordered for the confiscation of all the assets of the party and its front organizations and prohibited the party from trying to emerge in other forms or guises. Violation of the court's ruling would be punishable by a minimum of six months of imprisonment.

The decision of the court would not apply to West Berlin, which was under four-power (UK, USA, France and USSR) jurisdiction.

There was extensive police guard in the court and in the houses of the judges, reports

M. S. Handler, *New York Times* correspondent in Bonn. "Alerted early in the morning (on August 7) in anticipation of the court's decision," Mr. Handler writes, "the State police occupied the party's headquarters in Duesseldorf. The party's central newspaper, *Freies Volk*, published in Duesseldorf, also was closed but only after the staff had succeeded in getting out the day's issue."

Nothing incriminating was found among the materials seized by the police in the countrywide raids. "Party records, membership lists and confidential documents had long since been moved to undisclosed destinations, presumably in East Germany. Several truckloads of material were intercepted at Helmstedt on the border of East Germany but the contents have not yet been examined." Likewise, in anticipation of the decision, every bank account of the party was emptied and moved to safety.

Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, Federal Minister of the Interior, placed Communist Party membership in West Germany at 70,000. Unofficially the membership was considered to lie somewhere between 60,000 and 90,000.

The suppression of the Communist Party was "greeted with disparagement and skepticism by the West Germany's independent newspapers," says Mr. Handler.

The line of reasoning of those newspapers was that while the court's ruling might be technically correct it had been a political error on the part of the Adenauer Government to have pressed the suit it had originally filed in November, 1951.

The independent editors generally echoed the sentiments expressed by Wilhelm Mellies, Deputy Chairman of the Opposition Social Democratic Party, who said that the court's ruling would only drive the Communists underground and place the halo of martyrdom on their heads.

The adverse stand taken by the independent newspapers on the issue of outlawing the Communist Party came as another shock to the already declining prestige of the Adenauer Government, Mr. Handler writes.

The Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* says that the ban on the Communist Party in West Germany "can mean only one thing—in West Germany the way is being

prepared for war." It describes the court's decision as "ominous and sinister" and subjects the West German Government and its "over-seas patrons" to scathing criticism. The West German Socialist Party has also been taken to task by the *Pravda* for the former's failure to understand the "full gravity of the situation" and to defend the "vital rights of workers."

Politics in East Pakistan

The political scene in East Pakistan is still as unstable and troublous as ever. Lately there has been an attempt at making another ministry, from the ranks of the so-called Opposition. It is only to be seen as to how long the new ministry can stand up under duress.

The first move in the break-up of the A. H. Sarkar ministry was as given in the following report:

Dacca, August 13.—"The East Pakistan Assembly was today prorogued by the Governor, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, on the advice of the Chief Minister Mr. A. H. Sarkar, under Section 83 of the Constitution which empowers him to summon, prorogue or dissolve the provincial Assembly.

"The prorogation order, which specifies that the House was to be prorogued without transacting any business fixed for the day, was read out in the House by the Speaker, Mr. Abdul Hakim, ten minutes after the House assembled at 4 p.m. today.

"The order, which was published as a notification in an Extraordinary issue of the Dacca Gazette earlier in the day, said that the prorogation had been done 'on the basis of facts and a close consideration of the serious situation which has arisen and has been brought to my notice, and which are all of such essential importance and urgency that I cannot postpone taking action, and on the advice of the Chief Minister, I hereby prorogue the East Pakistan Legislative Assembly.'

"Though today's session of the Assembly lasted only 10 minutes, it furnished clear proof of the numerical support of the Opposition groups as a rough count made by members of the Press gallery before the session started showed that about 190 members were present. The entire Treasury bloc was empty.

"This estimate was later confirmed when

some 200 signatures were appended by Opposition supporters to a no-confidence motion against the Sarkar Cabinet moved during an unofficial meeting of the Opposition groups held in the Council Chamber after the Speaker had retired.

"In the 10 minutes that the Assembly session lasted, confusion prevailed supreme as Opposition members endeavoured to get the Speaker to admit a motion of no-confidence against the Sarkar Cabinet. For a while, both the Speaker and Sheikh Majibur Rahman of the Awami League endeavoured to have their say, with the latter eventually succeeding in reading out a no-confidence motion tabled by him earlier. Immediately, the whole House with the exception of a handful of members, not exceeding 10 at the outside, stood with hands upraised signifying their assent to the motion being admitted.

"An unexpected incident, however, prevented Mr. Rahman from taking advantage of this solid support. It was a clash between a young Awami Leaguer and an Independent member, Mr. Golam Sarwar, whom many will, perhaps, recall for his Noakhali fame. Mr. Sarwar, whose affiliations are with the ruling party, was trying to speak but was prevented from doing so by Mr. Toha Khan, the Awami Leaguer. When tugs at his sleeve failed, Mr. Toha fisted Mr. Sarwar repeatedly and, joined by others pushed him out of the House.

"The incident, which gave the Speaker the opportunity to read the Governor's order, caused much indignation amongst some of the members, particularly the Muslim League bloc which supported the Opposition. It very nearly caused a break in the Opposition, but tactful handling by Awami League leaders and an apology by Mr. Toha saved the day.

"As stated earlier, the Opposition groups, after they had left, held an unofficial meeting in the Council Chamber with Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan in the chair. In addition to the no-confidence motion and the collection of signatures, the meeting also passed two resolutions, one describing the prorogation as 'malafide, illegal, void and unconstitutional' and as 'a flagrant abuse of power by a Ministry that has lost the confidence of the House.' It called upon the Governor to dismiss the present Ministry headed by Mr. Sarkar."

Women Workers in USA

There were now twenty-one million women workers in the USA constituting more than a third of all the gainfully employed workers in the country. This marked a 50 per cent increase over the number 15 years ago.

American women were marrying and having babies at an earlier age than before. But this fact did not lead to any decrease in the number of working women. Indeed, working wives now outnumbered unmarried women on the job by two to one. About 30 per cent of married women now held jobs compared with 15 per cent in 1940 and only 4 per cent before the turn of the century.

Formerly women entered a job mostly to supplement the inadequate family income. When the need for money receded into the background women left no time to leave the job. Although financial considerations counted in part even now most women were in job out to satisfy their intellectuality.

Most working women in earlier days lived singly; as a result they, perhaps, naturally tended to spend a good part of their earnings on personal adornment. The result had been a boom in such industries as fashions, clothing and beauty shops. The outlook of modern working women, who were mostly married, had greatly changed. They now wanted to do more than keeping themselves well-groomed. The thought of the well-being of the family was now uppermost in her mind.

The progress of the working women in the United States is thus seen as a progress towards a fuller and more sober life, with repercussions of great sociological impact. In India also working women, though not to be numerically compared with those in USA, have come to form an integral part of our social life. The sociological repercussions are yet to be fully grasped. Some of the problems, e.g., difficulty of getting proper accommodation for those living singly in cities, care of the children of those who are married, etc.,—have already become apparent. Provisions should be made to meet these difficulties—which, however, cannot be done without a healthy and understanding attitude to the question of employment of women in all branches of our social life.

India-trained American Artists

An exhibition of thirty young American artists would be opened in New York on September 25, the *USIS* reports. The artists whose works were going to be shown had had their training in India, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Egypt, and the United Kingdom under the U.S. Fullbright Student Exchange Programme. The exhibition, sponsored jointly by the Institute of International Education and the management of the Duveen-Graham Galleries, would be held at the Galleries.

The Fullbright Act had been passed ten years ago to promote educational and cultural exchange between the USA and other countries. Since then a total of about 5,500 American students had got opportunity to study abroad under the programme. Of those 230 studied painting. The Fullbright Programme was now in operation between the United States and 25 other countries.

Indian Publicity Abroad

The utter inadequacy of Indian publicity in Great Britain has been commented upon by "Srikrishna" in an article in the *Bombay Chronicle*, August 18. Even nine years after independence one of the Ministries of the Government of India could not produce a cheaply priced factual book about India so that persons having genuine eagerness to know India had to resort to such slanderous anti-Indian titles as Beverly Nichols' *Verdict on India*.

In this context the writer has made some very hard remarks about the workings of the Indian High Commission in London. The High Commission had 1250 employees on its pay-roll but its accounts were "not very clear to a layman."

"Unlike the accounts of other diplomatic Mission," Srikrishna writes, "no details are given and they are classified as 'charges in England.'" The Budget Estimates for 1956-57 for these charges in England are placed at Rs. 54,33,000 including Rs. 48,63,000 in respect of General Public Accounts and Education Department, Rs. 3,62,000 in respect of publicity, Rs. 42,000 for India's embassy in Dublin and Rs. 100,000 for Foreign Service Probationers."

The failure of Indian publicity to make

any dent on British public opinion was therefore rather very strange, the writer notes.

In Indian publicity pamphlets, the High Commissioner was accorded undue prominence which was not shared by persons of equivalent position in the employment of other Governments in the publications of those countries.

Much of the activity in the Indian High Commission office related to making and serving tea.

"The issue, however, is," writes the correspondent, "whether India is getting even a fraction of the value of her money spent on its High Commission in London."

Indian Customs Administration

In his above-mentioned article in the *Bombay Chronicle* "Srikrishna" has got to say some unpalatable truths about the Indian Customs Administration. He writes:

"Twenty-three years ago; on re-entering India I was asked by a Customs officer at Bombay whether I had anything to declare and on my saying 'No' I was allowed to enter my country without any further enquiry.

"Independence has brought with it the right to search country's own nationals.

"I had a typewriter. The Customs officer wanted to know whether I would be able to prove to his satisfaction that I had taken the typewriter with me from India. This was too much even for me. I thereupon offered to show him my passport to prove that I had gone abroad singly and had taken £300 of which I had brought back £100. My age was 62 and I was black, stunted and ugly. In other words, I lacked everything which would have earned money for me. Even then, the Customs officer wrote on my papers that I had a typewriter thereby inviting the Delhi authorities to seek satisfaction from me.

"And yet, I have known persons bringing thousands worth of dutiable goods through Customs into India. This rather convinced me that in one's own country honesty was the worst policy."

While the London airport officials were satisfied with a certificate of inoculation against small-pox when the writer had landed there, on his return to India he was subjected to fumigation at the Bombay airport, although he was coming back from Switzerland which was pro-

verbially clean. His experience with several rare varieties of cacti which he had brought from London under a certificate granted by the British Ministry of Health was equally pathetic. The plants were also held up for fumigation.

Naga Hills Situation

The following, very terse, report was released at the end of August: The situation is still very far from clear and it does not add to our reputation in any way. A fresh assessment seems to be indicated from various independent reports that have appeared in the Bengali periodical press, some from reputedly knowledgeable sources. The complications arising out of the Assam government's malaprop handling seem to be endless.

Imphal, August 20.—"The latest situation arising out of the hostile Naga activities and their infiltration into the borders of the Manipur State, adjoining the disturbed Naga Hills, was assessed at a high-level conference here on August 18 and 19.

"Those who attended the conference were Lt-General Thimayya, G.O.C., Eastern Command, Maj-Gen Kochar, G.O.C., Assam and N.E.F.A., Brig. Harbhajan Singh, Inspector-General, Assam Rifles, Col. Yusuf Ali, Deputy Adviser to the Governor of Assam, Mr. P. C. Mathew, Chief Commissioner of Manipur and other high civil and military officials.

"Gen. Thimayya and his party left Imphal this morning by an I.A.F. Dakota.

"The situation in the Naga Hills, according to an Army spokesman, was reported to be improving, and to restore law and order in the interior, troops were reinforced.

"The spokesman said that on August 15 Naga hostiles fired a few rounds near Kohima, but soon the Army patrol retaliated and killed six hostiles. A court had been set up to inquire into the shooting of Dr. Harallu, a loyal Naga pensioner at Kohima, and if any Army personnel was found guilty he would be dealt with under the Army procedure.

"Referring to the dislocation of traffic on the Dimapur-Imphal Road he said a heavy landslide occurred at a place 33 miles from Dimapur, but soon Army engineers took over and about 500 men of the Sappers and Miners went into action. He hoped that immediately

after restoration of vehicular traffic arrangements would be made to ply a daily convoy of 20 to 40 civilian vehicles towards Manipur under Army escorts."

Atom-Power in India

The following news is worthy of record as it marks the very first step in this direction in India:

Bombay, August 4.—"India's first atomic reactor in Trombay, 12 miles from here, went into operation this afternoon, releasing atomic energy through a self-sustaining chain reaction. It is also the first atomic reactor to go into action in Asia.

"The reactor became 'critical'—or operative in the layman's language—at 3-45 p.m. today after the country's top atomic scientists had spent several sleepless nights, feeding enriched uranium fuel and awaiting in dramatic circumstances the historic moment of India's entry into a new era of peaceful use of atomic power.

"Breaking the news at a crowded Press conference here tonight, Dr. Bhabha said the reactor had been built entirely by Indian scientists and engineers within the short space of one year. Britain, who had undertaken construction of a reactor of the same 'swimming pool' type at the same time as India, had not yet completed hers, he added.

"Dr. Bhabha expressed the hope that India would have atomic power generators of her own within ten years, available to scientists of countries 'in this region and beyond.'

"This reactor is the first of a chain designed to train personnel for the bigger and more complicated reactors to come. It will also be used for experiments and production of radioactive isotopes for research in agriculture, industry and medicine."

Governments and Universities

Recently there was a discussion in the Madras Legislative Assembly over a difference between the Government and the University on the introduction of Tamil as medium of instruction in colleges. The University of Madras had also disregarded a Government request to defer the introduction of the pre-University course by one year to 1957.

Replying to the insistence of some mem-

bers for action against the University on account of its "defiant and unwholesome attitude" to the Government the Minister for Education Shri C. Subramaniam said that the University was an autonomous body and it would not be proper for the legislature to interfere with its autonomy in every case of conflict with the Government. The present occasion did not call for any action by the Legislature.

Explaining further the Government stand the Education Minister (who also held the Finance portfolio and was the pro-Chancellor of the University) said that while the Government would certainly invoke the help of the Legislature if the policies of the University conflicted with the fundamental objectives of the Government, it would be injurious to interfere with the autonomy of the University in its day-to-day administration, curricula, examinations, etc.

The Minister opposed the view expressed by Shri Krishna Aiyar, who said that the University authorities were "ordinarily reactionary and were cut off from the spirit of life" while the legislature, being representative of the people, was in a better position to judge their need. Rejecting this stand the Education Minister pointed to the fact that even in Universities there were elections to the Senate and the Syndicate. Moreover, many members of the University were posted with up-to-date trends in national life and social movement and it would not be proper to call the University "conservative or even reactionary."

In reply to another point raised by Shri Balakrishnan whether it would not be better to leave matters educational to experts, the Minister said that it was not feasible to devise any watertight compartment between the experts and the Legislature. "Even though we are guided by experts," he said, "the responsibility cannot be thrown entirely on them. We also should decide finally what is good for the country."

The Minister said in reply to a question by Shri Narayana Kurup that Government was looking into the question of evolving suitable technical and scientific terms in the regional languages and they were preparing the technical terms.

The above has been culled from a report appearing in the *Hindu*, August 12.

Youthful Indiscretions

Writing under the caption "Disgraceful" the *Freelance* has editorially commented upon the increasing lawlessness among the youths, and the students in particular. Display of exuberance by the students on particular occasions had in the past caused embarrassment but rarely did their conduct cross the limit of youthful enthusiasm and assume the character of *goondaism*, pure and simple.

Some recent incidents involving the student community, however, were so shocking that one was inclined to question whether there was any real difference between their conduct and un-mixed *goondaism*, the newspaper notes. Here it cites the instance of the beating of a railway ticket collector by a batch of students for the former's "guilt" of demanding lawful fare from a student. But the incident in which a number of students beat up a poor tea-stall-keeper for charging the students for the food they had taken from his shop far surpassed anything heard as yet.

Relating the incident as reported in the press, the *Freelance* writes:

"About a thousand students bound for Gauhati in connexion with the celebration of Independence Day halted at Pandu en route and went to a tea-shop to refresh themselves. After serving tea when the shop-owner, apparently unaware of the noble mission on which these young soldiers were going, asked for the price, he was rebuked. Thus the quarrel started and when it ended, says the report, it was found that four shops in the neighbourhood were looted, three shops were completely gutted, the military R.T.O. office nearby was damaged and some military and police personnel were injured. Of course, 449 students were arrested. That was what it should be. But the number of arrests is not the moot point here. What is of significance in this series of deplorable incidents is that all these were acts of students. What worse things could a batch of *goondas* do, when placed in that situation?"

We fully endorse the comments of the *Freelance*.

Student indiscipline is part of a bigger malady afflicting the country. The recognition of this fact, while indispensable for any lasting

solution of the problem, can hardly be made a justification for such disgraceful conduct. Everyone of us, who has the well-being of the country in his mind, cannot but be shocked at such an irresponsible conduct. Among other agencies, the student organisations have the primary responsibility for the prevention of the recurrence of such uncivilized conduct on the part of their members. Even from a narrower point of view nothing is gained by such hooliganism and it only engenders bitter feelings among different sections of the people. It is time for the saner elements among the student community to exert their leadership.

Bihar and West Bengal

The following report, taken from the *Statesman*, marks the end of a vexed question, at least for the time being, so far as the Parliaments are concerned.

We refrain from commenting:

"New Delhi, August 28.—The Rajya Sabha today passed, with two dissenting votes, the Bill seeking to transfer about 3,000 sq. miles of border territory from Bihar to West Bengal.

"Parliament thus gave its final sanction to the last of the Government's proposals to redraw State boundaries exactly 32 months, as Mr. B. N. Datar obligingly informed historians, after the States Reorganization Commission was appointed (on December 29, 1953).

"Together with the States Reorganization Bill, the Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Bill now awaits only the President's assent to become law.

"On behalf of Bihar, Mr. B. K. P. Sinha (C) made the gesture of advising the population of the transferred areas to have no fear in transferring their allegiance to West Bengal in view of Bengal's long tradition of tolerance and culture.

"He was joined by an unusually temperate leader of the Communist group, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, in drawing attention to the fact that violence had not marred the controversy between the two States.

"Mr. Gupta, however, could not refrain from returning to the charge that the controversy had been aroused by Congress leaders whereas the people had always been friendly.

While the leader of the Praja Socialist group, Mr. B. C. Ghose, reiterated his view that a large measure of discontent would remain, he hoped that changes would be achieved in a democratic manner, without creating bitterness.

"A slightly discordant note was struck by Mr. Shah Umair (C) who insisted that injury had been done to Bihar, but magnanimously offered to 'forget and forgive'."

"The only members to vote against the Bill were Mr. R. P. Sinha (P.S.P.), who described the debate as a victory for Bihar in view of the fact that some members not directly connected with the dispute had supported her, and Mr. T. Bodra (Jharkand) who opposed the further splitting up of tribal lands."

Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee

In the death of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee on August 7 West Bengal not only lost a good Governor, but a great deal more. Above all, she lost one of her best sons. Born in 1877 Dr. Mookerjee led a life which was marked by a rare combination of great scholarship, sincerity, simplicity, selflessness and magnanimity towards all. He had had honours and riches in profusion. But a great man in the truest Indian tradition as he was, he never allowed those things to stand between him and the people. His concern for his fellow countrymen found expression in his gift of more than fourteen lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University. While he was a Governor he never took more than five hundred rupees for himself. The remainder (five thousand rupees) he regularly contributed to a fund for higher education in nursing.

Dr. Mookerjee's scholarship was well known. He was the first to receive the Ph.D. degree in English from the University of Calcutta. His books on the temperance movement and on the Congress movement were also quite well known. Many of the Indian and Pakistani leaders were his pupils. Under his guidance the Christians in India were able to take a national outlook in the British days. His political views found recognition in his election as Vice-

President of the Constituent Assembly of India which had framed the present Constitution of India.

Dr. Mookerjee was one of our foremost contributors. More, he was one of our best friends and counsellors. His death has, therefore, meant a great personal loss to us. May his soul rest in peace.

Acharya Jogesh Chandra Ray

Death occurred at Bankura on August 30 of Dr. Jogesh Chandra Ray, another great son of Bengal. He was 97 at the time of his death. Acharya Jogesh Chandra Ray spent the best part of his life at Cuttack where he had been Professor of Physics. He edited the *Siddhanta Darpan* and was instrumental in bringing out the remarkable achievements of the great astronomer Chandrasekhara Singh Samanta of Khandarpur. His contributions to Almanac Reform Movement was also considerable. Some of his works in astronomy were still awaiting publication. He was also elected member of the Astronomical Society of London.

His contribution to the Bengali literature and language over a period of sixty years is yet to be fully assessed. In recognition of his great contribution to the Bengali literature, in April of this year the Calcutta University conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature on him at a special Convocation held at his villa at Bankura. This was the first occasion when Calcutta University held a Convocation outside Calcutta.

His great contribution to the development of education in Orissa also found recognition when in 1910 the Pandit Sabha of Puri awarded the title of Vidyanidhi to him. In December, 1955, the Utkal University also honoured itself by conferring on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature.

Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi gave of his vast store of erudition to the last. His clear thinking and meticulous reasoning was faultless to the end.

Dr. Ray is survived by two sons and a daughter.

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF POPULATION IN INDIA

PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A.,

Research Scholar in Geography.

INTRODUCTION

RELIGION affects the thought and action of a large section of mankind. The influence of religion on man's economic and social life, specially in India, cannot be ignored. By prohibiting certain activities and restricting others, the injunctions of religion not only regulate man's philosophy of life but also formulate the nature of his economic activities and ideals, e.g., Buddhism, with its doctrine of Ahimsa, has made its followers in India, China, Japan, Ceylon, Burma and Indo-China averse to stock-raising for 'meat and wool.' The Eastern regions of the Mediterranean, which are favourable for wine, have not developed any wine industry, because the population is predominantly Muslim to whom wine is prohibited by religion. There is much demand, however, for coffee in place of alcohol in these countries. Among the Muslims banking institutions have not developed because the Prophet prohibited acceptance of interest from borrowers. They eat beef but not pork and hence pig-rearing is quite uncommon among them. The Hindu society is divided into different castes to each of which a certain occupation and certain duties are prescribed by religion. Technological advance in agriculture is hindered by caste restrictions on types of labour, by dietary taboos—for Hindus do not generally eat fish, eggs or meat,—by the ritual value of dung, and by veneration of the cow. According to Hinduism, the cow is a sacred animal and hence, even though it is a source of animal protein it cannot be killed when old or crippled. But Christianity admits of no such restrictions. To the liberality of its principles, the progress of Europe and America can be partly traced. The increasing domination of the Christian people over the earth, the gradual acceptance in all countries of their civilisation and the progress of modern education and culture are all weakening the influence of religion on the

economic activities of man. But in a country like ours, religion still remains a vital factor in economic organisation.

In India, there is an over-emphasis on the religious affiliation of an individual. This loyalty to one's religion has coloured the entire political, economic, social and moral life in India. The fact that all the known religions of man have followers in India has been for years a source of disunity and disharmony in India. The presence of different religious groups has created a minority problem and has led to the political partition of the country on the basis of 'religious self-determination.' However, the partition has not solved the Muslim minority problem nor has it created a homogeneous population from the point of view of religion. While Pakistan was created on the basis of Muslim solidarity it has not solved the Muslim minority problem in India, for there are still 35 million Muslims in India, just as there are a few Hindus still living in Pakistan.

Apart from its political importance a demographer is interested in the religious composition of a population, for the religious factor is closely related to other population phenomena such as birth-rate, death-rate, marital status, occupation and migration. Different religious groups may have different birth-rates and hence one group may be growing at a rapid pace and another finding it unable to hold its own. Difference in religion may mean in some countries difference in language and even in nationalities, though this is not so in India. Educational level, economic security and occupational distribution may be explained to a limited extent on the basis of religious differences.

The following table gives the absolute number of persons belonging to various religions¹:

1. *Census of India—Paper No. 2 (1953), Religion*, pp. 1-2. (Figures up to 1941 are related to undivided India and for 1951 to Indian Union).

Religions	1881	1891	1901	1911 (In Lakhs)	1921	1931	1941	1951
Hindus	1878	2075	2071	2175	1834	2036	2389	3032
Sikhs	18	19	21	30	32	43	41	62
Jains	12	14	13	12	11	12	14	16
Buddhists	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	2
Zoroastrians	.8	.8	.9	1	1	1	1	1
Muslims	499	570	624	666	687	776	396	354
Christians	17	21	29	38	39	51	58	82
Jews	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tribal	64	91	85	102	71	64	248	17
Others (Non-tribal)	8	1	1	1	—	—	—	1
<i>Total</i>	2501	2795	2838	2928	2173	2414	3148	3567

Religious Groupings of Population in India
Proportion 10,000 of population in

Religion	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Hindus	7432	7232	7037	6939	6856	6824	7589	8499
Muslims	1974	1996	2122	2126	2174	2216	1258	993
Christians	73	79	99	124	150	179	184	230
Sikhs	73	67	75	96	103	124	130	174
Jains	48	49	45	40	37	36	45	45
Buddhists	135	248	322	342	366	365	3	6
Parsis	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Jews	.5	.6	.6	.7	.6	1	—	—
Primitive	259	323	292	328	309	236	788	47
Others	2	2	4	1	1	16	—	3

In all previous Censuses a record was made of the "Race, Tribe or Caste" of every person interrogated, and the number of individual castes and tribes were tabulated separately. In 1951 census, however, in conformity with the Governments' policy of discouraging community distinctions based on caste, such information was collected only from certain special groups of persons referred to in the Constitution as "Scheduled Castes," "Scheduled Tribes" and "Anglo-Indians."

A study of the latest census returns reveals that roughly out of every hundred persons in India, 66 were Hindus; 24 Muslims; 2½ Buddhists; 2½ Animists; 1 Sikh; 1 Christian, and of the remaining three, one may be a Parsi, the other a Buddhist and the third is probably a Jain. After the partition, the religious composition of Indian population has substantially changed. According to 1951 census, Hindus form 85 per cent of the total population; Muslims 9.9; Christians 2.3; Sikhs 1.7; Jains 0.45; Buddhists 0.06; Parsis 0.03 and Tribals 0.47. The following table shows

religious groupings of population in India since 1881² (See above):

HINDUS

Hindus form about 90 per cent of the population of India. By far this is the largest group found in India. Hinduism holds the third place among the world's great religions, being exceeded in numbers only by Christians and Confucians. All-India Hindu Mahasabha defines 'Hindu' as any person professing to be a Hindu or following any religion of Indian origin and includes *Sanatanists, Arya Samajists, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists, Brahmos*, etc. The Census of 1931 has classified Hindus into only three divisions: *Brahmanic, Arya and Brahmo*. In 1931, an 'Others' category was added to the classification of Hindus. It included a large number of Tribals. According to this Census report:

"The term '*Brahmanic*' has been used for those Hindus who were not returned as belonging to either

2. *Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 110; Ibid for 1931, p. 387; and Ibid for 1953.*

the Arya Samaj or the Brahmo Samaj or to certain other reforming or segregative bodies, which have been shown together in 'Other Hindus.' These bodies consist of Deo-Samajists, Adi-Hindus, Adi-Dravidas, Adi-Karnatiaks and such sects as returned themselves by these terms in place of the term Hindu.³

Thus the word 'Hindu' is a very broad term. Hinduism possesses three important characteristics: first, a doctrine of radical immanence which finds God in everything; second, a tendency towards tolerant syncretism, which allows it to incorporate any ritual or deity of its own; and third, a complex conception of individual destiny, contained in the doctrines of *Karma*, reincarnation, and *Moksha*. Hinduism is bound up with a specific social order, the outstanding features of which are the caste system⁴, the joint family⁵,

universality of marriage and prevalence of early marriage.

Hindus largely predominate in the central and southern portions of India and in Madras. They are in majority, in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, U.P., Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, and Bombay. Their regional distribution is given in the table below:⁶

Province	No. in lakhs
U.P.	537
Bihar	342
Orissa	142
West Bengal	194
Assam	58
Madras	499
Mysore	80
Madhya Bharat	73
Bombay	316
Madhya Pradesh	201
Rajasthan	138
Punjab	80

Zone-wise distribution is as follows:⁶

North India	537 lakhs
East India	749 "
South India	639 "
West India	357 "
Central India	477 "
North-Western India	268 "

India 3032 lakhs

The following table shows their growth since 1881:

Year	No. ('000)	% Growth since 1881	Rate of % growth	% of the population
1881	187,849	100	0	75.1
1891	207,560	110.49	+10.6	74.2
1901	206,862	110.12	— .34	72.9
1911	217,197	115.62	+4.9	71.7
1921	216,249	115.11	—0.45	70.7
1931	236,624	127.03	+10.3	70.7
1941	270,187	143.85	+13.2	69.5
1951	303,320	161.47	+12.2	84.90

Although the Hindus have been increasing

unit both as regards property and worship or consumption of goods. Every member of the family shares in the prosperity or adversity of every other member. Marriage is totally forbidden amongst its members. The institution of the joint family is the basis of Hindu law as regards marriage, adoption, maintenance and especially inheritance and succession.

Unfortunately, the development of communications and transport; the loss or decline of old family occupations; the influence of Western individualism; and the intensification of the struggle for existence are making the system more or less an anachronism.

6. *Census of India*, Paper No. 2 (1953), pp. 8-9.

3. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 513.

It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a given sect is Hindu or not; sometimes Jains classify themselves as Hindus; sometimes untouchables return a new religious name rather than Hinduism and sometimes there is deliberate falsification for political or other obvious reasons.

4. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* defines caste as a "collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with, a specific occupation: claiming common descent from a mythological ancestor, human or divine; preferring to following the same calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV.

Under the caste system the Hindu society is divided into an immense number of entirely separate groups, small and large, the conduct of whose members is restricted by an elaborate code of caste rules. According to Dr. G. S. Ghurye, the salient features of the caste system in India are: (i) Segmental division of society, (ii) Hierarchy, (iii) Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, (iv) Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections, (v) Lack of choice of occupations and (vi) Restrictions on marriage outside the caste. Vide *Caste and Race in India*, pp. 2-18. Of late the caste system is losing much of its importance due to the spread of education, better communication and the present-day economic struggle.

Among Hindus, the castes are divided among three main types: the functional, the racial and the sectarian. (1) The first one is the most important, representing the various occupations that were followed in the earlier times. Instances of functional castes are Brahmin (or priestly class) and the trading (or Bania) castes which include the Kshatriyas of the East Punjab, the Agrawal, Oswal, Khandelwal, and Jains of Rajasthan. Other functional castes are weavers, carpenters, barbers, washermen; potters, goldsmiths; oil pressers, cattle breeders, etc. (2) The racial classes are numerous in all parts of the country, e.g., Rajbansi, Chandel in Bengal; Bhar, Chero, Kunbis, Ahirs and Ghosis in U.P.; Jat, Gujar, Meo in Rajasthan and the Punjab; Koli and Mahar in Bombay, and Nayar and Paraiyan in Madras. (3) Sectarian castes like those of Lingayat of Bombay.

5. In India, the unit of society is not the individual, but the family. Among the Hindus, this family includes not only the husband, the wife, and the children, but many more members in addition, perhaps three generations with several collaterals, constituting a single household. The family is ordinarily a joint

in absolute numbers yet since 1881 there had been a steady decline in their proportion in the total population of the country up to 1941. Kinglay Davis attributes three reasons for this state of affairs, viz., (i) the secularization because of the Western influence; (ii) the alteration of the social system and (iii) the growth of other equally important religious groups. No doubt the Hindus gain by absorption of tribal communities, but they also lose heavily by transfer (chiefly from lower ranks) to the Christian, the Sikh, and the Jain communities and the Arya Samaj. Till recently the Hindus did not allow the low-caste people or untouchables to enter the temples or use public places. This sort of nuisance has now been declared to be punishable by the Government. Among such people the Christians and the Muslims found proselytizing fairly easy.

Secondly, the Hindus have a low fertility as compared to the tribal people, or the Sikhs, Christians and Muslims. This low fertility among them is due to the high proportion of widows in the Hindu population who are forbidden to re-marry as a result of which a large proportion of them is unproductive. At the same time, due to the young age at marriage of the Hindus, fewer of them (15.39) are single than in any other group except the Jains. This young age at marriage itself has an adverse effect on fertility.

Since 1947, the number of Hindus in India has increased considerably because of the partition of the country. The Hindus left Pakistan and came to India, whereas only a small number of Muslims left India for Pakistan, so that at present the Hindus are in a great minority in Pakistan.

MUSLIMS

The Muslims are more fertile because they permit widow re-marriage. Muslim women marry almost as universally as Hindu women, and they remarry more frequently. The result is that a higher proportion of women in the reproductive age are married, and this accounts for a higher fertility of the Muslims. But at the same time, as judged by fertility ratios, the married women among the Muslims are more fertile than they are among the Hindus.

After 1941 their number has been reduced to a very low level. This is because of the partition of the country which took place in 1947. The only fact that made partition possible was the concentration of the Muslims in certain parts of India. Out of a total of 435 districts in India in 1941, there were 76 more than half the population of which was Muslim. These representing only 17.5 per cent of all the districts in India, contained about 60 per cent of the entire Muslim population. Among the 76 Muslim-majority districts, there were 50 whose more than three-fourth population was Muslim; and these representing only 11 per cent of all districts contained 39 per cent of all Indian Muslims. At the time of the partition there were 45 million Muslims in India and over 21 million non-Muslims in Pakistan. The Muslim population, however, constituted only 13.4 per cent of the total population of India, while non-Muslims in Pakistan accounted for as much as 27.1 per cent of the total population. The inter-dominion transfer of population which took place on account of post-partition disturbances has reduced the size of the minority population of both the countries. Large-scale evacuation of minorities took place from East Punjab including East Punjab states, Delhi, Alwar and Bharatpur in India and from the whole of Western Pakistan. The number of evacuees from West and East Pakistan come to about 10 millions, as against about 7.5 million evacuees from India. The net influx of evacuees into India would thus amount to 2.5 millions. As a result of these population movements the total population of India was estimated at nearly 339.5 millions and that of Pakistan at a little more than 75.5 millions (in 1948). Even after this mass movement of population there still remain 35.5 million Muslims in India and 11 million non-Muslims in Pakistan. The mass migration changed the religious composition of the two countries substantially as would be clear from the table reproduced below:⁷

7. C. N. Vakil : *Economic Consequences of Divided India*, p. 71.

Communal Composition of Population in India and Pakistan

	1941				1948			
	India	Pakistan	India	Pakistan	India	Pakistan	India	Pakistan
No. of Muslims	%	No. of Muslims	%	No. of Muslims	%	No. of Muslims	%	No. of Muslims
Muslims	13	51	73	45	17	57	73	43
Non-Muslims	87	19	27	292	86	21	27	276
Total	319	100%	70	100%	337	100%	78	100%

Islam or Muslim religion originated in the Arab country from whence it spread to Spain in the West, to China, Java, and Philippines in the East, with extraordinary rapidity. It was introduced in India towards the end of the 12th century by invaders from the North-West. After that date a large portion of India was controlled by a succession of Muslim dynasties. The Muslims in India today are partly the descendants of the invaders of the past and partly of the indigenous people converted by them. To the former belong the Pathans—tall, muscular, and finely-developed people mainly found in north-western parts, and to the latter class belong the Muslim Rajputs of the Punjab and also Bengal Muslims.

The Muslims numbered 354,00,000 in 1951 and they formed about 10 per cent of the population of the country or about little less than 1/9 of the Hindus. The following table gives their numerical strength since 1881, prior to which period their growth in number is unknown:

Year	No. (000)	Growth since 1881		Rate of Population growth	
		%		%	
1881	49,953	100.00	....	19.97	
1891	57,068	114.25	14.25	20.41	
1901	62,119	124.36	8.5	21.88	
1911	67,835	135.80	9.2	22.39	
1921	71,005	142.15	5.4	23.23	
1931	79,306	158.76	11.7	23.49	
1941	94,447	189.08	19.0	24.28	
1951	35,400	70.87	-62.6	9.93	

From 1881 to 1941, the Muslims grew steadily in numbers. This growth is attributable not to the conversion of lower caste Hindus into Muslims but to the higher fertility among the Muslims.

The present regional distribution of the Muslims in India is given in the table below:

Punjab	2 Lakhs
U. P.	90 "
Bihar	45 "
Orissa	1.7 "
West Bengal	4.9 "
Bhopal	1.2 "
Hyderabad	21 "
Assam	19 "
Madras	45 "
Mysore	6 "
Bombay	29 "
M.B.	4 "
M.P.	7 "

The Zonal distribution of the Muslim population is as follows:

N. India	90 Lakhs.
E. India	118 "
S. India	59 "
W. India	34 "
C. India	37 "
N.-W. India	13 "

India has the third largest Muslim population in the world. Indonesia comes first with something like 10 million Muslims, Pakistan comes next with 66 million and India is third with 43 million in a total population of 357 million. Thus in India one out of every 8 Indians is a Muslim. Turkey has 17 million, Egypt 15.9 million, Iran 13 million, Afghanistan 10 million, Iraq 4.6 million and Saudi Arabia 3.5 million Muslims.⁸

CHRISTIANS

The Christians have shown a fast growth than any other community in India. Between 1881 and 1951, their number rose to nearly five times and its proportion to the total population was more than doubled. The following table shows their growth since 1881:

8. *Census of India*, Paper No. 2 (1953), pp. 12-13.
9. *Muslims in India* (Government of India), 1952, p. 3.

Year	No. (000)	Growth since 1881	Rate of growth	Population %
1881	1,778	100.00	....	0.71
1891	2,164	121.58	....	0.77
1901	2,776	156.12	28.4	0.98
1911	3,666	206.17	32.0	1.21
1921	4,497	252.86	22.6	1.47
1931	5,966	335.54	32.5	1.77
1941	7,427	417.65	24.4	1.91
1951	8,200	461.19	10.4	1.74

The Census of India has long enumerated the Christians by 'race,' dividing them into three categories, (i) European and allied races, (ii) Anglo-Indians—descendants of mixed unions, and (iii) Indians. Since 1891 the number of the first two categories has steadily fallen, while that of the third has risen considerably. The Indian Christians are more fertile than the non-Indian Christians. Although they practise late-marriage, yet the fertility for married women is exceptionally high. It exceeds that of all other religious groups except the Tribals. This is due to the fact that a large number of the Christian converts are drawn heavily from the lower strata of caste society, who are generally more fertile than the people belonging to the higher strata and also because this group does not use any type of birth-limiting devices.

The Christians are concentrated in South India where missionary work first started. Out of 8.2 millions in 1951, 5.4 millions or 36 per cent resided in South India. About 33 per cent of the total resided in Travancore-Cochin. Madras also has a good number of Christians. In Northern India the Christians are to be found in places where missionary work has been particularly active either among the tribal people or the members of the depressed classes. The following table gives their regional distribution:

Madras	24.0 Lakhs.
Mysore	1.7 "
Travancore-Cochin	29.0 "
Bombay	5.2 "
U.P.	1.2 "
Bihar	4.0 "
Assam	5.8 "

SIKHS

The Sikhs are much younger in age, as at the time of the foundation of their community

in the 16th century they formed a part of the Vaishnava sect. They retained the Hindu pantheon, as well as the Indian social system and the doctrines of *Karma* and reincarnation. But their chief difference lies in their denial of the divine incarnations, their condemnation of idol worship in Hindu temples and their distrust of asceticism. By the end of the 17th century, the sect began to diverge markedly from the Hindu pattern. Being domiciled between the Muslim and the Hindu predominating areas, they have developed a marked tendency towards militant solidarity, as a result of which they had frequently to be at war with the Muslims. They are a brave, well-built and courageous people and hence they are many times more heavily represented in the Indian army in proportion to their population than any other religious or ethnic group in India. In fact, the Gurkhas, who are Hindus from Nepal, have always been outnumbered by the Sikhs in the army.¹⁰

Ideologically, they are nearer Hinduism than Islam, but they reject caste; and, though diverse in origin, they have developed by inbreeding and strict discipline into a distinct people, recognisable as such even to a newcomer; their badges as the 'five K'S': *Kesh* (uncut hair and beard), *Kanga* (wooden comb), *Kachh* (shorts), *Kara* (an iron ring in the hand) and short sword or *Kirpan* which they are legally entitled to carry. By religion they are enjoined to eschew tobacco and they do not drink intoxicants and do not smoke.

The Sikhs have always resided mainly in a small part of India—a part of Central eastern Punjab—which is their original homeland. The bulk of them have resided in a triangular region whose three points are near Lahore, Kangra and Patiala respectively, and whose area is less than 10,000 sq. miles.¹¹

The degree of concentration is shown by the fact that 90% of all the Sikhs in India in 1941 resided in the Punjab. In 1941, they had a majority in one state of Faridkot, elsewhere they were in minority. The great majority of the Sikhs are now in East Punjab and especially Pepsu, where probably they form the local majority as a result of the expulsion of

10. Raleigh Parkin : *India Today* (1945), pp. 89-90.

11. J. C. Archer : *The Sikhs* (1946), p. 274.

the Muslims. Some of them are also found scattered in various states of India, as would be clear from the following figures:¹²

Punjab	3.8 Lakhs
Rajasthan	1.7 "
Patiala and E. P. States Union	17.0 "
Delhi	1.3 "
U. P.	1.9 "

For the last 70 years their growth has been very large. Within the last five decades they nearly tripled their numbers. They have steadily increased their percentage of the total population. In 1881 they formed 0.74% of the Indian population. This percentage increased to .77% in the next twenty years; and the figure reached to 1.74% in 1951. The following table shows their strength, percentage increase and percentage of the total population:¹³

Year	Actual number (000)	% Increase since 1881	Decennial % increase	% of population
1881	1,853	—	—	0.74
1891	1,907	+ 2.9	+ 2.9	0.68
1901	2,195	+ 18.4	15.0	0.77
1911	3,014	+ 62.6	12.0	1.00
1921	3,238	+ 74.4	7.2	1.06
1931	4,335	+133.9	34.1	1.28
1941	5,691	+207.1	31.2	1.46
1951	6,200	+234.5	8.9	1.74

The reason for the rapid growth of Sikhism lies in more than one factor. *Firstly*, it lies in the development among them of a strong communal feeling, their realisation of themselves as a political community separate from the Hindus. *Secondly*, they accept converts to the fold, so that there has been a very high rate of conversion to the Sikh community. Anyone can be initiated into the religion by a kind of baptismal ceremony (*Papul*). Such converts for the most part comprise members of the depressed classes, agriculturists, and even washermen, tailors, carpenters, masons, and goldsmiths in rural areas who obviously consider that they gain in status as soon as they cease to be Hindus and become Sikhs.¹⁴

Thirdly, Sikhs favour widow remarriage and they marry later, as such they have smaller proportions of widows among the women of the age 15-39 than does any other religious group except the Parsis. They have also relatively few single women at these ages. The net result is that they have a greater ratio of married women at the age of 15-39 than those of any other religious groups. *Fourthly*, they have exceptionally high fertility per married women (960 per 1000 married woman) being ahead of Parsis (735), Jains (804), Hindus (817), and Muslims (900) as against 844 in all religions. *Fifthly*, not only they have high fertility, but they have also a low mortality because of very nutritious diet, healthy living conditions and higher percentage of literacy. Therefore, they have a far larger percentage of persons in the older age groups than any other group.

—JAINS

The Jain sect is another off-shoot of the Hindus. It is older than Sikhism, having been founded by Mahavir in the 6th century B.C. It retains most Hindu doctrines, but is distinguished by carrying to an extreme the doctrine of radical immanence. It developed an exaggerated asceticism (particularly in renunciation of clothing) and carried *ahimsa* (reverence for organic life) to almost incredible extremes. The practice of wearing a cloth over the mouth to avoid the accidental swallowing of insects probably gave rise to the report by Megasthenes (C. 302 B.C.) of a race which had no mouth and lived on delicate savours.

Jainism forbids its followers to kill or injure any living thing. They believe that every form of life is sacred. They do not eat after sunset lest they should unwittingly kill some small insect. In diet they are vegetarians. They are a wealthy and charitable community. Many Jains are traders and financiers.

Jains are generally more numerous in U.P., Rajasthan (specially Marwar), North Bombay and Saurashtra, which have over two-thirds of the Jains. Elsewhere they are found scattered in various commercial and industrial centres of the country. They number 1.6 million. Their regional distribution is given below:

12. Census of India, Paper No. 2 (1953), pp. 8-9.

13. Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, p. 114; Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, p. 388.

14. Census of India, 1931, Vol. 17 (Punjab), Pt. I, p. 293.

U. P.	97 thousands
Madras	35 "
Mysore	22 "
Bombay	571 "
Saurashtra	123 "
Cutch	62 "
M. P.	96 "
M. B.	100 "
Hyderabad	30 "
Rajasthan	327 "
Punjab	37 "

Jains seem to be numerically stationary, and to be declining as a part of the total population, as will be clear from the figures quoted below:¹⁵

Year	No. (000)	% Variation since 1881	Rate of growth %	% of Population
1881	1,222	100	—	0.49
1891	1,417	115.95	15.9	0.51
1901	1,334	109.16	— 5.9	0.47
1911	1,248	102.12	— 6.5	0.41
1921	1,177	94.68	— 7.3	0.39
1931	1,251	102.37	+81.1	0.37
1941	1,449	118.75	+16.0	0.37
1951	1,600	130.93	+10.2	0.44

Many factors may be attributed towards the stationary growth of numbers among the Jains. *Firstly*, they do not allow widow re-marriage. Jains have a low percentage of their women at the age of 15-39 married. A fifth of their women in this age group were widows during 1911-31. This enforced widowhood cut down Jain reproduction to a great extent. *Secondly*, they have a low fertility within the marital relation. They have next to the lowest ratio of married women of any religious group being outdone in this respect only by the Parsis. The Jains have approximately 804 children per 1000 married women aged 15-39, the corresponding figures for Hindus being 817, Buddhist 932 and Christians 966. This low fertility among them is due to their social position. They live mostly in urban areas, and are largely literate and very prosperous as a result of which they have low fertility. *Thirdly*, since they do not acquire new converts, this low fertility helps to prevent any growth in their number.

BUDDHISTS

Buddhism now hardly survives in the land of its birth: only a few monks, mostly Nepalese and Sinhalese, are to be found in the holy places, in *Budh-Gaya* where Gautam received Enlightenment and *Sarnath* where he began his mission. Buddhism originated in the sixth century as a reform movement against Brahminism. In the early period Buddhism had a simple and national humanistic code. It was independent of theism and was far from the more pathological form of asceticism as from hedonism and with an emphasis on fellowship, irrespective of caste or station of life of men and women, and on goodwill. Within only a few centuries it spread far and wide. During the first five centuries of the Christian era it spread to Central Asia and the Far East. In the first century it reached China, in the fourth century it reached Korea, in the sixth to Japan, and in the tenth to Assam. By the tenth century it disappeared from India as an active religion.¹⁶ To-day its influence is overwhelming in the neighbouring countries of Tibet, Burma and Ceylon, but in India it is now a minor religion. In 1881, it formed only 0.07% of the Indian population, and only 0.12% in 1941 and this figure further declined to 0.03% in 1951. Deterioration of the creed itself, Brahmin opposition and some persecution, gradually weakened it so that by the time of the Muslim invasion it was strong only in its original home Magadha.

At present the Buddhists are mostly found in Sikkim and the adjoining hills. There are a few in Assam, the descendants either of ancient immigrants from Burma via the Hukong Valley or of isolated parties left behind by the army of invasion in the early 19th century.¹⁷

The following table gives their numerical strength in India:

U. P.	3 thousands
West Bengal	81 "
Assam	22 "
Sikkim	39 "

16. The Greco-Buddhist sculpture of Gandhara, the ruins of the great University of Taxila, and the colossal cliff-figures at Bamian in Afghanistan, attest to the long vitality of Buddhism in North-West, whence it penetrated High Asia.

17. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 389.

15. *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. I, p. 910; *ibid* for 1931, p. 387.

The Buddhists are slightly better educated than the Hindus. They have high fertility ratio and as such they tend to reproduce about as rapidly as the general population. They have a very low proportion of widows but a high proportion of single women. This fact brings the fertility ratio down to about the general average. Their growth is shown in the following table:

Year	No. (000)	Percentage increase since 1881	Rate of growth (%)	% of Population.
1881	167	100	—	0.07
1891	243	145.50	+45.50	0.09
1901	293	175.44	+20.5	0.10
1911	337	201.79	+15.04	0.11
1921	369	220.95	+9.5	0.12
1931	439	262.87	+19.0	0.13
1941	458	274.25	+4.3	0.12
1951	200	119.76	-56.0	.7

PARSIS

The Parsis or Zoroastrian fire-worshippers came from Persia about the 7th century A.D. to avoid conversion to Islam, and found refuge and freedom of worship on the western shores of India. Here they prospered and became an outstanding commercial and industrial group. This group is most literate (nearly 80 per cent of all persons of age 5 and over are literate) and most urban (about 90 per cent) and probably the wealthiest of all the religious groups in the country. The following table shows that although they have been increasing gradually in absolute numbers they are not growing so fast as the general population:

Year	No. (000)	% Variation since 1881	Rate of growth	% of Population
1881	85	100	—	0.034
1891	90	105.88	+5.9	0.032
1901	94	110.58	+4.4	0.033
1911	100	117.64	+6.3	0.033
1921	101	118.08	+1.0	0.033
1931	109	128.23	+7.9	0.032
1941	115	135.29	+5.2	0.032
1951	100	117.64	-1.3	—

The Parsis are most urban, most literate and above all on the top of the economic ladder, and as such they should have the lowest fertility. But as a matter of fact curiously

enough they are growing fast. The reason for this situation may be explained thus. This group has the fewest widows between ages 15-39, and also the greatest number of single women in these ages. The result is that they have the smallest percentage of married females in the reproductive ages; and they have the lowest reproduction per married woman. Their total fertility must, therefore, be extremely low and this explains their slow population growth. But the fact that they are growing at all suggests that they seem to balance their low fertility with an exceptionally low death rate because of a higher standard of living, healthy diet and good stock from which they come.

The Parsis are usually found concentrated in Western India. 97 thousands or more than 50 per cent of them live in Bombay.

TRIBALS

The Tribals form a very small percentage of our total population. They are chiefly concentrated in the barren and sparsely populated tracts of hills and jungles, corresponding in extent fairly closely to east Satpuras but encroaching eastwards and westwards along the Vindhyan ranges through the south of Madhya Bharat plateau in the eastern extremity of Gujrat. They also occur in the outlying parts of the Assam ranges. Their concentration is largely found in Assam, M.P., Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Manipur and Rajasthan.

The data on the tribal people's strength are very inaccurate partly because of the difficulty of classification and partly because of deliberate misrepresentation on the part of other religious groups to swell their own numbers. Different estimates have been made regarding their numbers. Some place them at about 30 millions¹⁸ and others at 25 millions.¹⁹ According to 1951 Census, the total of the tribal people is of the order of 19 millions.²⁰ The numerical strength of a tribe ranges from a few hundreds to more than 2 millions, e.g.,

18. I. Singh : *Development and Advises in Asian Labour*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1950, p. 52.

19. *Report of the Conference of Social Workers and Anthropologists for Tribal People in India* (1948), pp. 2-3.

20. *Census of India*, Paper No. 4; (1953); *Special Groups*, 1951 Census, p. 16.

Santhals numbered 2.7, Bhils 2.3 and Gonds 3.2 millions in 1941.

The tribal population has been in the decrease since 1911. It may be pointed out in this connection that (i) while the aboriginal population is under ordinary circumstances exceedingly prolific, the majority of them inhabit those parts of the country which are exposed chiefly to the ravages of malaria and hence a large number of them lose their lives. (ii) There has been a real absorption of the tribes into Hinduism in the Assam plains and

North Cachar hills. (iii) The spread of Christianity among the tribes in Lushai, Khasi and Jaintia hills as well as M.P., and Travancore-Cochin have also helped in reducing their strength. (iv) Through acculturation, i.e., when a tribe comes into contact with civilization it may accept some of the traits of its neighbours so that their original traits disappear. The tribal dialects are being replaced by Assamese languages and tribal beliefs are giving way to the direct onslaught of the inhabitants of the plains.

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PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

BY PROF. JATINDRA RANJAN DE, M.A.

THE Parliamentary form of Government is an empirical growth. It has its origin in the British system of administration which has evolved through a slow but steady transfer of power from the absolute monarchy to the representative people. In this process of transference the Cabinet has developed as an institution. The powers and prerogatives of the Crown shifted into the hands of the Cabinet responsible to the Parliament. This transition was possible through three stages. The first stage relates to 1642 when a document was presented to the Crown. The document contained: 'Your Majesty will vouchsafe to employ such persons in your great and public affairs, and to take such to be near you in places of trust as your Parliament may have cause to confide in.' It was effected by the revolution of 1688 but the Crown presided over the meetings of the Cabinet. When George I, a Hanoverian, succeeded the throne he absented himself from Cabinet meetings as he had no knowledge of English. This accidental circumstance and the fact that George I reigned but did not rule, gave considerable powers and prestige to the Cabinet. These were not fully and finally accepted until the exceptional administration of Sir Robert Walpole. The Cabinet form of Government definitely emerged from the time of Sir Robert Walpole. But until 1937, the Cabinet was unknown to English law. By the

Ministry of the Crown Act, 1937, the Cabinet and the Cabinet Ministers found a place in the Statute Book and the Prime Minister was given a legal status. Till then, the Cabinet, the vital machinery of the Government, was an extra-legal growth. All the basic principles of the Cabinet in Great Britain still now depend on convention, customs and usages. The Cabinet, excepting a reference to the Ministry of Crown Act, 1937, has not yet found its place in the Statute Book.

This is the history and nature of the Cabinet system or Parliamentary form of Government. H. D. Traill has summarised the basic principles of Cabinet as a body

- (a) consisting of members of the Legislature,
- (b) of the same political views and chosen from the party possessing a majority in the House of Commons,
- (c) prosecuting a concerted policy,
- (d) under a common responsibility to be signified by collective resignation in the event of Parliamentary censure, and
- (e) acknowledging a common subordination to one Chief Minister (cf. Strong: *Modern Political Institutions*).

But none of them finds a place in English law. These are based on convention, customs and usages of Great Britain. To a greater or less degree these basic principles have been embodied in the constitutions of India, Ireland, Japan, Australia and South Africa

and have been given a definite legal status. In other Parliamentary Governments as in Canada, New Zealand, Holland, Belgium, the Government is largely regulated by customs and by ordinary laws. The Constitution of the Fourth Republic makes provision for the responsibility of the Ministry to the National Assembly, but with no reference to the requirement that a Minister shall be a member of the legislature. He is required to be so for other reasons. To a great extent then the Cabinet rests upon extra-legal operations even now, while usually the Presidential form of Government is enshrined in the Constitution.

A reference to the distinction between the Parliamentary form and its anti-thesis Presidential form has to be made. This distinction has been based on the theory of separation of powers. If a Constitution embodies more or less the doctrine of the separation of powers, it is known as Presidential; whereas if it does not, it is known as Parliamentary. The doctrine of separation of powers simply means that the three functions of the Government—legislative, executive and judicial—should be confined exclusively to three separate and independent organs. There should be no overlapping either of functions or of persons. The strict adherence to the theory in its practical application is impossible. But the framers of the U.S.A. Constitution were largely influenced by the doctrine and they innovated a system of Government which is usually known to embody this doctrine. The Constitution clearly says: (1) the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America, (2) all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, (3) the judicial powers of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The President, the Head Executive, is not a member of the Congress and not responsible to the Congress; the Congress at the same time cannot remove the President unless by impeachment. But the Constitution has made some qualifications. Legislative powers have been vested in the Congress, but the President can veto the Legislative proposals of the Congress. President's veto, of course, can be overridden by two-thirds majority in both Houses.

"The Constitution enjoins the President to take care that all laws be faithfully executed." He is the sole executive of the nation and is responsible to none but the Senate for some of his important executive functions. For instance, he appoints all higher executive officers including the members of his Cabinet. But all appointments are to be ratified by the Senate. He receives and sends ambassadors, and formulates his foreign policy. But any treaty made by the President is to be ratified by the Senate by a two-third majority of votes before it comes in force. The U.S.A. Constitution which entrusts the three functions of the Government to three sets of bodies, is successful in preventing overlapping of personnel *inter se*, but fails to prevent the overlapping of the functions of different organs. It is an impossibility since the Government is an organic whole.

Hence the distinction between the Parliamentary executive and Presidential executive based on the theory of separation of powers cannot be carried too far. Because in a Parliamentary form of Government also, where there is the organic fusion of the executive and the legislative, the judiciary is independent and separate in a substantial degree. Again there is the organic fusion only at the top. Because in a Parliamentary form of Government the Head Executives, i.e., the members of the Cabinet, are members of the legislature, but the subordinate executives have no direct relation with the legislature.

The two forms differ at the top: in the Parliamentary form there is the organic fusion of the executive and the legislative at the top and in the Presidential form there is organic separation between the two. Hence we can bring out the points of difference showing that (1) in the Parliamentary Government, the Cabinet is the real executive body and remains responsible to the legislature; whereas in the Presidential Government, the President is the real executive and is responsible to none during his tenure of office; (2) in the former, the members of the Cabinet are also members of the legislature, whereas in the latter the President is forbidden to sit in the Legislature; while in the Parliamentary Government the Cabinet is subservient to the Legislature, in the Presidential, it is subservient to the President; (3) in the Parliamentary form.

the tenure of office of the executive body depends on the will of the legislature; in the Presidential form, it is independent of the legislature. For that reason the Presidential Government is also known as the Fixed Executive.

As it has already been discussed, we need not take too extreme a view of the distinction of the two. Due to the emergence of party-system in the art of government it makes very little difference between the forms in their practical operations. Almost in all the Parliamentary Governments, the voters may have the immediate view of the election of a particular member to the legislature but their mediate and ultimate view is whom they are electing to power. As in the last General Election of Great Britain, the choice of the voters lay between Mr. Eden and Mr. Attlee. With the exception of France, once a legislative body is elected and the Cabinet is formed, the Cabinet remains in office during the tenure of the legislature itself as legislators seldom change their political views. In the Parliamentary Government, the executive becomes more or less fixed where the dual-party system is well developed. In the Presidential form, the President may not sit in the legislature, but he can veto a legislative proposal and can send message to the Congress which has the force of a bill. A harmonious relation between the legislature and the executive has become possible in the Presidential form in America, through the medium of political party. However, in practice the difference between the two may not be carried too far, but at least in form they differ.

Article 53, Section 1 (g) of our Constitution says: The executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with this Constitution.

Article 77, Section (1) says: All executive actions of the Government of India shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the President.

It resembles the American Constitution: The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. The tenure of office of our President is also fixed like that of the American President. He is removable only by a process of impeachment by the Parlia-

ment as in the American system. But the framers have designed him on the model of the British Crown. All the executive powers of the President are expected to be exercised by him with the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers. The President is not legally obliged to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers. But if he does not, it may be impossible on his part to carry on the administration for long without violating the constitution.

An examination of the position of the Council of Ministers vis-a-vis the President will reveal the truth of the statement.

Article 74, Sec. (1) says: There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as Head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.

Article 75, says: (1) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(2) The Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President.

(3) The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People.

(5) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of either House of Parliament shall at the expiration of that period cease to be a Minister.

These two Articles define the position of the Council of Ministers and are incidental to Parliamentary Government. It is obligatory on the part of the President to have a Council of Ministers [Article 74(1)]. The Council of Ministers thus appointed shall be collectively responsible to the House of People [Article 75 (3)]. If the President does not function on the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers which enjoys the confidence of the House, the only alternative for the Council is to resign. The President is obliged to appoint another Council of Ministers responsible to the House. It may not be possible for the President to find out another in the event of the resignation of a Council of Ministers which has a solid majority in the House.

The President can continue to function on his own authority by appointing a Council of Ministers which does not command the confidence of the House for a period not exceeding six months. Because a Minister cannot remain in office, if he is not a member of Parliament, for more than six months. And six months

cannot elapse between two Sessions of the House of Parliament [Article 85(1)]. So during the intervening period the President can function with a Council of Ministers which does not enjoy the confidence of the House.

The position of the Council of Ministers in the States is also the same. Articles 163 and 164 define the powers and position of the Council of Ministers in the State.

Article 163, Sec. (1) says: There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister as Head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under the Constitution, required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.

Section 2 says: If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under the Constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion.

Article 164 says: (1) The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor.

(2) The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

(3) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the legislature of the State shall cease to be Minister after the expiration of that period.

Everything, except provisions for the functions of the Governor 'in his discretion,' reads similar to Articles 74 and 75 as referred to above. The position of the Council of Ministers of a State is similar to that of the Council of Ministers of the Union, and the Governor is the small replica of the President and is to act only as the Constitutional figure-head of the State.

'He is to see that all the wheels are going well by reason not of his interference, but of his friendly intervention'—Dr. P. K. Sen: *Con-Assembly Debate*, Vol. VIII, p. 446.

Provisions as to the powers 'in his discretion' appears to be misleading. But only two references have been made in the Constitution as regards the discretionary powers of the Governor of Assam. In Para 18 (3) of the 6th Schedule, a reference to the discretionary powers of the Governor of

Assam as regards the administration of Tribal areas has been made. And another similar provision in relation to the allocation of the share of the Mining Royalties between the Government of Assam and the District Council has been made in para 9 (2) of the 6th Schedule. Hence the discretionary powers of the Governor have been limited to the above-mentioned matters and only the Governor of Assam can exercise these powers. Powers are specific and relate to a particular Governor.

A safeguard against the constitutional break-down in the State Administration has been provided for in the State Administration by Article 356 which empowers the President to assume the administration of the State himself on receipt of a report from the Governor to that effect. This was already exercised in the case of the Punjab in 1951 and that of Andhra in 1954. Perhaps, this safeguard has been provided for in view of the fluid political position of the country. But such a safeguard is absent in the Central Administration. It has been left to the actual circumstances.

If in law the President exercises the executive power of the State of the Indian Republic, in practice the Cabinet is the custodian of that power. The Cabinet determines and the Parliament sanctions the manner in which the executive powers are to be exercised by the President. The Cabinet, as described by Lowell in connection with the British Cabinet, is the 'key-stone of the Political Arch.' It is the 'steering-wheel of the ship of the State' as Ramsay calls it. If the Indian President symbolises the State, the Cabinet represents the nation. The President is the legal executive head of the State, because he represents the State and the Cabinet represents the will of the nation and thus determines the executive functions of the State. If the British Crown is called an institution, our President is not more personal than an institution. He may be better known as the elected Crown for a term of five years, than as the 'Majesty of the people incarnate' like the American President. (Brogan: *Government of the People*.)

From the Constituent Assembly debates it appears that the framers intended to design the President on the Irish model. But the Irish President has no right to call for any infor-

mation from the Ministers nor can he give any suggestion to them on any matter. 'The English Crown has the right to be consulted, the right to encourage and the right to warn'—Bagehot. The Indian President have similar rights under Article 78 (b).

As a legal course there are no fetters on the President to act according to the advice of his Council of Ministers. As explained above, he shall act on the advice of this Council of Ministers only for fear of facing constitutional deadlock. If the President does not abide by the decisions of the Council of Ministers, the only alternative for the Ministry is to threaten resignation.

There is no provision in our constitution which can compel him to abide by the decision of the Cabinet. All recently adopted Parliamentary Constitutions of other countries have provided this fundamental principle of the parliamentary Government in the Constitution. Article 32 of the French Fourth Republic says: Every act of the President of the Republic must be countersigned by the President of the Council of Ministers and by a Minister. That means that every act of the President shall have legal validity only when it is signed by the Prime Minister and by a Minister.

The Constitution of Eire provides:

No power or function conferred on the President by law shall be exercisable or performable by him save only on the advice of the Government (Article 12, Section 11).

The Constitution of Japan says:

The advice and the approval of the Cabinet shall be required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of State and the Cabinet shall be responsible therefor (Article III).

The Burmese Constitution says:

The powers and functions conferred on President by the Constitution shall be exercisable and performable by him only on the advice of the Union Government [Sec. 63(1)].

An explanation for the non-provision of the fundamentals of the Responsible Government in the Constitution has been given by Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayer, a member of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, in an article entitled "The Indian Constitution" in the *A. B. Patrika*, Republic Supplement, 1950:

"The Indian Constitution . . . has advisedly refrained from enumerating in details the incidents of the responsible Government. A provision like this will give sufficient scope for conventions for Responsible Government to grow up. Any stereotyping of such incidents into a statutory mould will not impart an element of elasticity to the constitution."

Such an explanation does not appear sufficient to warrant the omission of such a vital matter of the Parliamentary Government. The entire form of Government depends on this relation of the President and the Council of Ministers. This should have been inserted in the Constitution to give a definite mould to the Government like other modern Parliamentary Governments.

The party Government has become commensurate with the growth of the Cabinet Government. It is the political party which gives homogeneity to the Cabinet. Because members of the Cabinet generally belong to the same political party or share the same political view regarding national policies. Party gives strength to the Government as the latter remains confident of the position of the party in the legislature.

"If it is the party system which gives the Cabinet its homogeneity, it is the position of the Prime Minister which gives it solidarity."—S.F. Strong, p.221.

Although he is the 'primus inter pares,' 'first among equals,' he is the "keystone of the Cabinet arch," or 'inter stella luna minores,' i.e., "a moon among lesser stars." But W. J. Jennings, in his book *Cabinet Government*, has given him a better position:

"He is not merely primus inter pares. He is not even, as Harcourt said, inter stella luna minores. He is rather a sun round which planets revolve. A general election is primarily an election of a Prime Minister. The waving voters, who decide elections, support neither a party nor a policy: they support a leader."

A Prime Minister occupies a four-fold position: (1) he is the Head of the Cabinet and presides over Cabinet-meetings; (2) he is the leader of the majority party in the legislature; (3) he is indirectly the nominee of the political sovereign; and (4) he is the connecting unit between the President and the Cabinet.

He is the maker of the Ministers and puts them where they are. He formulates the general policy and guides the Council of Ministers. He co-ordinates the different departments and iron's out any difference between any two. As the leader of the majority party in the House of People, he determines the legislative policy of the Parliament. He is the ultimate oracle at critical times. Ministers are appointed by the President with his aid and advice. He can also require resignation of a minister. If a minister does not resign, he can secure his dismissal by the President [*vide* clause (2) of the Article 75]. The British practice is that the Prime Minister allocates departments to the ministers. But in our Constitution, by Article 77(3), the power of allocation of business belongs to the President. Of course, it is expected that he will discharge the duty with the aid and advice of the Prime Minister. Article 78 gives the President the right to be consulted. The article requires of the Prime Minister the furnishing of all information relating to the administrative as well as legislative affairs. The clause C of the same Article gives the individual minister the right to communicate to the President any matter on which a decision has been taken over by him, but has not been considered by the Council of Ministers. Thereupon, the President may require of the Prime Minister to submit it for consideration of the Council of Ministers. These two clauses—clause 3 of Article 77 and clause C of Article 78—have two implications: (1) it may strengthen the collective responsibility; and (2) it ensures individual responsibility to the President and to some extent may undermine the position of the Prime Minister. The President may not take any exclusive action on the decision of the individual minister and may send it back for reconsideration to the Council. It strengthens the collective responsibility. As the President is the distributor of business and as an individual minister has an access to the President in regard to his departmental matter and as the President has something to say in the matter, it may undermine the position of the Prime Minister. It deviates from the British practice where the Prime Minister is the sole connecting link between the Cabinet and the Crown. However, the matter may be

left to the future—to the growth of convention. After all, he is the most powerful man in the State of Indian Republic—he is, at once, the head of the supreme executive and the leader of the sovereign law-making authority of the State. The people look at him as their accredited leader.

Parliamentary Government stands on a nice equipoise between two balancing forces—the Parliament and the Cabinet. The Cabinet in its turn administers and initiates all legislation. As Ilbert in his book *Parliament* (Home University Library) says:

“Parliament does not govern, and is not intended to govern. A strong executive Government, tempered and controlled by the constant, vigilant and representative criticism, is the ideal at which parliamentary institutions aim.”

The Parliament makes and unmakes the Government and keeps the executive always conscious of its duties and responsibilities. The Parliament does it in the following ways: (1) by refusing demand for grant to each particular department; (2) by defeating a governmental measure on which the Government has staked its existence; (3) by passing directly a vote of no-confidence; and (4) by asking questions and debating on the President's speech (in case of India).

Articles 112, 113 and 114 clearly narrate the procedure in financial matters. The President shall cause to lay before both Houses an ‘annual financial statement’ (112) and the ‘House of the People’ shall have power to assent or dissent to any demand (Article 113). After the grants have been made by the House of People an appropriation Bill shall have to be passed by the House and then money shall be withdrawn from the consolidated fund. No money can be withdrawn from the Consolidated Fund of India except under appropriation made by law [Article 114(3)]. Hence, Parliament shall have full control over the finance of the State and financial matters can hold sway over the Council of Ministers. In law, the President shall cause to introduce the annual financial statement in the Parliament; in fact it is introduced by the Finance Minister on the recommendation of the President; and the whole of the council of ministers sails on this. In Articles 202, 203 and 204 similar financial procedures have been laid down in

regard to the administration of the State; and the State legislature can thus control the Council of Ministers through finance. When the Parliament or Legislatures grant finance to a particular department, the action of the presiding minister of that department is criticised by the House in every detail.

It is an established Convention in Parliamentary Governments that if the Government fails to have a very important bill, involving a question of policy, passed by the House, the Cabinet resigns. It is presumed that this long-established practice will also be followed in India.

Any member of the House of People can ask for the leave of the House to move directly a no-confidence motion against the whole of the Council. If that is granted, discussed and passed by the House, the Council shall resign forthwith. The procedure of such no-confidence motion has been narrated in the "Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Parliament of 1950." Similarly, a no-confidence motion can be moved against the Council of Ministers of a State. In 1954, the Councils of Ministers of two States resigned after no-confidence motion had been passed against them in the respective Legislative Assembly, e.g., the Pillai Ministry in Travancore-Cochin and the Prakasham Ministry in Andhra.

"There is no more valuable safeguard against maladministration, no more effective method of bringing a searchlight of criticism to bear on the action or inaction of the executive government and its subordinates than the question in the Parliament," says Ilibert in his book *Parliament*.

In accordance with some parliamentary procedure any member can ask any question to a Minister. These are meant for criticism and to keep the Ministers alert on their proper relation with the Parliament. This Parliamentary practice is followed in India both in Union and State legislatures. It has been obligatory on the part of the President to address the Parliament at the commencement of every session and to inform it of the causes of its summons. It is the parliamentary practice that this speech is prepared by the Cabinet and it contains the policy and programme of the Government for the ensuing session. In short, the speech contains the policy of the Cabinet

and that policy may be criticised by the Parliament. Thereby a scope has been left to the Parliament to criticise the Government's policy in reply to the President's speech at the beginning of each session. Article 176 which applies to Indian States is analogous to it.

As there are no constitutional fetters on the President to act always on the advice and aid of his Council of Ministers, the President is free to apply his discretion in the case of a Ministerial advice to dissolve the House of People. Article 85, Clause 2, Section (e) says: The President may from time to time . . . dissolve the House of People. Similarly, Article 174, 2(C) echoes: The Governor may from time to time . . . dissolve the Legislative Assembly. Thus it is the absolute discretion of the President or the Governor whether or not to accept the Ministerial advice on the dissolution of the House of People or the Legislative Assembly respectively.

In England, though the dissolution of the Parliament is a prerogative of the Crown, yet, since 1784, the Crown has never refused to accept the advice of the Cabinet in such matters and Dicey observes: "Dissolution has come to be a power at the hands of the Prime Minister—to appeal from the legal to the political sovereign." It has become a convention in England that when the Ministry is defeated on a major issue in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister may advise the Crown to dissolve the House of Commons on the presumption that the House does not reflect the electoral will.

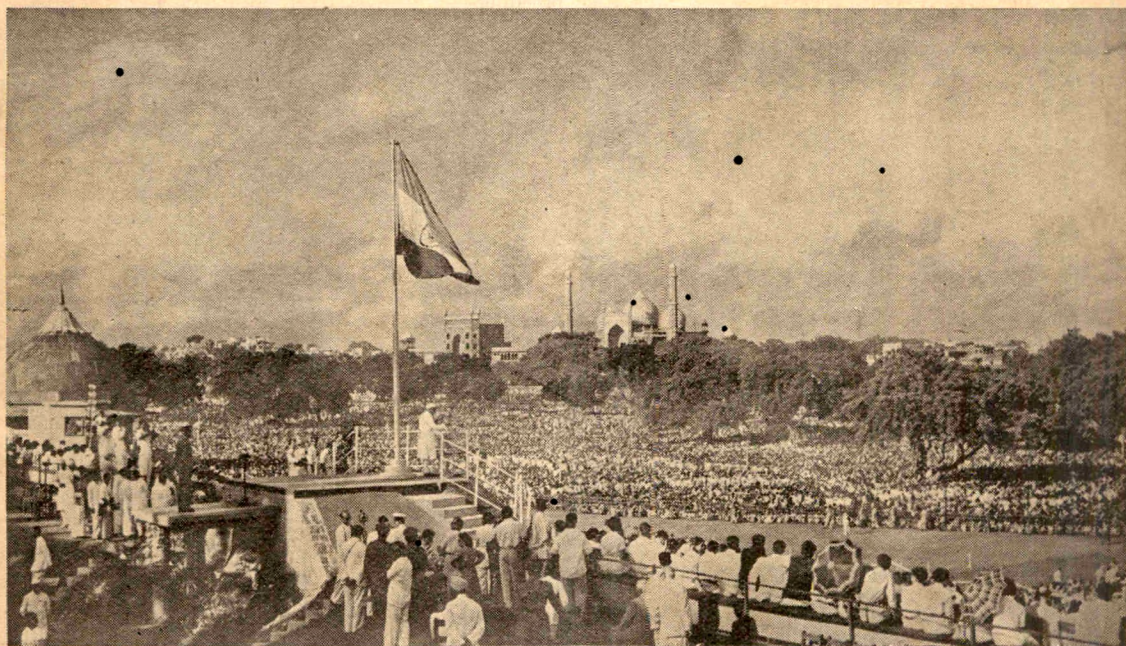
It is a convention in England that the Crown never refuses dissolution if advised by the Prime Minister. The convention in other Dominion countries is otherwise. The Governor-General or Governors may refuse dissolution if improperly asked for by a defeated Ministry. A convention has grown on the other hand that the Governor-General shall explore all possible means to form a new ministry after the defeat of one. If he fails, he may accept the advice of dissolution given by the defeated ministry.

Riddeley has very nicely observed in connection with Canada:

"The action of the Governor-General in granting or refusing a General Election is based on well-



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad inspecting a Guard of Honour on the occasion of his arrival at Madras Station on August 12

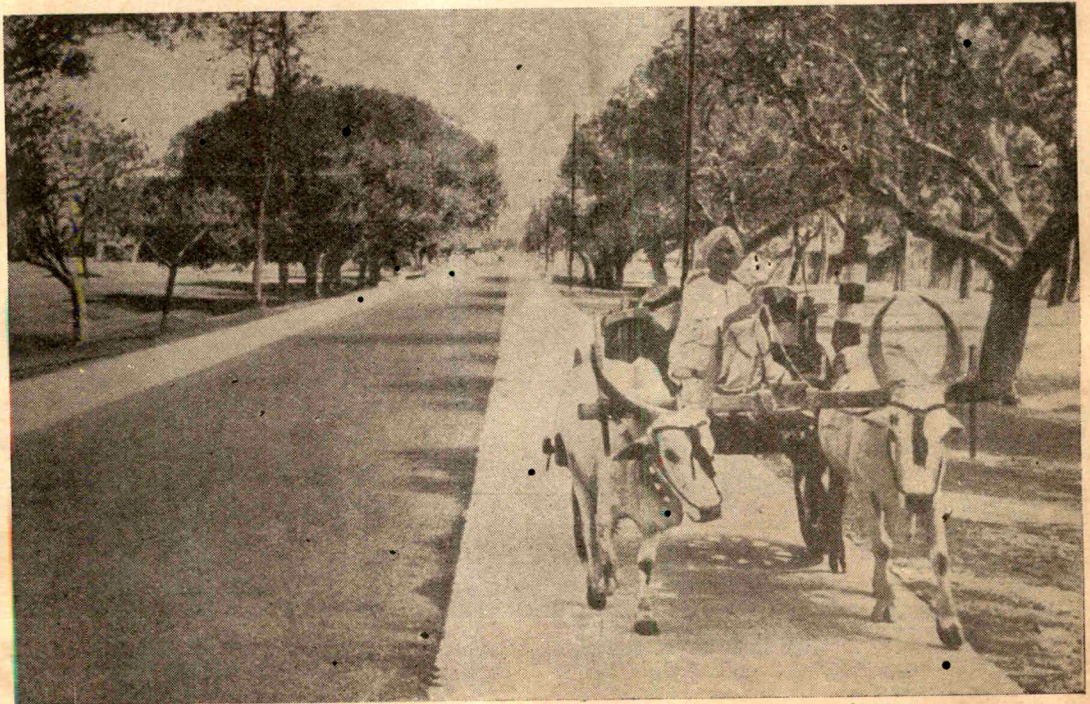


Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a big gathering of public on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Independence, August 15, 1956, at the historic Red Fort, Delhi

INDIAN SCENE



Rice breeding



On the wide road

established constitutional rules. He must avoid becoming a party man, he must not engage in party politics or political intrigue, he must hold the scales even in respect of all political parties, he must be guided by a fair and candid consideration of the welfare of the people at large, he must not grant a dissolution simply to enable a political party to continue in office when there is no real and important question at issue between the parties."—*The Canadian Constitution in Form and Fact*, pp. 34-5.

Article 13(2) of the Irish Constitution clearly gives the President the absolute discretionary power to dissolve the House on the advice of the defeated Ministry.

India seems to have taken the line of the Dominion practice rather than the British one. Because in Andhra, when T. Prakasham Ministry was defeated in 1954, the Governor dissolved the Legislative Assembly of the State on the advice of the defeated ministry, no alternative Ministry was possible there as the opposition was not united. The Governor referred the matter to the electorate which gave the verdict in favour of the then defeated ministry. So, the Governor was justified in his action. In Travancore-Cochin when Pillai Ministry was defeated in 1954, it advised the Rajapramukha to dissolve the Assembly. But the Rajapramukha did not do it: on the contrary he explored all the possible means to form a new ministry. He was successful. The power of dissolution is a power of the electorate—it is an appeal from the legal sovereign to the political sovereign to secure a mandate from the electorate. The President or the Governor shall cause this power to be applied in a very judicious way so that it may not be misused for party purposes.

As regards the appointment of the Prime Minister, the President's power is limited by the clauses (3) and (5) of the Article 75 that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of People, and that a Minister, who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of either House of Parliament, shall, at the expiration of that period, cease to be a Minister. The President shall appoint such a person as Prime Minister who shall be able to enjoy the confidence of the majority members of the House of People. The appointment shall become automatic if there is a recognised leader of an absolute

majority party in the House. In absence of that and in case of plurality of leaders having possible capability to command majority in the House, the President can apply his individual judgment to appoint the Prime Minister. After the defeat of a Ministry, the President shall call the leader of the opposition to form the Ministry, following the established convention in Great Britain. In case of the absence of the recognised leader of the opposition, he may apply his individual judgment. Thus the power of the President in the selection of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers is limited only to the case of absence of any recognised leader of an absolute majority party in the House. The same principle is followed in the State administration, vide Article 164, clauses (1) and (2) and clause (4) with the provision that in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister-in-charge of Tribal Welfare.

Ministers are collectively responsible to the House of People and individually responsible to the President. To examine the observation, two questions are to be answered: whether the Council of Ministers collectively can be dismissed by the President and whether Ministers can be individually dismissed by the President. The answer to the first question will be in the negative and to the second question in the positive, because to follow the British principle, though the Crown still possesses the prerogative to dismiss a Cabinet, this right has become obsolete since its last application in 1783. If, however, a Cabinet refuses to resign after an adverse vote of confidence in the House of Commons, the Crown can dismiss it (Jennings' *Cabinet Government*, p. 229). It may also be followed in India. At least the framers intended this. Since Clause 2(g), Article 75, refers only to Ministers, it means that ministers are individually responsible to the President and are liable to be dismissed by him, but not collectively. Clause (2) answers clearly the second question: The ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. The reason for such a provision is that a minister may be thought undesirable by the Prime Minister. Without causing a fall of the entire Cabinet to follow the principle of collective responsibility,

he may advise the President to dismiss a particular minister if he does not resign on request. Again, if a minister is corrupt or undesirable and even though he commands the confidence of the House of People, the President may think it fit to dismiss such a minister. Practically this power of the President will shift to the hands of the Prime Minister to enhance his control over the ministers.

The provisions as regards the States are similar to those regarding the Centre. Article 164(1) says: The ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor. And Clause (2) says: The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

What are the implications of the collective responsibility then? It can be very aptly explained in the words of L. Morley of Blackburn (*Life of Walpole*, pp. 155-156):

"As a general rule every important piece of departmental policy is taken to commit the entire Cabinet and its members stand or fall together . . . The Cabinet is a Unit—a Unit as regards the sovereign, and a Unit as regards the Legislature. Its views are laid before the sovereign and before Parliament, as if they were the views of one man. It gives its advice as a single whole, both in the royal closet and in the hereditary or in the representative chamber. The first mark of the Cabinet, as that institution is now understood, is united and undivisible responsibility."

Mr. Gladstone Gleannings says:

"While each minister is an adviser of the Crown, the Cabinet is a Unity."

Similar meaning may be attributed to the words 'collective responsibility of our Constitution.' If the Prime Minister resigns, the entire Council of Ministers resigns, despite the fact that other ministers of the Council do not. The Council of Ministers defends the governmental policy in both the Houses unitedly. Both the Houses view it as a unit. Secrecy of Cabinet discussions has to be maintained so that dissension in the Cabinet may not be known. It is an essential part of collective responsibility. For that an oath of secrecy has to be taken by every minister at the time of assumption of office (vide Article 75, Clause 4). Our Constitution avoids the individual responsibility of the ministers to the Parliament. The British practice is that ministers

are collectively and individually responsible to the Parliament for their respective departments and the Parliament may insist on the resignation of an individual minister. For such an eventuality our Constitution has inserted Clause (2) of Art. 75 by which the President may dismiss an undesirable minister. It is clearly revealed from the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Parliament, 1950, which says: "(1) A motion expressing want of confidence in the Council of Ministers may be made subject to the following restrictions." It does not provide for a no-confidence motion against the individual minister.

"The Cabinet is a committee of the Parliament, but a committee chosen to rule the nation," as Bagehot puts it.

It is not only the supreme executive machinery of the State, but the legislative initiative has as well passed to its hands from the Parliament. It initiates, introduces, pilots and makes the legislative proposals passed by the Parliament. There is hardly any scope for bills introduced by private members to be passed by the Parliament if it is not backed by the Cabinet. It determines the time and programme of the House of Commons.

"To say that at present Cabinet legislates with the advice and consent of Parliament would hardly be an exaggeration."—Lowell: *Government of England*, p. 326.

The Parliament only criticises, amends and revises the legislative proposals put by the Cabinet.

The Cabinet controls the Parliament by a threat of dissolution. The Cabinet is the creature of the Parliament, but unlike all other creatures, it can destroy its creator, as Walter Bagehot says. The power of the Cabinet to dissolve the Parliament (in case of India, the House of People) has been discussed before-hand. Be it noted in this connection that ultimately this is a power of the political sovereign.

Whenever the Cabinet thinks that the House does not reflect the electoral opinion, it refers the issue to the electorate, i.e., the political sovereign. The power of the Cabinet to dissolve the House of People is first of all limited by the President since the President may not accept the advice of dissolution if it

is improperly asked for; and secondly, ultimately it is limited by the sovereign will of the nation, i.e., the prospect of the next election. The people delegates power to the Parliament and Parliament allows the Cabinet to rule, subject to its constant criticism and vigilance. Whatever authority it exercises, it derives it from its creator. If the Cabinet exercises dictatorial power, it does it with the consent of the Parliament.

It is said of the Prime Minister of England that "he is endowed with such a plenitude of power as no other constitutional ruler in the world possesses, not even the President of the United States." As the Prime Minister of India holds analogous position to the Prime Minister of England, a comparison may be drawn between the President of the U.S.A. and the Prime Minister of India. Both are the trusted leaders of the nation. Both work in a democratic Government—a Government subject to popular control. Both are popularly elected, the difference being that the President is directly elected by the people and the Prime Minister is elected in theory, in a roundabout way, by the elected representatives of the people. But in practice, the General Election today means the election of the Prime Minister. They also differ in many respects. The President has a fixed tenure of office, while the Prime Minister has not got it. The position of the Prime Minister depends on his command over his own party and the position of the party in the House of People. The powers of the President are absolute over a prescribed and limited sphere, and the powers of the Prime Minister are wide but not absolute. The President is the sole Magistrate of the Nation—to none he is responsible for his executive action. The President is in no sense the master of legislation. He has only suggestive and legislative powers. The Prime Minister initiates and controls legislation. In the legislative power, the President is less than the Prime Minister, and, in his executive power, he is more than the Prime Minister. At another point the President is limited, i.e., the President always works under the constant threat of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court may declare any action and measure of the President void. But no such judicial supremacy has been established

in India. The President of the U.S.A. is the ceremonial head of the State, but this power belongs to the President of India and not to the Prime Minister. In certain matters the President of the United States is more than the President of India; while in certain matters he is, also, equal or less than the Prime Minister of India. Hence, it is futile to prove that one is more powerful than the other. Because the power of one is greater in one respect and less than the other in another respect, and also because the powers vary between holders of powers. Much depends on the time factor and the personalities involved.

The next question is why Parliamentary Government has been introduced by the Constituent Assembly. To answer the question, we are to weigh the merits and demerits of the Parliamentary and the Presidential Governments. Lord Bryce in *Modern Democracies*, Vol. II, p. 464, narrates the merits of Parliamentary Government:

"It concentrates the plenitude of power in one body, the legislative, giving to its majority that absolute control of the executive which enables the latter, when supported by the legislature, to carry out the wishes of the majority with the maximum of vigour and promptness. The essence of the scheme is that the executive and the majority in the legislature work together, each influencing the other . . . The system is therefore calculated to secure swiftness and vigour in action and enables the Cabinet to press through such legislation as it thinks needed. . . . To these merits, there is to be added the concentration of responsibility. For any faults committed the legislature can blame the Cabinet and the people can blame both the Cabinet and the majority."

Another point of the Parliamentary Government is its feasibility and elasticity. It can adapt itself to sudden emergencies. The people can choose a ruler for the occasion in times of emergencies.

As to the demerits of the Parliamentary Government, Lord Bryce says:

"It intensifies the spirit of party and keeps it always on the boil. One party holds them, the other desires them, and the conflict is unending."

"In the legislature, it involves an immense waste of time and force" (pp. 466-68). It is a Government extremely partisan in character and it remains in power through partisanship.

It is a Government by plural executive, and, as such, in times of war or emergency, it may be weak.

As the sole Magistrate of the Nation the President can take quick and vigorous decision whenever needed. There is a greater sense of stability, because the shifting of political power takes place only in election times. Legislatures are less dominated by party spirit under the Presidential Government. But it is brought with serious defects. The separation of powers in the Presidential Government has made 'the forceful disjunction of things naturally connected.' (Lord Bryce: *Modern Democracies*, p. 468). It meets frequent deadlocks if the President is at odds with the Congress. As the legislature has no direct control over Presidential action, the President may turn irresponsible and autocrat. The Presidential system is based on 'periodic assessment of responsibility.' Whereas the Parliamentary system is based on 'daily assessment.'

Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, one of the framers of the Indian Constitution, explains the reasons of the adoption of the Parliamentary system in India:

"Firstly, the harmonious relations that should exist between the Legislature and the Executive to ensure the smooth working of an infant democracy. Secondly, for some years, at least prior to the new constitution, the Cabinet system has been working in a fairly satisfactory manner in the different provinces in India. Thirdly, the need for bringing the constitution in the Indian States into lines with the responsible Government in the different provinces of

India. Fourthly, the inappropriateness of having a presidential type of Government in the Union, and what is familiarly known as the Cabinet system in the different units comprising the Union. And fifthly, the fact that in no constitutional State in the world today exists such an officer with such vast powers as the President of the American Union, and the historical accidents connected with the institution of the American Presidency."—From an article entitled "The Indian Constitution" published in the *A. B. Patrika*, January 26, 1950.

With the last point we differ, the reasons for which have been discussed earlier. C. F. Strong opines that the Parliamentary system to be successful requires an established and well-defined party system. In its absence, the Government becomes unstable as in France. That is a bad feature of the Government.

"A Parliamentary executive can easily become corrupt, with the connivance of an Assembly itself not above corruption."

In the light of this opinion advanced by C. F. Strong, it is difficult to say whether it has become desirable for India to adopt the Parliamentary Government. But Strong again says:

"The problem of such new States, therefore, is to find the next stable form of Government consistent with the security of popular rights during the period necessary for experience to be gained. But it is probable that this stability is to be secured more certainly through the device of Parliamentary executive than through that of any other system."

After all, the form which works well in a country is the best for that country.



THE BIRTH OF MODERNISED ECONOMY IN INDIA

By DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. M.R.A.S.

It is an over-simplification leading to falsehood when we say that the Industrial Revolution was only a case of machine killing man—the machine being British and the man being the Indian handicraft artisan. The Bengali poet has sung: •

Weaver and smith cry, "Alas! alas!

Plying the handloom and forge no longer brings
us food."

The change was far more complex than this. It was really the supplanting of the old cottage industry and all its accessories by the modern world-wide organisation of entrepreneurship, finance and transport, and not merely labour-saving mechanical inventions like those of Arkwright and Crompton. Private capital has now come to dominate State action, which was never dreamt of under our Mughals or the Tudors of England.

The Charter of 1813 threw Indian trade open to the public, and that of 1833 extended this freedom by abolishing the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade. The impact of free private capital (at first almost entirely British) upon India's social life and economy was tremendous.

Bengal's production of cash crops had gone up at least three or four times during the forty years 1793-1833 (p. 253).

"One of the most important effects of the Charter of 1833 was the emergence not only of a middle class but of a constructive middle class ideology in India. Dwarka Nath Tagore and Ram Mohun Roy were the precursors of a new age." (p. 251).

This modernisation was possible only because there was an all-India British suzerain and a modern trained bureaucracy administering India as the result of Wellesley's and Marquis of Hastings' simplification of the political map of India. And their necessary wars of annexation were rendered possible only by the help of the British private capitalist investing in India. This last condition is usually quite forgotten by us.

As Prof. Tripathi writes:

"The opposition of R. C. Dutt and many other economists of his generation was not so much to the growth of a British Empire in India as to

investment by private British capitalists in that enterprise. But it is doubtful whether so much capital would have been available from native resources alone, or the Indian capitalists would have agreed to accept the gradually diminishing rate of interest on public loans so long as land [after the gift of the Permanent Settlement of 1793] or rural money-lending remained more remunerative." (p. 257).

"R. C. Dutt failed to differentiate between trade on private and on public account [between India and England in the days of the East India Company]. The 'drain' before 1813 arose from an application of territorial revenue to the provision of the investment [i.e., the Company's purchase of Indian goods for export to England], but the drain after 1813 arose from remittance of an equivalent of the Home charges. R. C. Dutt failed to differentiate . . . that the drain by the Company during 1793-1833 was mostly in the form of goods—not surely in gold,—these goods were bought in the Bengal market for some value. Was it not, then, returning some direct equivalent to the land in the shape of prices? . . . Much of the drain on private account . . . took place in the medium of indigo . . . and Dwarkanath Tagore and Ram Mohun Roy spoke of the benefit it conferred on the countryside." (pp. 256-257).

No economic history of India during the British connection has been yet written, and the *annals* which have so long occupied the stage are outdated and unreliable. But a number of monographs on particular aspects of the subject are being written by our younger scholars, which will supply materials to the synthetic historian of the future. Among these a place in the front rank belongs to Dr. Amalesh Tripathi's *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833*, which Orient Longmans have recently published. (Price Rs. 20.). In reading it I have been struck by the wide range and depth of the author's research among unprinted sources, minute accuracy in handling facts and figures, sobriety of judgment and courage in exploding popular myths. He has woven his detailed statistics so cleverly together and given the reader a breathing space at intervals by inserting summaries and reflections that in his hands economics has ceased to be "a dismal science." His Chapter VI on "Some Conclu-

sions," is so thought-provoking that I have read it twice over. His aim here is to investigate a problem:

"The impact of a complex alien administration and a superior economic system naturally proved ruinous to (India's age-old economic) rotten edifice.

But how far did this impact contain the seeds of a new economic life? We must analyse its consequences for each social class to answer this question."

* * *

And the survey is illuminating.

—:O:—

GANDHIAN WAY AND BHOODAN

By MANKUMAR SEN

BHOODAN or Land-gifts Mission is an extension of the Gandhian way, or the way of Non-violence. As everyone knows, it was Mahatma Gandhi—the greatest of the Moderns—who pioneered practical non-violence and stirred the Indian Nation to a fearless struggle for freedom. Apart from non-violent non-co-operation and voluntary suffering—instead of reprisals or retaliation in the violent method as adopted by the alien rule—on a national scale, Gandhiji also drafted a programme of National Construction like removal of caste barriers, spinning in every home for self-sufficiency in cloth, resuscitation of village industries, total prohibition, etc., and ushered in the same through the vehicles of a number of All-India Organizations, viz. All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, All India Spinners' Association, All-India Village Industries' Association, etc. He was motivated by the concept of 'Sarvodaya' (a Bengali word) which means 'welfare of all.' And non-violence is the only means to this end according to Mahatma Gandhi. For, true to Indian tradition, culture and essence of religions, Gandhiji had implicit faith in the oneness of spirit, or that the same Almighty was existent in all his beings. Also he fully believed in the innate goodness of man, whatever might be his failures or faults to-day. Due to this oneness philosophy, which in fact has been the philosophy of Indian life through the ages, Gandhiji ruled out violence as a means; because, besides the inevitable reaction of such violent action, violence against any of God's beings would mean violence against one's ownself. So, one who had the welfare of all or universal development in his view and mission could not but adopt only non-violence as the means.

Politically, application of this means was the major power, if not the sole power, which led to the goal of freedom for India under Gandhiji's leadership. It was, however, absolutely due to the Gandhian way of non-violent struggle that British quit India out the mutual goodwill of these two great Nations remained unimpaired. It was a parting of the ways by agreement, and in spite of the Partition of India clause, will ever remain an unprecedented historic event.

More than the winning of freedom it was the retention of freedom which presented a stupendous responsibility before India. By the irony of fate, it was at this crucial moment that India was orphaned. On 30th January, 1948, that is, within a few months of India's Independence, an assassin's bullet removed the beacon-light of Truth and Love. Gandhiji was no more.

But, perhaps God destined to carry the torch of truth and love further and further ahead. So came Vinoba—Acharya Vinoba Bhave—a Maharastrian and one of the staunchest followers of Mahatma Gandhi, who spent nearly 40 years in self-chosen seclusion or *sadhana* under the fostering care of his Master, as if in preparation for the coming revolution. It was indeed a very critical chapter in India's history. In the wake of Partition a ceaseless migration of refugees into the country, besides being itself a most bewildering problem, was threatening to unsettle other spheres of national endeavour too. Communal forces were uncompromising and the Communists too were reaping a good harvest, particularly in the Telengana area of South India. They murdered a number of landlords and big intermediaries, conducted loot and arson and created a terror to forcibly dispossess the landlords and give their land to the landless. For once, there was no rule of law. Government retaliated by the might of superior arms and restored land to their owners. In between such violent action and more violent reaction, the problem of the landless remained as before, rather it became more complex as the masses of the people, having lost whatever little peace they had in life, were unwilling to take either of the parties into their confidence. It was in this background of encircling and galloping gloom that Vinoba Bhave started, on foot, for Telengana, on 15th April, 1951, from Shivarnampalli in Hyderabad where he had reached on 7th April, 1951, to attend the All-India Sarvodaya Conference. Regarding this walking tour of Telengana he once remarked:

"I wanted to tour the Telengana as a soldier of *Shanti Sena* (Army of Peace) in order to propagate the message of peace."

And what was the problem of Telengana?

"Some people here possess thousands of acres of land while some cannot call even one acre as his own." He also observed:

"The rich people are responsible for the creation of Communists. The rich, in fact, are the father of the Communists."

Pointing out the futility of police action, he said:

"In summer you will not find grass but as soon as the rainy season starts, grass begins to grow and there are seeds of grass in the earth. So also the police can curb the Communist menace for a while, but it cannot root it out permanently. So, we must root out this menace by adopting the right path." And "the only way to root it out is to remove the unequal distribution of land in a peaceful way."

How Vinoba actually struck upon this peaceful way is a fascinating story.

It was the 18th day of April, 1951. Vinoba, who had encamped at Pachampalli village, was speaking to a gathering of Harijans (down-trodden so-called low-caste people) who were all landless. They told, in reply to a query by Vinoba, that 80 acres of land would suffice for their settlement on land. This pathetic appeal naturally left Vinoba in deep anxiety and meditation, he knew not how to fulfil their needs which were extremely reasonable and urgent. And, then, as if in loud thinking, he posed:

"If land is not provided by the Government or if they take time, cannot something be done by the village people themselves?"

There was pin-drop silence. Suddenly one V. R. Reddy got up and offered to make a gift of one hundred acres of land! It was a pleasant surprise which took even Vinoba aback. And thus fell down the first drop of Bhoodan or land-gift of which the total during the five years ending June 30, 1956, is as large as 4,200,000 acres, including 1,110 *gramdan* or donation of the entire cultivable land of the village for redistribution according to needs. *Gramdan* constitutes a revolutionary phase of Bhoodan and has been recognised even by 'practical' men like economists as full of possibilities. It has, while rooting out classes or distinctions which accrue from the quantum of possession, been building up Socialistic society logically from below and has put a permanent brake on exploitation of land for commercial purposes.

So far Vinoba has walked over 20,000 miles. He walks and walks and knows no rest. Saints in India have, as if in a tradition, always toured on foot to propagate their message. But those were the times when there were no vehicles or speedy transport in rural India and one could not but move on foot. But today, despite a wide net-work of power-driven conveyance throughout the country Vinoba is walk-

ing thousands and thousands of miles on foot, pressing home to the people the challenge of the age which is Sarvodaya or Universal Development, and asking for land-gift. The reason is obvious. He wants to enter straight into the hearts of his listeners and help unite their hearts which the impact of this machine age has terribly broken. He wants to replace the rule of machine by the rule of man. He is not opposed to scientific inventions; rather he is more scientific than most of our modern scientists. For, he points out, when science by nature is progressive you must maintain this progress by saving science from disaster. Have we not had enough of the consequences of scientific violence, in the form of Atom Bomb, which altogether wiped out Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two cities of Japan? In this age of science, even a spark of violence is apt to turn into global conflagration and bring about total destruction. So, if human civilization is to survive non-violence is the only way.

Vinoba had adopted this way first in land redistribution, which admittedly is the most formidable issue before India, in fact, before the whole of Asia. Land is the mainstay of living for the masses in this part of the globe. Each and every landless producer must get land. He will possess the holding, Vinoba emphasizes, but will not own it. Society or the village alone will be the owner of land. Like light, air, water and other basic elements created by God or Nature, land also is a free gift and must not be owned by any person. It must be shared equally by all that is, the ownership shall vest in the village or a bigger unit of society. It is this approach to social ownership, as against both individual and State control, which has induced Vinoba to ask for land both from big and small land-holders. "Attachment may lurk even in a loin cloth," he warns. It does lurk. Be he a landlord, a small land-holder or a landless person, the attachment to private ownership or possession is equally strong. Bhoodan seeks to liquidate this feeling of personal property and, therefore, exhorts all possessions, big and small, to be donated to the society's common pool for redistribution according to needs. Figures of land collection, including land of over eleven hundred whole villages, provide a magnificent testimony as to how man can respond to the call of love and peaceful persuasion.

'But why not bring out all excess land by law and redistribute the same', that is the most common question put forward particularly by a section of the educated classes or intelligentsia. In reply another question may be asked, 'Has law ever been able to solve any problem?' It only appears to have solved but actually cannot offer any benefits unto the last man or the most needy man in the society. For instance, Untouchability in India has been prohibited by the Indian Constitution itself, but un-

touchables are still there almost as before. So, ultimately, it is the change of man's heart, a revolutionary change in the system of thought, which can revolutionize his life and action. Neither the bayonet nor the coercive legislation can initiate this fundamental change in approach. Even for legislations to be effective, a favourable mass opinion is the first pre-requisite. Indian States have legislated against large holdings and intermediary interests. But even the most brainy legislation has its loopholes through which the designing persons can wriggle out. The landlords have variously challenged the land laws; what was more befuddling, many of them shared their land, in between their inmates and relatives, reduced the size of per capita holding and thus baffled the transfer of land—in excess of the statutory 'ceiling'—to the State. It is noteworthy that legislations throughout India have failed to bring under State ownership even as much land as Bhoodan or voluntary donation has brought. And this donation was by five lakh donors and not by a handful of big men. In fact, it is the small men who have donated more and this has organized the forces of peaceful revolution which Bhoodan visualises. Donation of whole villages has strengthened them still further. Not that redistribution alone will solve the problem; redistributed land per family cannot be the absolute source of living; so, village and home industries are supplementing their income along with intensive farming with up-to-date methods consistent with the pattern and needs of rural life.

So voluntary sharing is the message inherent in Bhoodan. Sharing not of land alone, but of other properties too. It is an expanding and all-pervasive idea. Since one can hardly so revolutionize his outlook all at once as to sacrifice his entire possession or sharing by neighbours, Vinoba asks today only for a part of the possession. Let one begin with a modest acceptance of the principle. He is certain, once initiated in the principle, it will not take one long to fully dispossess himself.

Bhoodan, therefore, is no mere collection of land gifts and redistribution of the same. It is a guiding principle of life, which, however, begins with land—the source of all production—agricultural, industrial or otherwise.

It is also interesting to note that villagers themselves execute the redistribution work unanimously. People of the village assemble in a meeting, draw out the list of the landless, fix up priorities and distribute land accordingly. This is also an affair as fascinating as the offering of land-gift. It is the age of either rule by minority entrenched in the power of arms or by majority with the power of votes. Gandhiji dreamt and struggled for the rise and welfare of all, for 'Sarvodaya' in the society. Bhoodan Movement,

for the first time in history, has ushered in an era of unanimous decision or real democracy. That the least governed is the best governed is universally accepted. Socialism or Communism which claims to have introduced a new system of government has been consolidating the power of the State as opposed to the Marxian theory of an ideal State where the State will wither away or be liquidated. Sarvodaya movement—with Bhoodan as the maiden step—is liquidating the centralized State power, brick by brick, village by village. The people's power is organizing on an incredible scale and a Representative Village Body is taking upon itself the management of the day-to-day affairs of the community. To look less and less up to Government for basic needs is the first lesson for self-rule or Swaraj. Bhoodan is a mighty step to that end. Bhoodan's international implication is also great and far-reaching. Atom Bomb and similar weapons of total destruction appear to have disillusioned today even the warlords or war-mongers. Never before round-the-table conferences between rival nations were so frequent. The reason is obvious, all want to avert another war which will inevitably destroy both the victor and the vanquished. This growing abhorrence of violence has not, however, been followed up by adherence to non-violence or actual confidence in non-violence as a solvent of discords. Co-existence cannot last long unless positive measures are taken to re-build the co-existing nations on the principle and power of non-violence. Greatness or catholicity which non-violence involves is theoretically too well-known to bear repetition. The crying need of the hour is, therefore, practical non-violence or non-violence as an instrument of social build-up and national solidarity. Only after we have actually solved our comparatively small national problems by the means of non-violence that our exhortations for non-violence in international relations will command real respect and inspire confidence. After Mahatma Gandhi, the mantle has fallen on Vinoba Bhave to establish the power of non-violence. Bhoodan or Land-gifts Mission in India, therefore, holds in it the hopes of permanent international peace too. Bhoodan is the beginning of a peaceful social revolution or revolution by love. Only a peaceful means can lead to peace. Revolution, after all, is the cumulative effect of great ideas. And ideas have wings to fly and transcend all boundaries. Bhoodan is re-defining revolution in terms of permanent human values. Bayonet destroys human heart, law breaks it and Bhoodan unites it. Hands or heads may be many but heart will be one in the whole society, says Vinoba. Success of Bhoodan in India will, therefore, ensure permanent peace at home and abroad through the unity of heart.

REFLECTIONS ON MODERN INDIAN PAINTING

The Folk Tradition

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMFY, B.A.

SOME competent and outspoken artists and art-critics believe that the Great Renaissance of Indian Art inaugurated by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and his first band of brilliant disciples, attained its summit and later met with its decline during the life-time of the master and that it has outlived its great aim. As an artist and teacher Abanindranath was supreme. He exhorted his students to develop their own individuality and to give their genius full play. This great freedom of

from his earlier works, indicates that the Great Master foresaw the paths of progress cut by the younger artists.

Significant and truly original has been the contribution of Gaganendranath Tagore, Amrit Sher Gil and Jamini Roy to modern Indian painting. Their works gave inspiration, strength and courage to other Indian artists to explore, experiment and achieve astonishingly new forms of art-expression. A great impressionist painter of daring originality and ultramodernity, Gaganendranath Tagore was the first great and competent exponent of Cubistic Art in India. Without imitating in any manner Western Cubism, he created a new, rare and delightful language of art by his own independent method of analysis of light and shade in his synthesis of original Indian creations. Amrit Sher Gil's robust feeling for simplified form and rich colour sense distinguished her as a talented neo-impressionistic painter.



Rangoli (water colour painting)
By S. D. Chavda

artistic perception and expression assiduously insisted upon and encouraged by Abanindranath resulted in Indian artists seeking fresh fields and pastures new. The spirit of intelligent enquiry and diligent research fostered by Abanindranath revitalised the creative genius of Indian artists, and great and far-reaching has been the outcome. The vocabulary of Indian Art has been enlarged and enriched almost to alarming proportions by present-day Indian painters who have derived stimulus from Abanindranath's advice to study, assimilate, and create something new and solid.

Even during the heyday of the Renaissance, creative artists like Gaganendranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore, Jamini Roy and Amrit Sher Gil broke away from Revivalism as such and heralded Radicalism in Indian painting. Achieving a synthesis of the best traits of Western and Eastern painting and retaining the soul of Indian Art, these stalwarts created art-history with their aggressively new creations. A wizard of form and colour, the great Abanindranath watched with love and interest the incoming new trends. *The Last Journey*, an impressionist rendering of Rabindranath Tagore's funeral procession, from the brush of Abanindranath, so divergent in vision, technique and atmosphere



Mother and Child (Oil colour)
By Badri Narayan

Sunayani Devi and Jamini Roy came later, each heralding a new style, an extension of age-old Folk Art. They exploited successfully and with tremendous popular appeal the conventions of Bengal Folk Art and the Kalighat *Pat* Paintings, and became the most outstanding creators and exponents of the new primitivism.

in Indian Art. The old folk art of Bengal inspired the creations of Sunayani Devi which are truly remarkable for their depth of feeling and transcendent spiritual experiences. The competent and colourful repetitions of the Bengal folk art motifs by Jamini

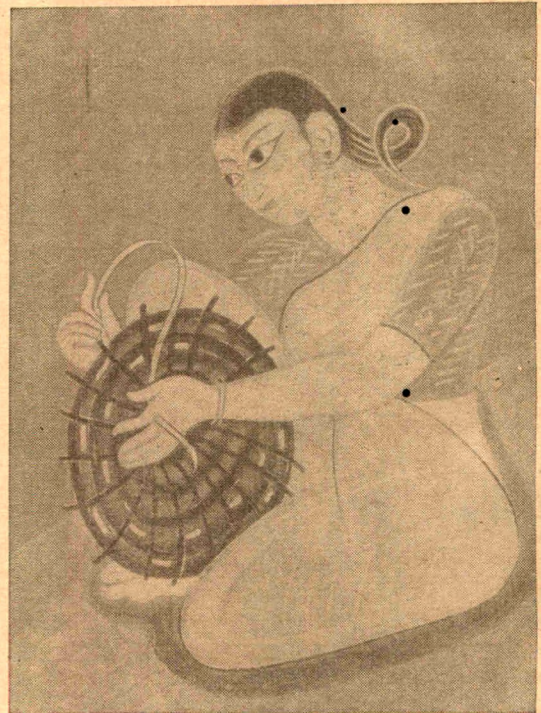


At the well (water colour painting)
By S. D. Chavda

Roy, so full of decorative charm and direct appeal, achieved world-fame very soon. The experiments of these pioneers in folk art idiom, and the popular esteem which their works commanded, caught the fancy of the younger progressive painters in other parts of India and these adventurers took to exploiting zealously the traditional folk art motifs peculiar to their own territories. Folk Art soon became an infectious and irresistible mania with modern Indian artists who strove to express themselves in their native dialect and whose avowed aim was to discover newer forms and create sensations. The most world-famous exponent of Indian Folk Art is Jamini Roy. His amazing success as a master in the Bengal Folk Art motif is solely responsible for folk art becoming the rage and craze of the day. Phenomenal and bewildering has been the growth of, and all world recognition to, Indian Folk Art idiom during the past two decades. This is essentially due to the bold and indefatigable labours of Jamini Roy whose lone, long and arduous struggle towards simplification of colour and form has been crowned with unprecedented success. "He wished to paint his blood and his people. The search after configurations of basic form and equal colour led him from oils to earth colours or tempera, to the monumentality of dolls made in Bengal villages, to the ideoplastic realism of children,

to the chromatic strength and simple but rich affirmation of life that one finds in the art of our people."

The Kangra Valley school of painting unexcelled in the delicacy of line, brilliancy of colours, symbolism in expression, minuteness of decorative detail and harmony with Nature, which bears the impress of the beautiful life and landscape of the love-laden hills, has also been described as Folk Art, because in these masterpieces of truly Indian Art is mirrored the day-to-day life of the common people in all its rich intensity and variety. "What Chinese Art achieved for landscape, is here accomplished for human love." This is folk art at its highest which no modern Indian artist is capable of even successfully imitating. What is popularly understood as folk art, the idiom which Jamini Roy and a brilliant band of followers have exploited, is the old folk art of the villages, and



Basket-weaver (water-colour painting on silk)
By Kamala Mittal

not the grand, unique, lofty art of the Kangra Valley School which remains one of the wonders of artistic expression.

Folk Art in India has a very rich and ancient heritage, bearing intimate relationship with the religious, social and cultural traditions of the country, which vary with peoples and places in the different parts of India. Illustrating in a simple, direct, delightful, and easy-to-understand manner the spontaneous aesthetic tastes of the masses, folk art has found sumptuous and absolutely indigenous expression in home-made toys,



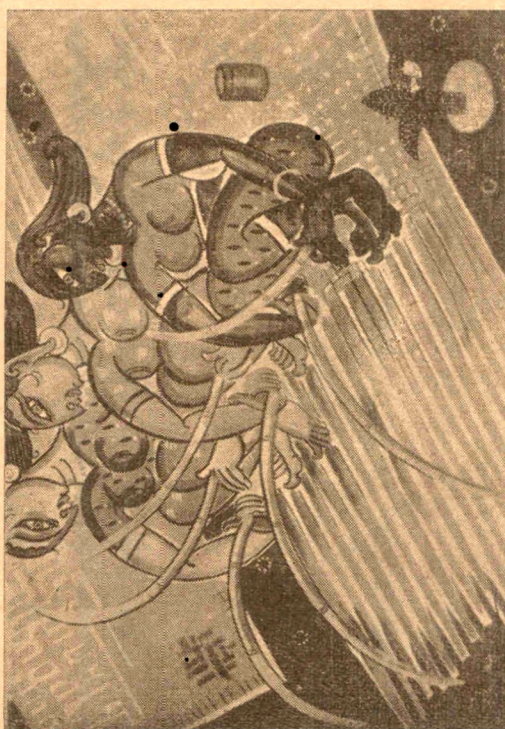
Village teacher (*water colour painting*)
By P. L. Narasimha Murthy



Basket weaving (*water colour painting*)
By K. Rajiah

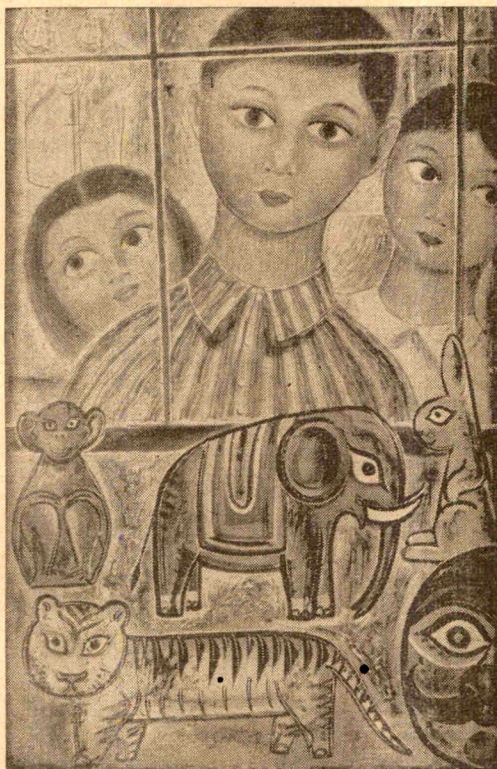


Pallanguzhi—Indian game (*Tempera painting*)
By K. Srinivasulu



Mat making (Exhibited at Washington in America in 1953)
Tempera painting—By K. Srinivasulu

pottery, cloth, utensils, puppet shows, clay figures of deities and animals, and in the finger-drawn designs embellishing houses, all the handwork of poor, illiterate, unsophisticated men and women. Old folk art is thus a significant and joy-imparting, yet simple and soul-searing phase of the traditional art of the people which, though somewhat crude and primitive, is vital with energy and aesthetic charm. Sincerity, sanity, sobriety and restraint distinguish folk art and elevate it to great heights.



Dolls (water colour painting)
By Kalyan Sen

Profound is the inner significance of folk art, lovely is its external form. It illustrates, through strong, flowing lines, and indigenous, flat colours, the culture of our people and their irresistible urge for artistic expression. The motifs of Indian folk art vary according to the different religious cults and their symbolic expressions in rustic rituals. Exquisite and elaborate designs drawn with coloured rice-powder in front of and inside houses by Indian womenfolk and considered auspicious, constitute finest examples of Indian folk art. Divergent in idealistic, mystic, symbolic, and realistic conceptions, these lively, decorative drawings provide an endless repertoire to the modern Indian painters who exploit the old folk art motifs. The *Alpana* in Bengal, *Chowkurna* in U.P., *Mandana* in Rajasthan, *Rangoli* in Maharashtra, *Satiya* in Gujerat, *Kōlam* in Tamil Nad,

and *Kalam* in Kerala, are all highly decorative and imaginative forms of Folk Art, each different in manner, method and content. These designs have a long cultural history behind them and they are associated with village festivals and ceremonies peculiar to the localities concerned. They mirror the life of the rustic folk with characteristic candour and simplicity.

The best and most widely known examples of Indian folk art are the famous Bengal *Pata Chitras* and Kalighat *Pat Paintings*, the former on cloth as scrolls



The White Elephant by moonlight
(Water colour and ink)
By Badri Narayan

and the latter on handmade paper, all indigenous in style. Gautama Buddha has recorded his appreciation of the *Patras*, and Buddhagosha of the 1st century A.D. has commented upon it. Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and Visakhadatta have, in their famous works, referred to these paintings. The themes pictured in the old *Patras* were the episodes from the colourful lyrics and epics, mainly relating to Sri Krishna, Sri Rama, and Sri Chaitanya. *Ghazir Pats*, popular among Muslims of Bengal, illustrated stories from Ghazi and Kalu. Hindu and Muslim village artists of old were equally clever in painting both Hindu and Muslim theological and popular themes in the *Pat* paintings which form the basis of Indian folk art. Representational and narrative in style, bold and colourful in execution, amazing in the harmony of masses and sensitive

patterning, the *Pat* paintings illustrate the peculiar technique so charmingly elaborated in the railing pillars of Bharhut and Sanchi of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. "In the *Pats* the head shown in profile, the eyes in full view, the trunk also in front view, and the conformation and movement of the figures and their parts are limited to a few typical shapes."



Hanuman (water colour)
By Badri Narayan

When Sudhir Khastgir, one of the leading contemporary Indian artists, visited the world-famous sculptor Eric Gill in England, the old master showed Khastgir a magnificent hand-painted Kalighat *Pat* and exclaimed: "This is the sort of Art that the artists of your country have produced. What can we teach you Indians?" Boldness of composition, bounding, vigorous and spontaneous lines and vivid colours, and all-pervading rhythm, distinguish these *Pat*-paintings of human and deific subjects and animals. Astonishing is their *naivete* and directness, their mass appeal and mass application, their bold simplifications and robust forms and chromatic effects.

Modern Indian artists who have adopted the folk art idiom of old and given it a new orientation do not ignore tradition and technique. A revivalism of folk art has been achieved by them. They use as far as possible primary colours with arresting boldness and competence. Flat in character and two-dimensional, with no depth, folk art is rich in its possibilities of rhythmic patterns and decorative effects. Their chosen media are water colours and tempera colours. Intrica-

cies of light and shade do not bother them in the least. Through firm and flowing lines, intimately indigenous patterns, *motifs* and prototypes, they achieve amazing pictorial effects, at once simple and delightful. Paramount virtues of simplicity, refreshing colour contrasts, and direct and intense emotional impact of the folk art style paintings find favour with the masses who



The Child Sri Krishna (water colour painting)
By P. L. Narasimha Murthy

feel the heart-beats of their land and life in the pictures which evoke in them intimate local associations. The vigorous and aesthetically delightful statement of form and the soul-searing expression of the dominant *bhava* and *rasa* render folk art studies quite extraordinary and fascinating. Their rhythmic organisation of form and colour, ornate patterning and disarming *naivete* and their glamorous magic of sombre colour schemes are obviously pleasing and aesthetically moving. Folk art provides both *anandam* and *vinodam*.

The artists who paint in the folk art style are our truly national painters. The folk art painters of the present day have an utter indifference for the background of their paintings. They make free and frequent use of the richly variegated designs in the colourful village dance masks, pottery, toys and clay idols, imparting to them individual alterations, taking care to preserve the stamp of rustic simplicity, bearing all signs of unsophisticated workmanship characteristic of the villagers. They respect the conviction, abundantly substantiated by old

folk art, that the village painter's and craftsman's approach to form and colour is psychologically correct and direct and they draw unlimited inspiration from folk songs, old costumes and jewellery and the colourful dances and festivals. By clever and systematic manipulations of apparently old worn-out forms and hackneyed ideas, and scintillating them with the genius of real, creative art, accomplished masters of folk art like Jamini Roy and K. Srinivasalu continue to focus the attention of the art-world in their truly remarkable studies in flat oriental colours. This, indeed, is a mighty achievement when a host of alien 'isms' have invaded the Indian art-world and captured realms of their own.



Watering plant (water colour painting)
By K. Rajiah

Folk or Village Art is still a living stream and a strong and virile formative element in modern Indian art, with the result that some of the great artists trained in the Revivalist and Radical Schools are not able to withstand its temptations. Thus we see artists of the calibre of Nandalal Bose, Kalyan Sen, Biswanath Mukherjee, Jagadish Mittal, Kamala Mittal, S. D. Chavda, N. M. Ingole, K. C. S. Panikar, and K. B. Hebbar, executing paintings in the folk art idiom, while the sponsors of Revivalism in folk art, led by Jamini Roy, the dozen of Indian artists, follow no other motif. Jamini Roy, Binod Behari Mukhopadhyay, Sunil Paul, Satish

Das Gupta, Kshitin Chakravarty and P. Mukherjee are the outstanding Bengali artists who have drawn inspiration from Bengal folk art and painted several folk art studies of high excellence. K. Rajiah, Badri Narayan and D. Doraiswamy are the three gifted artists of Telengana whose paintings in the truly Andhra folk art style have won great distinction. K. Srinivasalu and P. L. Narasimhamurti of Madras, whose works are inspired by the folk art motifs of South India, are accomplished artists who have won fame. K. K. Hebbar, S. D. Chavda and Bhanu Smart of Bombay have to their credit a few excellent folk art studies, influenced by the old folk art of South Canara and Maharashtra. Thanks to the art-creations of these painters, folk art is no longer confined to the peasantry and the villages; the manifold charms of village art are fast becoming the common treasure of the whole nation.

The credit for having rediscovered and interpreted with competence and courage the old folk art of Bengal and heralded the Folk Art Revival in India goes solely to the stalwart Jamini Roy. K. Srinivasalu ranks next for his pioneering efforts to reinterpret South Indian folk art. Their bold vision and direct statement, eliminating mere pretiness and sentimentality, the simplification of form to accentuate essentials, their drawing of contours with bold heavy outlines that sweep in extreme simplification, and their use of heavy, sombre colours in big contrasting masses, have opened the eyes and hearts of other painters and influenced them to exploit folk art and invent an artistic esperanto of their own.

The following intimate observations by two of the gifted present-day Indian painters who follow the folk art idiom are revealing:

"Once I happened to see the dolls and toys made by some professional toy-makers belonging to a certain caste. They attracted my attention and gripped my imagination. I then decided to represent Folk Art in my paintings embodying the thought process of these rustic folk. I made myself familiar with the unsophisticated atmosphere of the villages. Folk Art represents the cult of devotion *Bhakti*, and definitely manifests transparently the aesthetic values of life. The religious approach to the problems of life signify the essence of Folk Art", so says K. Rajiah.

Badri Narayan says:

"I have taken inspiration from the folk tradition for it is a vital, spontaneous and robust style. It keeps to essentials. And that means much."

A handful of artists of the Revivalistic School who have attained world-fame, do not, however, take kindly to the craze for folk art. To them it is "mere intellectual fanaticism," a sort of clever exploitation on the part of artists and art-critics to boost up folk art. They think that folk art is not standard art and that it has no place in an ultra-modern drawing room. But the great and growing demand from leading and thoughtful art-collectors and art-museums all over the world for folk art style paintings by Jamini Roy and others have given the lie direct to this contention and established



Cock Fight (*Tempera painting*)
By K. Srinivasalu

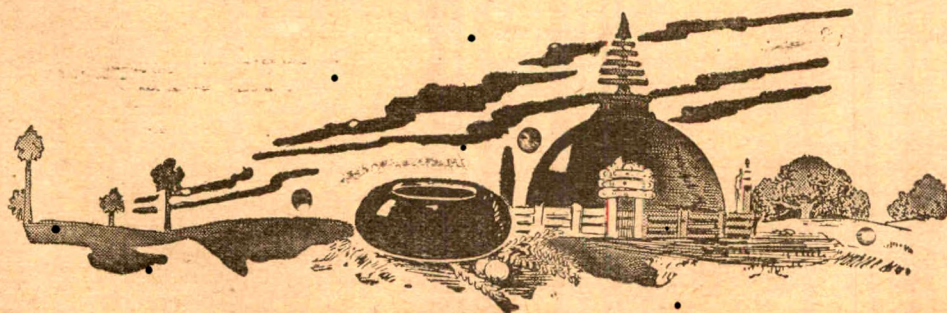
that Folk Art Revival is a great achievement which has come to stay. It is no exaggeration to say that next to Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, the contemporary Indian Master, Jamini Roy is the most famous Asian artist who has won all-world eminence.

The present-day Indian Art is a most disturbing and intriguing conglomeration of totally divergent trends and influences from all over the world, primitive, medieval and modern, the keynote of which is versatility and variety, astounding in quality and quantity. With modern Indian artists Art is no longer representational, but a passionate searching and never-ending discovery of new life forms, a constructive and virile extension of the individual mind. Modern Indian artists have achieved tremendous success in the Abstract and Folk idioms. It cannot be denied that in some works in these aggressively original styles, there are newer aesthetic forms which contain the essence of great art. The most audacious innovations and rampant individualism of the modern art epoch have been considerably inspired by old folk art.

Folk Art is not crude and archaic as some high-brow artists and critics opine. It is the art of the masses and therefore the most natural and pleasing expression of their souls. It is the spontaneous vehicle of their exclusive and immediate aesthetic response to

environmental affinities, in which is mirrored their unsophisticated philosophy, their joy of life. Maintaining through the ages its unique individuality, antiquity and traditional characteristics, folk art illustrates the vital, primitive, psychic urge for the creative expression of rustic folk which finds simple, sweet and direct expression straight from the mind and heart, unalloyed by pre-conceived notions and wilful deceptions and delusions, and divested of extraneous drapings and coverings handed over from generation to generation through hereditary calling as a sort of *Kula Dharma*. Lovers of art culture should be grateful to Jamini Roy, K. Srinivasalu and others for having cognised in full measure the intrinsic worth of the traditional folk art of India, and for keeping it alive through their individual interpretations, without indulging in artistic conundrums and conjurings, by which some of the present-day Indian painters extort public appreciation.

Real, old, great, beautiful India gives gay and soul-entrancing glimpses of her ancient culture and aesthetic values through noble, national Folk Art, a rich treasure-house which will provide firm capital and basis to generations of creative artists with vision for the evolution of original artistic expression through exciting experiences in line, colour and form.



NICE—THE PRIDE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

FRANCE is aptly hailed as a world within world. A dreamland of the tourists, it is a darling spot of the connoisseurs of beauty and celestial charms of Nature. The three leading objects which have brought endless reputation to this blessed country are the changing fashions, vine-yards and the seaside resorts. All of the three hundred and odd beaches of France have something unique and graceful which none can afford to miss.



The city of Nice facing the Mediterranean

Perhaps the most outstanding seaside resort is Nice, which lies majestically facing the Mediterranean on the Riviera. With its pleasant climate and year-round showers, industries and institutions, the city unfolds irresistible charms of Nature. The imposing structures and well-maintained parks, glittering restaurants packed with gay, fun-loving people are an added attraction to the novelty of Nice.

The sparkling waves of the laziest sea of the world wash out the golden sand of Nice which is a real pride of the Mediterranean. Indeed this resort is more attractive than Menton, Cannes or Juanles-pins on the Fresh Riviera. Here the people gather from all quarters of the globe to bathe and laze out, bask in the sunshine and sing and dance. There is unceasing

activity on this beach with thousands of people moving about in the ecstasy of delight and fun. The display of fashions and colourful costumes at Nice is most magical and heightens the scenic beauty of the seaside. While the youngsters swim in the warm waters and the elders relax, the young lovers meet under the shady haunts of Nice for fun, exhilaration and romance.

It is a happy omen that the French are conscious of the customs and age-long traditions of their country.



A fashionable hotel at Nice facing the sea

Fun-loving and adventurous by their very nature, they have a number of delightful carnivals celebrated in all their grandeur and seriousness. A leading carnival of Nice is the *Devil Dance* which makes one laugh and wonder. The performers, dressed in multi-coloured attire and having huge artificial heads, move about in the streets to the accompaniment of bands and pipes. Another equally fascinating festival is the *Battle of Flowers* celebrated year after year in all its pomp and serenity.

Fashionable parties, "curious dances," ballets and musical concerts, so common in summer and winter, live up to the expectation of the world-tourists who pack themselves at Nice long before the Theatre



Devil Dance—an outstanding carnival of Nice
Here the performers are seen in their fancy
dresses and strange figures enjoying and singing

season has commenced. Who on earth can ever afford to miss the festivities at Palais de la Mediterranee and Municipal Casino? The fortnight-long fashion festivities of Madigras, the Flower Gala and the "Jade-Green and Mandarin" Ridoto are the other leading items of the

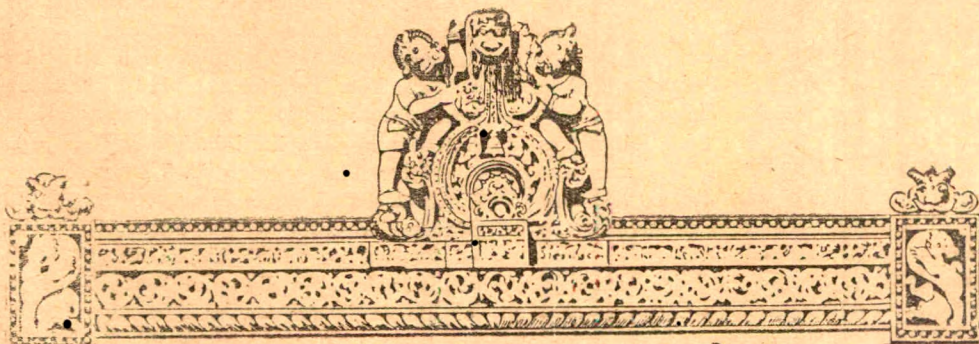


The Battle of Flowers
Arranging all sorts of flowers in a large jar the
battle is about to be started

current year at Nice which is already over-crowded by the aristocrats and leading personalities.

The fabulous entertainments and parties have thus made Nice the dispenser of magic and fun. One comes here to forget one's sorrows and problems, to live and enjoy, drink and dance, in the most complete sense of the terms. Nice is a dream-city with unfailing promises to its visitors from the whole world.*

* Photos by courtesy of the Director, French Government Tourist Office, Bombay.



FIFTH INTERNATIONAL STAMP SHOW

SOME 260,000 postage stamp enthusiasts visited the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition (Fipex) which was held in New York City recently at the newly constructed Coliseum. More than 60 countries of the free world officially took part in the exhibition, the largest number ever to participate in a stamp show.

In a special message to the exhibition, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote:

"By this exhibit the dramatic story of modern communication, uniting all nations of the world by their postal system, is vividly told . . . The stamps of the world are powerful object lessons in the eternal hunger of men for knowledge and news about their fellow-men. They are a pictorial history of all the arts and sciences and human progress in them since the earliest civilizations."

Great Britain sent to the exhibition, together with many other treasures, the original steel dies of the Penny

The Universal Postal Union which was established in 1874 featured a display which traced the history of the postal union through the stamps, postal stationery and covers of many of the 96 countries which now belong to the postal union.

The United States exhibit showed highly prized postal issues in a display entitled "Americana in Stamps." From the National Postage Stamp Collection which is housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington were brought U.S. and foreign postal items many of which were never before displayed outside the Capital. Employees of the U.S. Bureau of Engraving demonstrated designing, plate-making and printing of stamps. Another display illustrated the 15 steps from the mailing of a regular 3-cent letter to its delivery.

At the exhibit, crowds waited in line to look at the British Guiana one-cent black-on-magenta stamp of 1856, the world's rarest and most valuable postal item. There was also great interest in the display from Francis Cardinal Spellman's collection, "Religion on Stamps."

Many people visited the Hall of Color which presented a brief course in color for the philatelist.

Competing for a wide range of prizes at the show were 2,300 frames of stamps submitted by individual collectors. The "Best in the Show" trophy was awarded to Roberto Hoffmann of Montevideo for his display of Uruguayan stamps issued between 1856 and 1864. Giam Francesco G. Ferrini of Candelì, Italy, won the "Best 19th Century" trophy for stamps of the states and provinces of Italy before the unification of 1870.

For the first time in international philatelic exhibitions, women won two top prizes. The "Best 20th Century" prize went to Mrs. Caroline Prentice Cromwell of New York City for her British, European and air-mail stamps. The "Best 20th Century United States" prize was won by Mrs. Ethel B. McCoy of New York.

Other prizes went to Dr. William Byan of Guernsey, England, for Egyptian stamps, Dr. Cruz Planas of Havana for Cuban issues, Captain G. Emerson Huston of England for British Empire stamps, Heinrich Ruegg of Switzerland for European issues, Dr. Everaldo Leite of Rio de Janeiro for his Brazilian collection.

Some 1,000 stamp pages submitted by U.S. junior collectors, ages 10 to 18 years, were also exhibited at the show. These pages were selected for exhibition



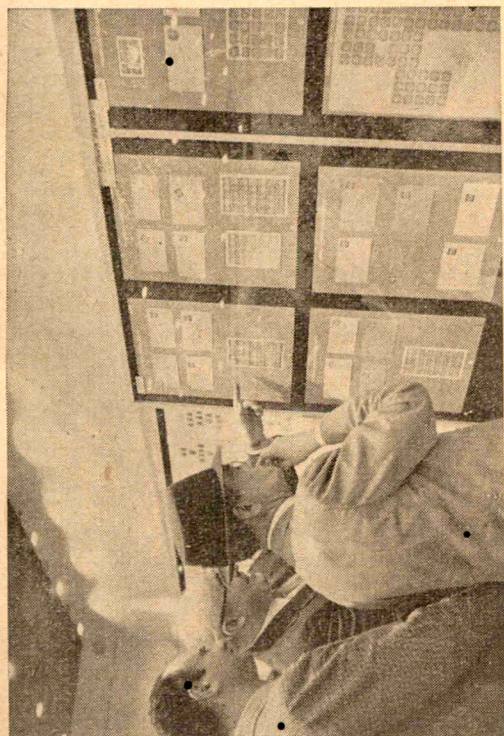
Part of the crowd which visited the newly completed Coliseum in New York City at the time of the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition

Black and Two-Penny Blue stamps of 1840, also the Penny Black 1840, the first sheet of postage stamps to be printed in the world.

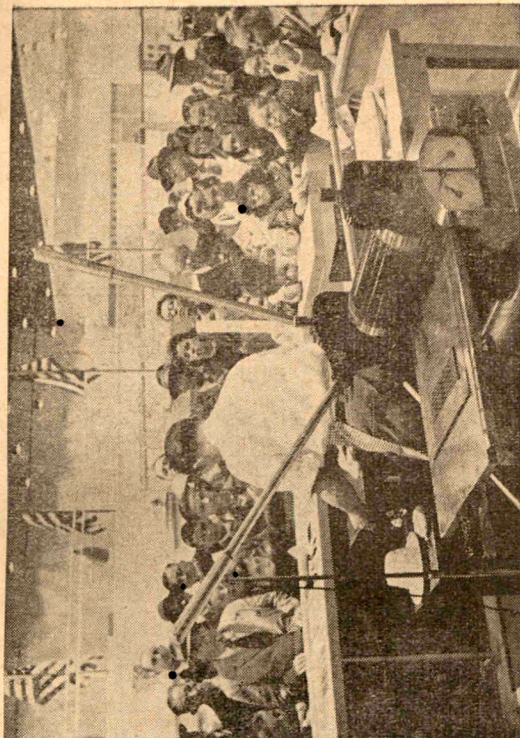
The display from Switzerland consisted of many large frames of stamps from the country's Postal Museum and from the printing firm of Courvoisier which produces stamps for Switzerland and some 30 other countries. This exhibit also had a novel conveyor belt display which showed original drawings, essays, color trials as well as the finished stamps.

The exhibit from Sweden included some of the most valuable stamps from its Postal Museum collection, documents relating to 16th century postal service and royal decrees issued in connection with the first Swedish postal stamps of 1855.

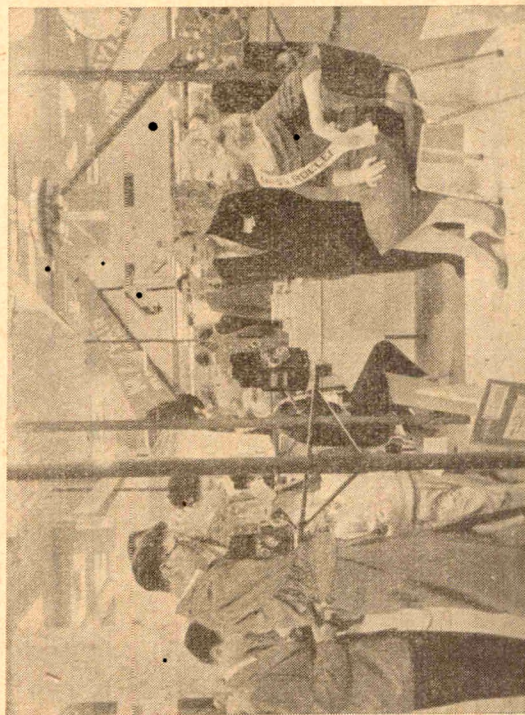
• FIFTH INTERNATIONAL STAMP SHOW



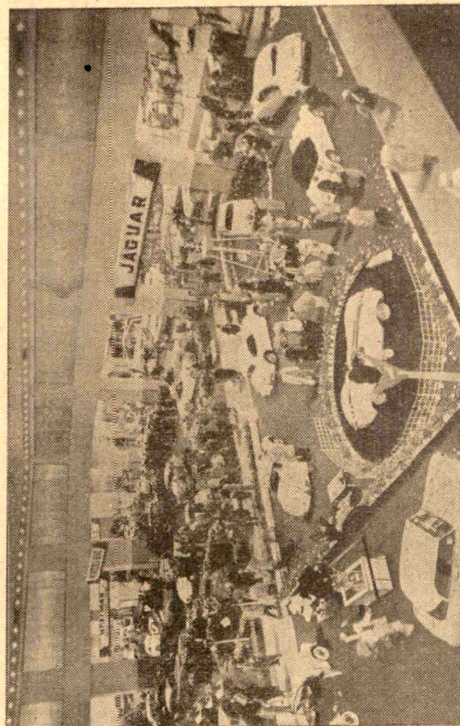
Of 2,300 displays submitted in competition by stamp collectors, the trophy for "Best Exhibition in the Show" was won by Roberto Hoffmann of Montevideo for his display of Uruguayan stamp issued between 1856 and 1864



Part of the United States Exhibit showed the various steps involved in the actual designing, Plate-making and printing of stamps



Miss Rolli poses for camera fans at the Tenth Annual Photographic Show opened in April, 1956 at the Coliseum, the largest exhibition building in the United States



The latest models of automobiles and auto-accessories of six nations—Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Sweden and the United States—were on display at the 1956 International Automobile Show held recently at the Coliseum in New York City

following a nation-wide competition as a means of recognizing and further stimulating interest among young Americans in stamp collecting.

The stamp exhibition was held in the newly completed Coliseum on Columbus Circle, April 28 to May 6, 1956. Started two years previously, the Coliseum was especially built to accommodate trade shows and exhibitions. The largest such structure in the United States, it has 391,000 square feet (36,324 square meters) of display and storage space, underground parking facilities for 850 cars, an assembly hall that can seat 10,000 people and a 20-story office tower. Erected at a cost of \$35,000,000, the Coliseum forms part of a city slum clearance and development program.



A group of stamp enthusiasts looking at copies of the souvenir postal sheet exhibited in the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition held recently at the Coliseum in New York City.

While the stamp show was being held on the third and fourth exhibition floors of the Coliseum, the first floor was occupied by the 1956 International Automobile Show. Here 200 models representing the latest in scooters, motorcycles, auto accessories, fuels and cars from Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and Sweden, as well as the United States, were on display. The extent of the interest in this show may be seen in the fact that last year more than 58,000 European

cars were sold in the United States, representing a five-fold increase during the past five years.

At the 10th Annual Photographic Show was held in the Coliseum during the same period. Cameras, lenses and other photographic equipment from Japan and West Germany and America were on display.

Part of the crowd visited the new Coliseum in New York City at the time of the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition (FIPEX). More than 60 countries of the free world had official displays at FIPEX. While FIPEX was in progress the 1956 International Automobile Show and the 10th Annual Photographic Show were also being held at the Coliseum which was the main exhibition building in the United States.

Of 2,300 displays submitted in the stamp show, the trophy for "Best of Show" was won by Roberto Hoffmann for his display of Uruguayan stamps from 1856 and 1864. More than 60 countries of the world had official displays at FIPEX. The show was held at the newly completed Coliseum in New York City from April 28, to May 6, 1956.

A group of stamp enthusiasts looked at a souvenir postal sheet, one of four special stamps issued by the U.S. Post Office Department in connection with the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition. The sheet, recently at the Coliseum in New York City, shows enlarged reproductions of Liberty stamps.

More than 60 countries of the free world had exhibits at the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition. Part of the United States exhibit showed the various steps involved in the actual designing, printing and distribution of stamps.

The latest models of automobiles and motorcycles of six nations, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, Sweden and the United States, were on display at the 1956 International Automobile Show at the Coliseum, in New York City. The show was held during the same period as the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition and the 10th Annual Photographic Show.

The Coliseum, largest exhibition building in the United States, had three exhibitions—stamp show, photography—when it opened in April. The 10th annual photographic show, the largest of its kind, featured photographic equipment principally from Japan and West Germany, were on display.—USIS.



LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

By Miss U. N. SHALINI, M.A.,

Lecturer, Mahatma Gandhi Memorial College

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very Heaven."

THE memories of that great soul, Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, transport us into that dawn—that realm wherein the atmosphere was surcharged with the spirit of nationalism. B. G. Tilak, whose birth centenary India is celebrating, entered the troubled sea of Indian politics at a time when it was pervaded by other great veterans. Yet his work and fame were not dimmed by those of the stalwarts around him. Each in his own way, carved out a niche for himself in the heart of every true Indian. Tilak was one of that illustrious trio Lal, Bal, and Pal, without a mention of whom, the story of our freedom struggle is incomplete. Often Tilak's life has been contrasted with that of Gokhale's. Not that they worked at cross-purposes, nor that they had entirely different objectives; but, while the one was demanding full self-government, the other was content with colonial self-government within the Empire. True, their temperaments differed while they belonged to the same militant Maharashtra race. Gokhale had the remarkable knack of saying things euphemistically, whereas, Tilak was outspoken. The former stuck to principles, the latter was guided by expediency. Nevertheless, such was the magnitude and inspiring nature of their work that, even at this distant date, placed as we are in a comfortable position to pronounce an impartial judgement on the propriety or otherwise of their lines of action, our reverence for them suffers no abatement. Gandhiji's first meeting with these Congress giants led to a characteristic remark about them:

"Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had seemed to me like the Himalayas unscalable; the Lokamanya like the Ocean and one could not easily launch forth on the seas. But Gokhale was as the Ganges—it invited one to its bosom."

Born in a Chitpavan Brahmin family on July 23rd, 1856, and imbued with the patriotic zeal of the great Mahratta Shivaji, Tilak entered the Congress along with Gokhale in 1889. Since then, his life had been a record of persistent struggle, persecution and incarceration. Nationalism was his religion. When nothing but implicit obedience to the powers that be, was tolerated, the exercise of freedom of thought and expression was interpreted as sedition, and the demand for legitimate rights was treated as violence and met with stern repression by the Government. Tilak's patriotism and activities had the significance of a rebellious spirit.

Tilak's approach to politics was entirely new. The people of Maharashtra like those elsewhere in India, were steeped in ignorance, superstition, and poverty. To a people to whom religion was more than anything else in life, Tilak's message of the freedom struggle was disguised under a mask of religion. Tilak used religion

as a means for furthering the country's cause which was political. The Ganesh festival which is observed with such grandeur in Maharashtra today has its beginnings in the days of Tilak who reorganised or rather, almost invented it. The anti-cowkilling movement, he inaugurated, was a convenient attack on the European, "the beef-eating alien." Yet another innovation was the Shivaji cult. The birth anniversary of that great Mahratta hero Shivaji, was thereafter to be observed as a national festival and from out of funds collected, a memorial to him was raised in Poona—the Shivaji Mandir—which served as the venue of nationalist assemblies. The political purpose which was disguised under a religious cover revealed itself in the soul-stirring mantra he uttered: "Swaraj is my birth-right and I will have it." Swaraj and *Swadeshi* were his catch-words.

Armed with the strength of his political convictions, he plunged himself in the disturbed waters of the political movement. The *Kesari*, a Mahratti paper and the Mahratta, an English daily; were his early weapons. The sufferings of the people as a result of the Deccan plague and the grievances due to the measures adopted by Government to meet the exigency were ventilated in his paper. And when the discontent among the people due to Government excesses resulted in the murder of the Collector of Poona and a Lieutenant, Tilak was suspected of complicity. He was considered a rebel and sentenced to 18 months' R.I. in September 1897. Nevertheless, he received a splendid ovation, not as a culprit but as a persecuted martyr for he was convicted of charges of which he was innocent.

The calmness and moderation of the Congress policies were anathema to the restless and impatient Tilak. The Moderates who dominated the Congress "are not carried off their feet, neither do they carry others off their feet." Tilak could not feel at home in such an atmosphere of the Congress. He wanted a certain dynamism about it. While Gokhale believed in persuasion and in the need for an improvement of the British administration Tilak would not rest content except with full self-government. Events turned out which resulted in the emergence of a new party in the Congress, the Extremists, led by Tilak. The Bengal Partition had become a settled fact in 1905. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, the differences between the Moderates and the Extremists as to the urgency of their demands for full self-government, boycott of British goods and British Government, and national education, were composed by the commanding personality of the President, Dadabhai Naoroji. But the rift could only be postponed;

it could not be prevented. Disgusted with the moderation of the Moderates, the Extremists under Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, demanded the passing of the Calcutta resolutions. Their exacerbated feelings characterised the stormy session of Surat in 1907 presided over by Rishi Behari Ghose—that session at which Tilak attempted to address the delegates without permission of the President, and had to stop when a shoe was hurled at the people on the dais. Chairs were thrown about and sticks brandished resulting in the postponement of the session.

The Congress Schism at Surat and the bomb-throw at Muzafferpore in Bihar ending the lives of a British couple, were made the occasion for Tilak's deportation to Mandalay for six years.

At the end of the trial, while accepting the verdict Tilak said: "There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

Tilak did not waste away his years behind prison bars. Those were the days of the effervescence of his intellectual brilliance in his magnificent *Gita Rahasya* and *The Arctic Home of the Vedas*, works which would have made him immortal even were it not for his political manoeuvres. Other nationalists also like Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose were got out of the way by imprisonment for six months and a year respectively. The hard life in Mandalay debilitated Tilak who had been suffering from diabetes and his frail health could not stand the rigours of his later political life.

On his release from prison in 1914, he threw himself heart and soul into his new movement—the Home Rule movement, which was taken up with even greater avidity by Mrs. Annie Besant, who, some time later, founded a separate Home Rule League. The years 1914-1915 were grave, critical years for the Congress which was without a good leader. Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta died in 1915. The old stalwarts of the Congress were mere spent forces. Mrs. Besant's supreme efforts to reconcile the two sections of the Congress having failed, she carried on a raging propaganda for her Home Rule League. It was only in 1916 that Tilak rejoined the Congress. The destinies of this great organisation were thereafter guided by that strangely assorted pair, Mrs. Besant and Tilak. Mrs. Besant fired the enthusiasm of the members of the Home Rule League by her demand for self-government as a just right of the Indians and not as a reward for their services in the Great War I. Despite the frailty of her sex, she had a certain dynamism about her, which coupled with that of Tilak's, was a counter-balance to Gokhale's successor, Mr. V. S. S. Shastri, who like his guru believed in the need for British help and co-operation for some time more, in reforms not revolution. In the Congress session of 1917, the Left Wing—the Extremists—dominated the

field, while the Moderates were almost thrown out of gear.

As if to fan the flames of the Home Rule League, the close of the War in 1918 and Woodrow Wilson's proclamation of the 14 points to render the world safe for democracy, came most opportune. The Reform Scheme of 1918 was unworthy of the British to offer and of India to accept. The passing of the Rowlatt bills in 1919, India's sympathy with the Khilafat movement, the Jallianwalabagh Tragedy—these poured oil on the already blazing fire. Gandhiji's experiment with Satyagraha had already established itself as a successful measure. He now launched his non-co-operation movement. Tilak did not see eye-to-eye with this scheme of Mahatmaji. Yet at the Amritsar Congress in 1919, when Gandhiji pacifically moved a resolution to thank Mr. Montagu for his attempts to advance responsible self-government in this country, and to condemn mob excesses in the country, Tilak, in deference to Gandhi, remained silent though at heart he had "nothing but ridicule for Saintliness which is no match for Imperialism." Gandhiji had, by now, become quite a prominent figure in the Congress. Tilak did not take any active part in the discussion regarding the non-co-operation movement, but he was glad to help the Muslims in the Khilafat movement. He passed away on August 1st, 1920 leaving the entire field to the frail Mahatma whose capacity for leadership grew with the courage of his convictions, and with the passing of years and long suffering. The resolutions of the A.I.C.C. in October that year to raise an All-India Tilak Memorial Fund and a Swaraj Fund were quite commensurate with the salutary services rendered by this great man whose life had been an incessant struggle for his country's freedom.

Such was the life of Tilak whom Dr. Macnicol calls a demagogue. He was the voice of popular passion. When in the early years of this century that small, coloured race of the East, Japan won a victory over the large, white race of Europe, Russia, the Indians were also awakened to the possibility of their winning independence from the British. This incident had a tremendous influence on the thought and policies of men like Tilak.

Though the spark of his life was extinguished, its brilliance was heightened by the rich and illuminating legacy left behind by him. The demand for a separate Andhra province was advocated by him as early as 1915, in spite of Gandhiji's refusal to consider the proposal just then. Tilak was far ahead of his times.

"My country, right or wrong," This was the burden of the song of the freedom-fighters from Tilak and Aurobindo down to Chittaranjan and Subhas Bose. Such patriotism, courage, devotion and indefatigable service to the motherland as were rendered by Tilak, will act as an example to others, and will give him a permanent place in the political firmament of India.

WHAT IS HINDUISM?

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

HINDUISM is the religion of the three hundred million of men and women in the vast Indian sub-continent. Their lives, from cradle to grave, are profoundly influenced by their faith. Hinduism has left its impress on the entire culture of India: its philosophy, art, literature, politics, sociology architecture. India did not, in the past, develop a national unity in the Western sense. But the people were held together by an intangible religious bond. On account of this allegiance to certain common spiritual ideals, the Hindus did not disintegrate as a nation in spite of the foreign domination of their country for nearly one thousand years. Even today, throughout the length and breadth of the land, certain terms, loaded with spiritual content—such as Ganga, Gita, and Gayatri—command universal respect. The Ganga or Ganges is the most sacred river of India; on its banks the Hindu culture mostly developed. The Gita or Bhagavad Gita gives the essence of the Upanishads. The Gayatri, in a short statement, gives the summary of the Vedic wisdom. Diversity of caste, ritual, conduct, form, dress, and belief has not been able to destroy this spiritual unity. Scratch a modern Hindu today and you will find him religious in spite of his veneer of foreign education or upbringing.

Hinduism is both a view and a way of life. It combines both philosophy and religion. Philosophy, in the Hindu tradition, gives a vision of reality; religion, the discipline for the attainment of that vision. Philosophy saved Hinduism from religious narrowness and dogmatism, and religion saved it from the ivory-tower attitude of intellectual philosophy. Hinduism is not a set of abstract philosophical doctrines unrelated to life, nor is it a bundle of dogmas or beliefs to be accepted blindly. It combines both reason and faith and thus assures its devotees both a direct insight into reality and the grounds for accepting that insight.

Not being a historical religion, like Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, which are based upon the life and teachings of their respective prophets, Hinduism baffles all attempts to give in an easy and convenient definition. Hinduism has no historical founder. Another difficulty for one who would define Hinduism lies in its wide and universal nature.

The word *Hindu* is of foreign origin. Properly Hinduism should be called the "Vaidika Dharma," the religion based upon the teachings of the Vedas; or the "Sanatana Dharma," the eternal religion.

Hinduism is primarily founded on the teachings laid

down in the Vedas, the principal scriptures of the Hindus. Secondly, it is based on the religious and moral experiences of many prophets and saints, sages and seers, philosophers and mystics, of ancient, medieval, and modern times. It is a growing process. Like a flowing river, it is daily enriched by new truths. But the main foundation still remains the Vedas, or the Books of Knowledge, which are not ascribed to human authorship. The Vedas contain certain eternal truths regarding the nature of ultimate reality, the creation and the universe, and the soul and its ultimate destiny. These truths were discovered for the Indian world in a pre-historic age by certain seers of rare spirituality—attained through moral discipline, intense concentration, determined self-control, and utter non-attachment to the transitory pleasures of the world. These men were called *rishis* or seers of truth, and they lived mostly on the banks of the Indus and Ganges rivers in northern India.

The Vedas deal with two vital urges of men: the enjoyment of happiness on earth and in heaven after death, and the highest good also called freedom or immortality. The former represents a universal hankering and can be achieved, according to the Vedas, mainly through communion with the gods or higher powers, and also through the observance of moral obligations. The Vedas speak of the interdependence of the gods, men, subhuman beings, and nature. The gods were propitiated by means of oblations made into the sacrificial fire. This custom has now been replaced by the ritualistic worship in the temples and other popular shrines. Moral obligations cover duties toward teachers, parents, guests, and the poor, one's fellow beings, and also dumb animals. People craved for a joyous life and prayed for longevity, children, cattle, and wealth. After death they wanted to enjoy greater happiness in the heavenly worlds. But all material happiness on earth or in heaven is transitory because it is dependent upon material objects and also because it is an effect. An effect endures only as long as the momentum given by its cause endures. The denizens of heaven return to earth and continue in the apparently interminable round of birth and death in a universe governed by the laws of time, space, and causality. Therefore one cannot expect real freedom or immortality in the relative universe, which is said to be under the spell of *maya*, a sort of metaphysical ignorance. When the veil of *maya* is destroyed

by the Knowledge of Reality, everything appears as Brahman or the Absolute, which is free from all limitations.

A few souls, however, realize either through experience or discriminative knowledge the futility of relative happiness. They come to know that the causeless Reality cannot be attained by means of rituals or any other work which admits of an agent, instrument of action, and result. They further realize that the universes of names and forms is superimposed by ignorance on Brahman, as the idea of a snake is sometimes falsely superimposed upon a rope, or the idea of a mirage upon the desert. In order to remove this ignorance they cultivate, through proper disciplines, the Knowledge of the soul and Brahman, which, according to the non-dualistic Hindu philosophy, are identical. Thus they come to the end of suffering and attain the highest good or supreme bliss.

The secondary scriptures of Hinduism are known as the Smritis and Puranas, which are of human origin, being the product of human intellect. They show, according to the requirements of different ages, the way to realize the eternal truths of the Vedas. A special feature of Hinduism is that while it remains utterly loyal to certain eternal truths, yet it admits of changing dogmas and rituals to suit the needs of changing times. Hindu thinkers know that a medieval dogma cannot suit the modern world. The central teachings of Hinduism have been presented in the Upanishads, the philosophical portion of the Vedas. Neither the rules of the Smritis and Puranas, nor any outside factors, can repudiate them. Hinduism may be compared to a house with many windows and a solid foundation. Breezes from outside are welcome to maintain the purity of the air inside; but they are not permitted to shake the house off its foundation.

In a sense Hinduism is a complex religion. This is due to certain factors inherent in human nature. People seek different spiritual experiences. Some, emphasizing the body, expect to maintain a separateness from their Creator; some, emphasizing the soul, wish to feel that they are parts of God; while others, emphasizing the indwelling spirit, seek total identity with the Universal Spirit. Different spiritual disciplines have been prescribed for the attainment of these experiences. Again, there are different types of temperament: intellectual, active, emotional, and intropective. Different disciplines suit these different minds. There are also different tastes; some enjoy meditation on an abstract and impersonal ideal, some concentrate on worship—ranging from worship of the refined and ethical Personal God to worship of crude images of clay and stone. Furthermore, reality has many facets: justice, power, beauty, law, love, peace. These are all different aspects of the same reality, and different minds emphasize them according to their inner constitution. All these complexities have been

woven into one comprehensive system called Hinduism. They are not contradictory, but rather complementary. Thus Hinduism may be compared to a mosaic of different colored stones, or a tapestry embodying various patterns, or orchestral music which creates harmony from divergent notes. Its keynote is unity in diversity. Apparently Hinduism contains many schools and sects; but really it is a synthesis of many religions. It may accurately be called a universal religion.

The wisdom of the Vedas has been summed up in the following statement based on the Gayatri mantra, which is its most sacred teaching: "We meditate on the glory of Him who manifests Himself as heaven, earth and the interspace; who is adored by the luminous sun, and who is the power of the Deity. May he illumine our consciousness." This combines both the philosophy and the religion of the Hindus. According to this statement, the ultimate reality is the universal and self-luminous Spirit, the final cause of the universe, the power behind all tangible powerful objects, and the consciousness animating all apparently conscious objects. This is the central philosophy of Hinduism. Its religion consists in meditation on the Spirit and prayer for the guidance of our intellects along the path of virtue and righteousness.

The Bhagavad Gita defines the Godhead as the Supreme Spirit, whose lower aspect becomes manifest as the world of matter, including mind, intellect, and ego, and whose higher aspect as the world of living beings. But the spirit itself transcends both; hence it is called the supreme Person. This supreme spirit can be realized by every human being, and thus perfection can be attained by all. The various disciplines of love, action, philosophical discrimination, and concentration have been enjoined for its realization. For the average man the discipline of love is stressed for communion with God.

From the philosophical standpoint, Hinduism is non-dualistic, and from the religious standpoint, monotheistic. The Vedas state that Reality is one and without a second, though sages call it by various names. Beyond name and form, beyond words, senses, and mind, the Godhead manifests itself, through its own inscrutable power, as this world, the world beyond, and many other worlds. It is present everywhere, here and beyond. It sees through all eyes, smells through all nostrils, hears through all ears, eats through all mouths, walks through all feet, grasps through all hands, thinks through all minds, feels through all hearts. Through only a fraction of its power, the Spirit projects the world and supports it.

Hinduism believes in one God alone, but admits of many popular divinities who are His diverse manifestations. The Hindu monotheism does not repudiate other gods but includes them. They are all projected from the supreme Godhead to fulfil men's different desires. The Hindu trinity of Brahma, the Creator, Vishnu, the Pres-

server, and Siva, the Destroyer, represents the three aspects of the supreme reality. God is endowed with infinite majesty, infinite power, infinite beauty, infinite love, and an infinite number of other blessed qualities. He is altogether free from anger. Like a magnet, He attracts all—saint and sinner alike—to Him. But the wicked, on account of the covering of their impurities, do not feel the force of God's attraction, and therefore they suffer. Ultimately, however, all will find their way to God. Though transcendental, God dwells in men's hearts as their inner controller. He dwells in the body, but the body does not know Him. Remaining inside the body, He controls the body. He is the foundation of the moral law by which the individual and society are sustained.

The four cardinal tenets of Hinduism are: the non-duality of the Godhead, the divinity of the soul, the unity of existence, and the harmony of religions.

By way of recapitulating what has been said, I shall now briefly state what makes a good Hindu:

1. A good Hindu accepts the teachings of the Vedas as the final authority in matters pertaining to religion and philosophy. The Vedas proclaim the identity of the subject and the object, and no philosophical speculation can go beyond the realization of this identity. By the Vedas a Hindu means the Books of Knowledge which are without beginning and end in time. Not ascribed to human authorship, this Knowledge exists for ever and is revealed from time to time to the spiritually illumined. Unlike the Vedas, the scriptures of Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism are sacred because they contain the words of their founders.

2. A good Hindu believes in the non-duality of the Godhead, called Brahman; Brahman alone exists. From the standpoint of Brahman, all that exists is Brahman. But from the relative standpoint, It is both the material and the efficient cause of the universe. The transcendental Brahman is described by the negation of all attributes. It is pure existence, pure knowledge, and pure bliss, and is often described as silence. As pure existence, Brahman is the unchanging substratum of the changing phenomena, as the ocean is of the waves. As pure knowledge, it is the eye behind the eye, the ear behind the ear, the mind behind the mind. It cannot be seen by the eye, but the eye sees objects because the pure knowledge uses the eye as its channel. Brahman is pure bliss because it is one and without a second. It is free from discord which causes suffering. From the standpoint of creation, Brahman is immanent and has many aspects. It is personal, personal but not human, and impersonal. Brahman assumes a human form as a God-man whenever righteousness subsides and wickedness prevails in the world. God's Incarnation is not limited to a single person.

3. A good Hindu believes that the universe is without beginning and end, but that it periodically goes into states of manifestation and non-manifestation. What is ordinarily called "creation" is really the state

of manifestation of names and forms. "Dissolution" is their non-manifestation. Names and forms are the projection of God's nature; the same is true of life and consciousness. We all have come from God, are sustained by God, and ultimately merge in God. This is explained by the illustration of the ocean and its waves. A Hindu does not deny the creation from the empirical standpoint. The Lord projects the universe without any outside help, as a spider makes its web from its own silk. The process of manifestation and non-manifestation is spontaneous, like the breathing-out and the breathing-in of a person. The creation has been described in the Vedas as being like a melody produced by a flute, or the sparks coming out of a fire. To the illumined, everything is God.

4. A good Hindu believes that every soul is potentially divine and all will some day realize their divinity. The soul is the unchanging reality behind the changing body, senses, and mind. The real soul, one with the Godhead, is non-dual. On account of ignorance, it identifies itself with matter and becomes individualized, just as the sun causes many reflections in the waves of a lake. The individual soul is called the apparent or reflected soul. Pain and pleasure, hunger and thirst, birth and death, heaven and hell, are ascribed to the individual soul; the real soul is always immersed in bliss and freedom. Through knowledge of God, the individual soul becomes aware of its real nature and thus goes beyond the wheel of birth and death. Every soul will attain to liberation.

5. A good Hindu believes in the doctrine of rebirth and the law of *karma*—the law of cause and effect. These, of course, apply to the individual soul, of which the real soul is the ground or ultimate foundation. Through its diverse activities the individual soul tries to realize its non-dual universal nature—which realization constitutes its perfection. But perfection cannot be attained in one life. A soul must go through many experiences, ranging from those of subhuman beings to those of superhuman, in order to realize the transitory and inadequate nature of all phenomenal experiences. Hence Hinduism postulates many births as the training-ground of the soul. Purified by the disciplines of many births, the soul at last becomes perfect. The individual soul, however, cannot attain real peace and freedom as long as it remains identified with the finite body and attached to the physical world. Rebirth is governed by the law of *karma*. The substance of this law is that every tangible action leaves behind it a subtle impression which becomes the cause of new action in this or a future life. The sum-total of these impressions constitutes a man's nature, which supplies him with the blueprint for his life. This accounts for the mental and physical qualities between one person and another, observed from the very moment of birth. As you sow, so you reap. Good produces good, and evil produces evil—this is the law. Fate or destiny is

nothing but the accumulated result of a man's past actions. Thus a Hindu believes that we alone are responsible for our present good or evil and should, therefore, face them with serenity and courage. But he also believes that the future is entirely in our own hands and that we shape it by our present action. Belief in the doctrine of rebirth assures a man that he will be given many chances to attain perfection. A man need not lose heart no matter how depraved he is. The law of *karma* gives us courage to face with calmness our present misfortune. It is also an incentive not to repeat our wicked actions.

6. A good Hindu believes that religion means experience, and not the mere acceptance of certain dogmas and creeds. To know God is to become like God. A man may quote the scriptures, engage in rituals, perform social service, or pray regularly, but unless he has realized the divine spirit in his heart he is still a bound creature. One can experience God and the soul as tangibly as a fruit lying on the palm of one's hand. Then only does one's doubt disappear and "the knots of the heart are cut asunder." This realization of God is not the prerogative of a chosen few, but is the common heritage of all.

7. A good Hindu believes that the practice of spiritual disciplines is absolutely necessary for the realization of God. Ethical virtues are the steel-frame formation of spiritual life. The observance of the Golden Rule is imperative. Non-violence, truthfulness, absence of guile, chastity, contentment, and non-possession of things which do not rightly belong to one, are the universal moral vows. Specific spiritual disciplines must suit particular temperaments. Thus the Hindu psychologists prescribe the discipline of love for the emotional temperament, the discipline of action for the active, the discipline of knowledge for the intellectual, and the discipline of concentration for the introspective. In actual practice the temperaments are no sharply divided into water-tight compartments. Every man possesses something of all these characteristics. Hence the disciplines also overlap. The discipline of love consists in loving God without expectation of reward or fear of punishment. It is love for love's sake. At a certain stage in his evolution a man realizes that he must love the beautiful. God is the acme of beauty because in Him one finds complete harmony. This love leads to a complete surrender to God's will. Through it a man's will becomes one with God's will. The discipline of action consists in doing work for work's sake, or better, for God's sake. No result is sought by the worker. He is only an instrument of God to do His work in the world. He remains unperturbed in success and failure, pleasure and pain. Non-attachment to the result is the secret of right activity. The result will come, following the law of cause and effect; one must not disturb the mind by longing for it. Attachment to the result is harmful for two reasons. First, on

account of yearning for the result one cannot always discriminate between the right and the wrong means of accomplishing the work. Secondly, even if a man can use his discrimination, he often follows the wrong means to obtain the fruit which he longs for. There are two ways of cultivating non-attachment. For a believer in God, the easy method is to regard himself as God's instrument and surrender to God the fruit of action. Others should try to distinguish between the self and the non-self. The self is the pure spirit dwelling in man; it is the witness of all his actions. The non-self consists of the body, the senses, the mind, and the ego. Action is performed by the body and the senses, and its fruit is reaped by the ego. The spirit or soul is the witness-consciousness. Through the performance of non-attached action the heart becomes pure, and the pure in heart see God. The discipline of knowledge consists in discrimination between the real and the unreal, and renunciation of the unreal. What is unlimited by time, space, and causality is real, and its opposite unreal. Brahman, the Absolute, alone is real. All objects in the phenomenal world, from the exalted position of a deity to the insignificant position of a clump of grass, are unreal. The aspirant should renounce all desires for the unreal and cherish only the knowledge of Brahman. Besides, he should practise control of the senses, calmness of the body, forbearance, withdrawal of the mind from the world, respect for holy things, and contemplation. Lastly, he should cherish unwavering zeal for liberation. A student endowed with these virtues should learn truth from a teacher, reason about it in his mind, and then realize it in the depth of meditation. The discipline of concentration consists in controlling the different states of the mind. This enables the seeker to see what lies in the inmost recess of his soul. The mind has different states: darkening, scattering, gathering, one-pointed, and totally concentrated. To achieve the last state is the aim of the discipline. Various methods have been prescribed for acquiring concentration, such as constant practice and dispassion, devotion to God, and meditation on light within the heart. The mind may be controlled by the feeling of friendship toward the happy, mercy toward the unhappy, gladness toward the good, and indifference toward the evil. Control of the breathing helps in acquiring concentration of mind. Through concentration the mind develops all its latent power and can comprehend objects whether atomic or infinite. The final result of this discipline is the knowledge of the separateness of the body and soul and the realization that the soul is birthless, deathless, changeless, and ever blessed. The above-mentioned four disciplines are called *yoga*, which means both union with the Godhead and the method by which such union is achieved. Without *yoga*, religion remains mere dogma, and philosophy mere academic theory.

8. A good Hindu believes that liberation means

freeing oneself from the ignorance which creates egotism and attachment and separates a man from God and his fellow-men. The knowledge of the deathless nature of the soul is liberation or immortality. When one gets rid of all selfish desires one overcomes death. Some Hindu philosophers believe that one can be liberated through self-knowledge even while dwelling in the body; according to others complete liberation is possible only after death. Dualists believe that the liberated soul retains some form of individuality in order to enjoy communion with God. According to the non-dualists, the liberated soul becomes one with Brahman or ultimate reality. The state of liberation is characterized by a total cessation of suffering and the attainment of supreme bliss.

9. A good Hindu believes that the universe reveals a plan of unity in diversity. Brahman is the foundation of all diverse phenomena, as the ocean is of its waves. Thus human relationships should be guided by the principle of friendly co-existence and not by the attitude of "either-or." By hurting others we only hurt ourselves. Likewise, by loving others we only love ourselves. Here one finds the basis of the Golden Rule.

10. A good Hindu believes in the harmony of religions. God is one, but sages call Him by various names. The different religions are so many paths leading to the hill-top of the same God-consciousness. They are suited to different tastes and temperaments. Hinduism does not advocate religious conversion either by force or by persuasion. No religion is entirely wrong and no religion is perfect. Like all other human institutions every religion is a mixture of good and bad, and this does not matter. If a devotee is sincere and earnest, God shows him the way to reach the goal. Religions are like the radii of a circle, and God is like its center. As one moves away from the center, one finds a greater distance between one radius and another. But as one comes toward the center, the distance is lessened. At the center all radii meet. This is entirely true of religion. Christians, Jews, Hindus, and Moslems, through the practice of their respective religious disciplines, will ultimately arrive at the same truth, where all distinctions disappear. The Hindu attitude towards other religions is not merely that of tolerance, but is one of respect.

11. A good Hindu does not, while still struggling for liberation, repudiate worldly values. Man is at present a mixture of dust and deity, and the goal of life is to suppress the dust and manifest the deity. The world is a school for discipline. Every man should strive to fulfill four legitimate desires. These are called *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksha*. Dharma or righteousness is the basis of life and includes duty, morality and religion. It is the law of a man's inner

growth and determines his attitude toward the world. Everyone is born with his own *dharma* as a result of his past actions. Thus different persons react differently when confronted with the same situation. A soldier unsheaths his sword to vindicate justice and law, whereas a saint gives up his own life for the same purpose. One must be true to oneself and not go against one's nature. The injunction of non-killing cannot apply to all. *Dharma* or righteousness should influence all our actions and thoughts. The second legitimate desire is the earning of wealth. Money serves a great purpose in the present state of human evolution. Voluntary poverty, as practised by saints, is something quite different. A man without money is a failure. With its help we can encourage art and science, build hospitals, schools, and museums, and thus promote the welfare of all. Money gives leisure, which is what creates civilization. Without it, even physical life cannot be maintained. But money must be earned according to *dharma* or it debases a man by making him greedy and cruel. A third legitimate desire is *kama*, or the enjoyment of sense pleasures. These cover a vast field—from the appreciation of art and poetry to the enjoyment of conjugal love, which latter is a universal urge without which the creation cannot endure. A man incapable of such enjoyment leads a drab and dull life. But sense pleasures, if not based upon righteousness, become sensuality. The fourth legitimate desire, whose urge is irresistible, is called *moksha*, or freedom in communion with the infinite. The soul of a man is infinite and cannot be permanently satisfied with anything finite. A man cannot attain his true stature through correct social behaviour, economic achievement, political success, or artistic creation. The happiness derived from these is fugitive. At a certain stage of evolution he feels the longing for the infinite. "What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his soul?" Then he understands the statement of the scriptures: "Come unto Me . . . and I shall give you rest." "Give up all other duties and take refuge in Me alone." Even charity is not enough. "The poor you will always have, but not Me." But worldly desires are not meaningless. Their fulfilment reveals the ultimate unsubstantiality of physical objects. We lead in this world a life of constraint. Real freedom is in communion with the infinite spirit.

12. To a good Hindu life is a journey to the shrine of truth. The path is characterized by four stages, each of which has its obligations and responsibilities. This comprehensive view of life leaves no legitimate aspiration unfulfilled. The Hindu psychologists of olden times discovered that an unfulfilled desire creates sickness of body and mind. The first stage of life covers the period of study. A student acquires knowledge for future service to society. He leads an austere life and conserves his physical and mental energy. He keeps his body and mind pure and shuns

their defilement by word, deed, or thought. He becomes conversant with the spiritual achievements of his nation and shows respect to his elders and teachers. Next he enters the second stage of life and becomes a householder. A normal human being cannot live without a mate. His biological and psychological cravings in this respect are legitimate. Marriage is not a concession to weakness or a confession of sin. It is a discipline for a larger life in society. The Hindu gods and goddesses are married. They are models of conjugal love or filial affection. Children are the outcome of marriage, which fact carries with it a social responsibility. Romance is not the whole of marriage; the wife is a co-partner in the spiritual progress of the husband. Marriage is a discipline for suppressing our ego-centered individuality. It is a training in unselfishness. A householder discharges his duties to society as a teacher, soldier, politician, merchant, or manual worker. His own welfare lies in the welfare of all. He works in a spirit of co-operation and not of ruthless competition. A healthy householder is the foundation of a good society. During the third stage, husband and wife hand over their worldly responsibilities to their children and retire into solitude for the contemplation of the eternal verities of life. At this stage the pleasures of youth appear stale. Physical necessities are reduced to the minimum. Their whole time is devoted to serious study and the contemplation of God. The fourth stage of life is characterized by freedom. Then a man rises above his small obligations and exclusive loves. He becomes a citizen of the universe and a friend of his fellow human beings, the gods, and the animals. A man is born alone and he must walk alone to the grave.

Therefore, in the Hindu tradition, during the fourth stage a person renounces the world for the welfare of his soul. He is no longer tempted by riches, honor, or power. He maintains an equanimity of spirit under all conditions. He cultivates God-consciousness alone, and this continues as his true friend from this life to the next. All else, including his dear body, is left behind. The fourth stage is the culmination and full blossoming of a well-disciplined life. During this stage a man demonstrates the reality of God and the unsubstantiality of the world. Well has it been said that when such a man was born, he cried and the world laughed, but when he dies he laughs and the world cries.

From what I have said it will be seen that Hinduism possesses several dimensions. It reaches a lofty height in the conception of Brahman or the Absolute, under the guidance of which the sun, moon, and stars move along fixed orbits. Its tremendous depth consists in the conception of the soul, subtler than the subtle and greater than the great, whose command is obeyed by the body, the senses, and the mind. Its breadth lies in its catholicity with regard to all systems of thought and in its respect for those who differ from it. One may discover a fourth dimension in Hinduism in its concept of an all-embracing unity which includes animate and inanimate beings as well as God, souls, and the universe.*

* Address by Swami Nikhilananda, Founder and Leader, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York before the Warren R. Austin Institute in World Understanding, the University of Vermont on July 16, 1956.



HOW MANY SHIAHS AMONG MUSSULMANS IN BHARAT (INDIA)?

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (London)

FROM early days Islam split up into a large number of sects, most of which are now obsolete. Ash'ari, one of the early writers on heresies, says:

"After the death of their Prophet men differed about many matters and resolved themselves into separate sects, though Islam embraced them all. The first difference which arose in Islam was in regard to the Imamate. When Allah took his Prophet to his Paradise (632 A.D.) the Helpers (the *Ansars*) in Medina wanted to elect one of their men, and when Abu Bakr heard of this he told them that the Imamate must belong to one of the Quraysh, and when he told them that the Prophet had stated this they acknowledged the truth of it and gave their allegiance to him During his life-time, and that of his successor Umar, no further dispute arose, but when Uthman (Osman) succeeded dissension was so great that he was slain, and after his death people differed about him violently. The orthodox party said that he was a good man, and that those who had killed him were guilty of a serious crime. Others denied this, and the controversy has gone on to the present day. Similarly, when Ali was elected, people differed; some opposed his headship, others stood aloof from the matter, while others upheld him, and thus controversy has endured to the present day."

The first three Caliphs were all related to Muhammad by marriage. Ali, the fourth, was the nearest in blood because he was his cousin and the husband of his daughter Fatima. Uthman, the third Caliph, belonged to the family of the Umayyads who had been notorious for their opposition to the Prophet before he came to power. When Uthman was murdered, Mu'awiya, the Governor of Syria afterwards to become Caliph, was the natural avenger of his blood, and when Ali assumed the Caliphate war broke out between them. Ali was forced to agree to arbitration, and the decision of the umpires, which seems to have been pre-arranged, went against him.

Among Ali's followers was a large group, the Kharijites (seceders), who regarded arbitration as an act of treason against God, the sole arbitrator. Ali was murdered by the Kharijites in 661, and his son Hasan resigned his claim to the Caliphate. Mu'awiya was proclaimed Caliph at Jerusalem in the same year. Politically Ali's party, the Shiah, appeared to be impotent.

What had begun as a political and social revolt soon acquired a religious character. The Shiah began to elaborate their specific doctrines. A. Goldziher says:

"If we wish to state concisely the difference between Sunni and Shiah Islam we should say that the former

is a Church founded on the consent of the community, the latter is an authoritarian Church."

Alfred Gullaume in his *Islam* says:

"This is true in theory, but in practice, the differences do not radically affect the way of life in the two great divisions of the Muslim community" (p. 120). He gives an example a few pages later on. "The position in Morocco is anomalous. The Sharif and his subjects are Shiah, but they live under the legal Sunni School of Malik."

Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb in his *Mohammedanism* says:

"In law their (the Shiah's) chief peculiarity is the permission of temporary marriage, and in religious practice the doctrine of *taqiya* or dissimulation, a relic probably of medieval persecution." (p. 97).

The distinction between a Sunni and a Shiah is vital, but difficult to observe and record by a non-Muhammadan.

The early Muhammadan invaders of India, as well as the Moguls, were all Sunnis. They preached Islam often with sword. No wonder that the vast majority of the Indian Muhammadans are Sunnis. But the number of Shiah is not negligible as is generally supposed.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith in *Modern Islam in India* (1943) says:

"Approximately one out of every thirteen Muslims in India is a Shiah." (p. 328).

The Census of India did not enumerate the Shiah separately either in 1931 or in 1941. The statement in the text is based on figures of Ferrer in Gibb: *Whither Islam?*, p. 183. Ferrer was supposedly using the 1921-Census, though its enumeration of the Shiah was admittedly inaccurate.

One out of every thirteen means that 7.7 per cent of the Indian Muhammadans are Shiah. In the *Census Report of India* for 1921 at p. 120 certain primary data about the total number of Muhammadans in several Provinces and States, and the number of Shiah in those areas are given. We find out of 59,004,000 Muhammadans 737,098 are Shiah. The proportion works out to 1.25 per cent; and not 7.7 per cent. The total of Muhammadans in India (including Burma) in 1921 was 68,735,000. There is no reason to suppose that the proportion of Shiah among the remaining 68,735-59,004=9,731 thousand Muhammadans in Provinces and States not given in the Table at p. 120 is greater.

If 7.7 per cent of Muhammadans are Shiah, their all-India total would be 5,293,000, of these we have 737,000 already tabulated. Out of the remaining 9,731,000 Muhammadans there must be, therefore,

4,555,000 Shiah. The proportion of Shiah among the remaining Muhammadans works out to 46.7 per cent, nearly half—which is absurd having regard to the known facts.

The Census Commissioner for India in 1921 says:

"The Shiah is a dwindling community and is usually found among the middle and lower classes of the Muhammadan population. The trustworthiness of the return of Shiahs must always be suspect as their religion allows them to conceal their sectarian identity, a privilege of which, owing to the contempt and hatred with which they were frequently regarded by the Sunnis, they freely availed themselves in the past."

The actual proportion of the Shiahs is much higher than 1.25 per cent, though not as high as 7.7 per cent. How high it actually is is very difficult to assess. The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the sectarian and theological and ritual differences between the Sunnis and the Shiahs in India are partly obliterated by both of them being heavily infected with Hindu superstitions and beliefs; and partly by Indo-Islamic religious developments and accretions of new superstitions.

Sir Hamilton Gibb in *Mohamedanism* says:

"It is, however, in India that popular Islam presents the most bewildering diversity of orders, rituals, and beliefs. In addition to the adherents of the great universal orders (Qadiris, Naqshbandis, &c.) and an important order of the same type which is peculiar to India, the *Chisti* order (founded by Muin-al-Din Chisti of Sistan, d. at Ajmir in 1236), each with several sub-divisions, a very large proportion of Indian Muslims are connected with the so-called irregular (*be-shar'*) orders. These are of all kinds, ranging from less reputable offshoots of the regular orders, through a great variety of independent orders—of which the most famous is the itinerant *Qalandari* (the 'Calendars' of the Arabian Nights)—down to unorganized wandering mendicants or *faqirs*, who claim to be associated with the shrine of some saint or other. The varieties of beliefs, rituals, customs and so on associated with these irregular orders naturally correspond to their number, and in many cases their connection with Islam is purely nominal (italics ours). Hindu and even pre-Hindu customs and tenets (which have influenced even some of the great orders) are more or less predominant in these, and the practices of their members have contributed more than anything else to bring the term *darwish* into general disrepute."

"Apart from these orders Hindu influences play a preponderating part in the religious life of the illiterate and only partly converted Muslim villagers. Innumerable villages still preserve intact the idolatrous worship of local gods, and

demon-worship has left its mark in the respect often paid, particularly amongst women, to the mythical Shaikh Saddu. Cases are recorded in the Mughal period of suttee amongst Muslims, and there are several communities which keep up the ritual of the sacred fire. Even caste has found its way into Indian Islam. The position was summed up thus by one of the leaders of Islam in modern India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, himself a mystic:

"Is the organic unity of Islam intact in this land? Religious adventures set up different sects and fraternities, even quarrelling with one another; and there are castes and sub-castes like the Hindus. Surely we have out-Hindued the Hindu himself; we are suffering from a double caste system—the religious caste system, sectarianism, and the social caste system, which we have either learned or inherited from the Hindus. This is one of the quiet ways in which the conquered nations revenge themselves on their conquerors." (pp. 123-124).

The difficulty is further enhanced by the existence of certain communities, which were once described by the Census authorities as Hindu-Mussulmans, who are neither Hindus nor Mussulmans. In later censuses they were put together with the Muhammadans to show their strength inflated for political purposes. The Sanjogis of Sind refused to be so labelled and claimed separate identity for themselves.

The question is what is the proportion of the Shiahs among the Muhammadans of India, i.e., Bharat after the Partition of 1947. Of the 92 million Muhammadans in all-India in 1941, 22 were in Western Pakistan and 29 in East Bengal. Since then there has been large-scale migrations, both voluntary and forced, from India to Pakistan. Many Muhammadans resident in West Bengal have "opted out" for service in East Pakistan. Of the Muhammadans 44.6 per cent fell to India geographically. The mass migration to Pakistan minus the large-scale return to India subsequently has lowered this percentage. But it is roughly compensated by the inflation of the number of Muhammadans in the Punjab and in Bengal at the time of the 1941 Census. This inflation is admitted in the Pakistan Census Report. The order of inflation is some 8 to 10 per cent.

The Shiahs are or were not uniformly distributed among the Muhammadans in all-India. Their greatest percentage (12) was in the State of Baroda. Bengal Shiahs are concentrated in Murshidabad and 24 Parganas and other areas in West Bengal. Lucknow and Hyderabad (Deccan) are Shiah strongholds.

From the figures given in the *Census of India Report*, 1921, we have estimated that some 36

per cent of the Shiahhs lived in areas which are now in Pakistan. In forming the estimate we have taken the remarks, often qualitative, of the former Census Commissioners and of the Provincial Census Superintendents. The estimate is at best a rough estimate. As it is not possible to find out or estimate whether relatively more Shiahhs migrated to Pakistan or came back later on than Sunnis, even this rough estimate is vitiated. But as the proportion of the Shiahhs among the Muhammadans of India is very small, any inaccuracy due to differential migration to Pakistan or coming back is of secondary importance. On account of intolerance shown in Western Pakistan to the Qudianis and other sects, it is likely that most Shiahhs who migrated to Pakistan have come back.

Of the Shiahhs, according to our estimate, some 64 per cent lived in areas allotted to India, i.e.,

Bharat. So their proportion in Bharat is:

$$\frac{64}{100} \times \frac{1.25}{100} = \frac{44.6}{100} \text{ or } 1.8 \text{ per cent.}$$

The proportion of Shiahhs has, therefore, increased slightly from 1.25 to 1.8 per cent. Their actual proportion is likely to be higher.

India is a secular State; and there is no interference with the religious practice of anyone. The Muhammadans are in a minority in every district, excepting in Kashmir. Even the Sunni Muhammadans are showing more tolerance towards the Shiahhs in Independent India. There is no reason for a Shiah to practise *taqiya* or dissimulation now. We think, therefore, that at the time of the next Census in 1961, an attempt should be made to enumerate the Shiahhs more accurately.

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CROSS-ROADS AND CONFLICTS

By DR. SOUREN ROY, D.M.D., Ph.D. (Munich)

Like British, French, German, Italian and various other European races settled in America, India also with respect to her inhabitants, is composed of Rajput, Sikh, Mogul, Marhatta, Pathan, Parsi, Dravidian, and various other characteristically different races, each having its own distinctive history, tradition, language and script, with widely differing belief, habit and custom, and mostly they stick too closely attached to these specialities of their own. In fact, the devotion to their indetical peculiarities are so deeply imbibed in them that, even seven hundred years' persuasion and persecution under Muslim rule, failed miserably to produce any appreciable change in their conduct and carriage. Further again, the influence of British education on their political, social and civic lives, and their close association with this race for about two hundred years, led them mostly to interpret their thoughts and ideas, to suit conveniently to their own expediencies than to change their identical characteristics. Even the ideal of patriotism which, though to an average British mind, is considered superior to most other virtues of human life, suffered presumably an insidious phonetary metamorphosis, to represent it in most Indian minds by the form of 'Pet-iotism' instead, denoting the quality to be devoted to the interests of one's 'pet,' in preference to the interests of one's country. Colossal inefficiency and mismanagement in the discharge of public duties which since independence of India as are usually experienced by people, may very well be accounted for too rigid adherence of our politicians to this perverse social outlook. But in disregard to these facts, if anybody believes that he can better serve the cause of India by

incorporating the ruling principle of yet another country whose culture, tradition, habit and every other racial characteristic, have for ever remained absolutely strange to Indians, he is then either short in weight and convolution of his brain matter as is due to an average human being or a scoundrel out to seek his personal gain, even at the peril of his country's future. A country with such a diversity, is not supposed to conform to a political uniformity, if her people be coerced under an autocratic rule which denies the dignity, right and liberty of human beings.

Progress of China under communism serves, however, a tempting example to represent the views of this idealism, but they adopt a false analogy to vindicate its cause where the hypothesis differ widely to each other in their qualities. Similar method applied upon two fundamentally different materials, can never produce the same result. Chinese people, belonging to Mongolian origin and having their distinctive culture, tradition and history, has a basic difference with Indians, not only with respect to these traits or in their mutual differences in physiognomy but in character, habit and, above all in their devotion to duty, which by far, are different with the people of these two great countries. Negligence of duty, abuse of power and disregard to the demands of one's countrymen which, in comparison to Chinese, are usually so common in many Indian characters that, without taking due notice of those qualitative differences as they prevail in them, a hope to attain progress of India under the ideal of Chinese pattern of government, would only justify the stupidity or

selfish motive of the person, entertaining this view.

But the main triumph of communism lies, however, in its indiscriminate promise of food to the hungry and shed to the shelterless which indeed, has its appeal to the imagination of the needy and serve well to attract the sympathy of others in the endeavour to establish a government, devoted to this principle. Human dignity, freedom of speech and equality of right, according to them, scarcely bear any sense to the people who, starve for the want of food and suffer without shelter and clothing. A dying multitude, struggling for the minimum necessities of life, can ill afford to attend to such abstract intellectualism. They are concerned more to the satisfaction of their immediate needs to save themselves from hunger and privation before they have the leisure to listen to such idealistic gossip.

One is amazed at the plausibility of such arguments! It matters little, what the pattern of the government is, but who is to produce the food—the people or the State? Why then should the people feel any necessity for a government for what they have to produce themselves? Why should they at all agree to share the burden of its maintenance merely to meet the demand, which is as imperative to any living being of the world? Other animals—the cattle or the beasts of jungle, or even the nomads or aborigines, have never required the help of any government to feed and shelter them. Why the civilised should then feel so helpless and at the sacrifice of their personal freedom, would agree to submit themselves to the discretion of a few to rule over them, merely on an assumption to gain an easy access to food and shelter? Even if they yield to it,—where is the guarantee for an impartial and efficient management of the affairs, to the best advantage of all? Did not the Indians support their leaders in their demand to get the charge of the government to manage it to the best interests of their people? Certainly, the Britons did not hold the right to govern India for long two hundred years, merely to satisfy their idle vanity as to remain the rulers of this great country, nor for that matter, they needed her to demonstrate before the world the greatness of heart in their ability to share with Indians the food they produced in their homeland which, even in normal times, would scarcely feed their own people for more than nine months. But India, after her independence, to the utter misery of her people, was put to the most disgraceful position as to go about begging alms to the doors of foreign countries and mostly not in vain, and yet, a considerable portion of her people was to be left half-fed and ill-nourished.

Certainly, the necessity of a government, by all means, was not felt for supporting an assembly of speculating negotiators, trading on food and shelter,

nor its purpose could be realised through a party of machiavellian chauvinists, usurping the right to govern. Civilised people wanted a government, not so much for its mediating into the production of food, shelter and such other necessities of daily requirements, or for that matter, to act as an assessor and collector of taxes but, primarily for the protection of their right, liberty and dignity which are more than precious to the lives of civilised beings. It is the dignity, be that of his person, or of his nation or society, that a man values most and, he does not easily agree to tolerate any encroachment upon his justifiable rights and liberty. In the event of molestation of these primary demands, he has always been found to raise the strongest voice of protest and has not even hesitated to risk life for their restoration. Many examples could be recalled from history, where people entered into devastating battles and smilingly sacrificed millions of their lives for the protection of their national dignity, right and liberty. Even in private lives, the causes of unhappy incidences that daily ruin the peace of people are due mostly to their attempt to seek redress against the violation of their personal dignity, right and liberty, and the lawyers and Law Courts are being fattened and flourished at the expense of these tender human sentiments. But who else, except a criminal has ever risked his life to rob the demand of his food from others,

Even during the famine of 1943 in Bengal, the landless destitutes who, died in thousands in and around the city of Calcutta for want of food, did not raid those temptingly decorated food shops which stood along sides of streets, nor did they raise any demand to possess a share of their contents, as a matter of right for the appeasement of their hunger. For the same reason again, those fashionable ladies and social workers who are always busy about distributing food, shelter and clothing to the needy, would not have any reason to express their dissatisfaction at the people's ingratitude, or even sometimes to their surprise, meet with their antagonism, if food, shelter and clothing were the primary demands of people. The obvious question is, not to meet their demands of food, shelter and clothing but to restore their right, dignity and liberty, in the society of their fellow beings, and to enable them to attain peace and progress, in the pursuance of their lives. Due also to the same reason, the people are not satisfied with the kind of a liberty as is enjoyed by the beasts of jungle but demand, in its stead from their government—proper administration of Law, Order and Justice; protection of health, wealth and happiness; security of life, both within the country and abroad; protection of the country against foreign aggression and discharge of such other diverse supplementary and derivative responsibilities, to help them to pursue their lives and progress in their lots, according to their individual talent, ability and enterprise.

THE GROWTH OF ACCIDENT PREVENTION MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGY

By RAMANATH KUNDU, M.Sc.

ACCIDENTS are generally regarded as unforeseen events and, therefore, unpreventable. But from scientific stand-point it is not the true explanation of accident occurrences. According to the National Safety Council, an accident may be described as "an event or rapidly occurring series of events, arising out of an unsafe act or an unsafe condition and culminating in an unpremeditated injury." Henrich is of opinion that "an accident is an event in which (a) the contact of a person with an object, substance or another person, or (b) the exposure of a person to objects, substances, other persons or conditions, or (c) the movement of a person, causes personal injury or suggests the probability of such injury." There are various types of explanations for the word "accident" which help us in determining the causes and natures of accidents. These causes and natures of accidents prove that in certain cases of injury a true accident is not an unforeseen event and so it is preventable. A person may know in advance that he will fall or be struck by an object, but unfortunately he cannot escape.

The direct and indirect costs of accident are beyond imagination. Accidents to workers are costly, not only to the employer, but also to the injured man, his family and to society as a whole. As a result of accident—employers, society, injured workers and members of their families all suffer losses. So injuries directly or indirectly affect the welfare of industrial organizations and the well-being of all our people. These adverse effects of accidents, which stand as a bar to industrial progress, point to the importance of accident prevention.

Before the industrial revolution practically no attempt was made for the welfare of the employees. Accidents were taken to be inevitable fate or bad luck on the part of the workers who happened to fall victims. Neither the industrialists nor the state felt themselves responsible for the accident. But with the rise of consciousness among the labourers, the outlook had to be changed. The labourers became gradually dissatisfied with the indifferent attitude of the management and the state. Thus the dissatisfaction of the workers forced factory-owners to introduce safety laws, rules and regulations. Consequently, a new type of legislation described as "workmen's compensation laws" began to appear at the end of the last century.

The first law was formulated by Bismarck in Germany in 1885. Subsequently, similar laws were adopted by Austria in 1887, by Norway in 1894, by Great Britain in 1897 and so on. In India, the Workmen's Compensation Act came into force on the first day of July 1924.

The increasing accident costs imposed by the compensation laws aroused a widespread interest in accident prevention. The industrialists realise that frequent accidents will naturally affect production and cut down profit. Thus attention to methods of accident prevention become imperative due to two-fold causes: (i) humanitarian attitude and (ii) economic loss.

Many experimental works were undertaken at the beginning of this century, as a measure of accident prevention. The purpose of such investigations was to discover the causative factors, the hazardous condition and practices that brought the accident. The solution of the problem was considered from fact finding. Learning the where, why, when, how and to whom accidents were happening—some well-directed preventive efforts were adopted. The National Safety Council and numerous other associations and institutions had undertaken the task of accident prevention. The engineers also became interested with this problem.

Research has shown the various factors that contribute to the causation of accidents. Today the problem of reducing the number of industrial accidents can be approached from many different angles. Propaganda work has given excellent results. Safeguarding machinery, improving working conditions, training of operatives and efforts towards securing better selection are sure steps in the direction of reducing accident rates. The use of recommended safety measures, such as safety goggles and safety shoes is also essential in some industrial situations. The clinical method is also fruitful.

THE ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGY

When industrial safety first began to be given serious consideration by management, the main emphasis for prevention was stressed upon the mechanical improvement of equipments and also through warnings. But these safety measures failed to show the desired results. These failures of the safety engineers and other individuals to prevent

accidents led to the search of the true causes of accidents. Extensive investigations proved that the presence of "human factor" in the causation of accidents is obvious. It is the "personal peculiarity" which has been regarded as clue. It is accepted that accidents are sometimes inevitable, particularly to some persons, because of the way in which they have been born. Moreover, the statements of accident report, like, "did not notice" or "did not get away soon enough" point directly to the psychological characteristics of the personnel concerned. It is evident from the various research works that these accidents are almost invariably due to carelessness, to faulty training, to inattention, or to personal qualities which are inadequate for the situations in which a person allows himself to be placed. Thus with the rapid progress of research works in the prevention of accidents, the individual aspect of the problem comes into existence. Today the psychological or personal factors in causing accidents are widely accepted.

Prevention not only depends upon the machine but also upon the mind of the working people. If mind becomes disturbed and tortured, it fails to work properly. Accident may be inevitable to some persons in such cases. Thus psychology comes into this field because of the fact that many accidents are caused by shortcomings of the worker rather than of the machine. The probable value of psychology in accident prevention can be well-imagined from the statement that 'some individuals are more prone to accidents than others.'

Greenwood and Woods were the first to study individual differences in accident incidence. They carried out researches mainly in the line of statistical analysis. Thus the scientific study of mental causes of accidents has taken up the form of an analysis of differences in susceptibility to accident. The examination of any accident records, makes it clear that some people have more accidents than others exposed to the same amount of risk. This difference in accident rate among the individuals is mainly due to the factor known as "accident-proneness."

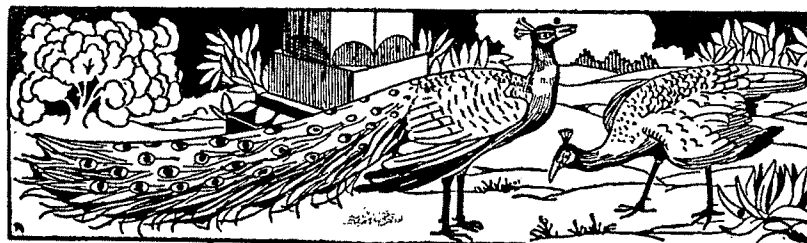
Many interesting and useful researches have been carried out to reduce incidents of accidents caused by human factors. Efforts have been mainly directed to (i) analyse the conditions of work which may lead to accidents, (ii) find out persons who are likely to cause more accidents than others under the same condition of liability to accidents, and (iii) rehabilitate these persons as far as possible by subjecting them to special training. Today, it is widely accepted that accident-control measures may be directed toward mental conditions (fatigue, worry, unrest, attitude, etc.), co-ordination of muscular and mental faculties, mental and physical reactions, improper motive or lack of motive, and other similar factors that serve to influence the causation of accidents. The psychologist's collaboration in the prevention of accidents has borne fruit in the form of avoiding unnecessary financial loss and human misery.

Safety psychology rightly directs research to worry and fatigue, home conditions, long hours of work, frequency of accidents after holidays and early in the morning, age, and other mental conditions included in the list of psychological accident factors.

Today emphasis is placed on the fact that safety would be improved if mechanical designs were more intimately related to the psychological characteristics of operators. The wider use of psychological tests and psycho-techniques for adjusting and fitting workers to their jobs offers promise in accident prevention work. Effective collaboration between safety engineers and safety psychologists is essential in industrial safety-programmes. Carefully planned and executed research studies will have to be undertaken by the safety psychologists if significant progress is to be made in the modern accident reduction problem.

We may now conclude that the solutions of the accident prevention or reduction problem depend upon psychology and specially upon industrial psychology, which is both a science and a technology.

"Safety engineering has held the field for two decades; it is now the turn of safety psychology."





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. III: *Science and Society*. Bhavan's Book University Series. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 1-4.

This is the third volume of the series published under the above title, the two previous volumes bearing the captions 'Literature, Philosophy and Religion,' and 'Arts, History and Culture' respectively. The present volume consists of selections from the writings of 13 scholars and public men including a few well-known names. It is divided into two unequal sections. The only paper in the first section entitled 'Science' consists of a good summary of the achievements of the Ancient Indians in the positive sciences (Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Physiology and Medicine) from the pen of Dr. A. L. Basham of the London University. The second section bearing the somewhat unsatisfactory title of 'Society' comprises not only the topics 'Origins of the Indian village system' (dealing with the Munda-Dravidian survivals and the resemblances as well as contrasts between the Aryan and Dravidian features in this system) by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, 'Our social heritage' (a sympathetic study of the Indian system of *Varnashrama Dharma*) by Dr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Samanya Dharma and Rajadharma* (a comprehensive and authoritative summary of the Ancient Indian ideas on these subjects) by Dr. P. V. Kane and 'Our social dilemma' (a thoughtful analysis of our composite culture and estimate of its problems in our present context) by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, but also a series of studies of historical (or quasi-historical) characters. These last consist of papers on 'Kautilya' by Drs. Beni Prasad and R. C. Majumdar, 'Amir Khusrau' by Dr. A. K. Majumdar, 'Rana Pratap' by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'Akbar' by Laurence Binyon, 'Tukaram, Ramdas and Shivaji' by C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnisi, and lastly, 'Guru Govind Singh, by Sardar K. M. Panikkar. Of this series of studies it may be said that they are of unequal merit, one or two giving adequate critical estimate of the personalities of the characters as well as of their place in history, while the rest are filled with tedious biographical (sometimes legendary) detail quite out of place in a general survey of our cultural heritage.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CURRENT STUDIES (Vol. I, May, 1953, Vol. II, August, 1953, Vol. III, 1954, Vol. IV, 1955), being the *Journal of the Patna College* and edited by K. Ahmed, Principal, Patna College.

To few colleges in India belong the distinction of bringing out in print the fruits of the study and

thinking by its learned body of teachers. The above volumes, being solely the contributions of the Patna College teachers, naturally do credit to them. Volume I, complete in 90 lithographed pages, includes a dozen papers on such subjects as History, Economics and Sociology, Psychology (both Experimental and Applied), and Geography. Of them, K. Ahmed's *The Meaning of Criticism* provides delightful reading alike by the lucidity of expression and the power of critical appreciation. Dr. D. M. Datta's *The Teaching of Indian Philosophy in the American Universities* makes a strong plea for the study and understanding of the different systems of Indian philosophy in the West.

Vol. II, complete in 108 lithographed pages, contains seven articles. In one of them Dr. K. K. Datta points out, on the basis of contemporary evidences, that Sirajuddaulah's war with the English was not of his own seeking but forced upon him. In another, "Civilization and Culture," K. Ahmad makes an appraisal of the basic features of ancient and modern civilization, the bearing of science on human civilization and its proper place in a rational scheme of education. "Science should be handmaiden, not the directing power," (p. 74). "An interest in the arts is synonymous with an interest in culture. And to neglect them is the greatest folly imaginable."

Vol. III, complete in ninety-three printed pages, has interesting papers including Bihar's role in the Home Rule Movement, 1916, (ii) The Poetry of Sri Aurobindo, (iii) The Plato and the Veda. Mr. Devidas Chatterji concludes in this issue the fine essay on an appreciation of "Anatole France" continued in Vols. I and II of this journal, while K. Ahmad, by an analysis of the aims and objects of Communism, endeavours to set in proper perspective the relation between it and culture.

Volume IV is rather lean, complete in sixty printed pages. Prof. S. H. Askeri who has specialised in the study of hagiological literature draws here attention to "Fragments of Chandain and Mrigavati," while S. K. Prashad writes on "Population Dynamics and Economic Growth."

Would it be too much to say that the Patna College has set an example for similar institutions to follow?

N. B. Roy

INDIA'S VILLAGES (A collection of articles originally published in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay): Published by the Development Department, West Bengal Government Press. Pp. 198. Price—Indian Rs. 4-8, English 7s. 6d.

The volume is a collection of village studies by anthropologists from India, the United Kingdom and

U.S.A.. The contributors have tried to make these studies as realistic as possible: 'knowledge has been verified' by field-experience. The villages described in the essays cover a large part of the Indian Union and offer a wide variety. This is worthy of note, for each village has its own way of life, its uniqueness. The village community has been studied in its various aspects—social, economic and cultural. As Sri M. N. Srinivas says in his Introduction, "While each contributor was invited to write on the social life of the village he had intensively studied he was given the freedom to write on an aspect of it which he either found most interesting or considered important." This has made some surveys rich and comprehensive. A few sketches possess an additional attraction: they depict the village community in transition and point a moral. Urbanisation, industrialisation, democratisation—in fact, all the forces of modernisation—are creeping in and affecting the tempo of life in the quiet countryside. The gulf between the 'noisy' town and the 'drowsy' village is narrowing. A new awakening, a levelling-up is evident. On the whole, this multi-coloured picture of village life in India will not only stimulate scholars but also welfare workers, planners and Development Departments of State Governments.

The sooner we 'discover' the village, the better for the country. In the first place, the Indian village community, like the Greco-Roman city state, contributed considerably to human civilization and progress. Its revival has, therefore, a lot of cultural value. Secondly, there are about 560 thousand villages in the Indian Union. The majority (83 per cent) of the population of 362 millions live and move and have their being in the villages. National welfare is thus to be measured in terms of rural welfare. Lastly, the village will play a very responsible role as the autonomous unit of the Indian Republic.

Let us hope that the immense significance of the present publication will not be missed and that village studies will be extended in the near future to areas yet untrodde. Indeed, we look forward to the day when the Cinderella of the British Administration in India will leap once more into the sunlight of history.

The Development Department, West Bengal, is to be thanked for their enterprise in bringing out this useful volume.

NIRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

THE CONCEPT OF SPACE 'IN' INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: By Swami Madhavatirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashrama, Valad Post, Ahmedabad. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.

Swami Madhavatirtha, who is a learned monk and author of several books on Indian thought, discusses in this booklet the concept of space according to the philosophy of Vedanta and the Science of Relativity. He means to say that the Western Theory of relativity and the Indian doctrine of *maya* both give similar concepts of space or *desha*. Modern physics proves by means of higher mathematics that space is derivative and depends on the functions of an observer. Though this applies only to the experiences of the waking state, yet its results are identical with our dream experience. As the Relativity theory proves the relativity of space and time so the Advaita philosophy as propounded in the Mandukya Upanishad shows the relativity of dream, waking and sleep experiences. In this point modern physics and Indian

philosophy shake hands to prove the doctrine of *maya* which is inexplicable and means literally a finitising principle.

When the modern physicists like Einstein and a modern philosopher like Alexander observe that an event is nothing but a space-time unit they support indirectly the *maya* theory of Indian philosophy. While elucidating this interesting subject the thoughtful author rightly remarks as follows: "A dream mountain does not occupy any space because it is not an object but a phase of an event. A mountain in the waking condition of any one observer is also not an object but a phase of an event since it does not occupy any fundamental space. For instance, if a waking man is transformed into a dream man the mountain seen by him in the waking state loses its boundary for him as he cannot carry that mountain in the dream state. Both the waking and dream states are therefore *sthana dharma*, i.e., viewpoints of an observer." Philosophically speaking, space originates from the idea of simultaneity. This book introduces a very serious discussion and certainly deserves a perusal of thoughtful readers.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE CITY OF TWO GATEWAYS (The Autobiography of an Indian Girl): By Savitri Devi Nanda. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1950. Pp. 278. Price sixteen shillings.

This is a warm, sunlit book, a testament of a sweet and wistful childhood spent in the hills of the Punjab. The author, who is a practising physician in England, tells her story simply and with great modesty and charm. Reading this utterly captivating memoir one is quickly transported to one's own dreamy childhood days, when everything was big and lofty, when good and wise men ruled the roost, guiding kindly by the hand the neophyte in life's journey, when grandmothers, spinning by starlight, talked in hushed voices to coveys of wide-eyed grandchildren about lofty ideals and about the many great and noble men and women who once graced this ancient country.

Savitri Devi Nanda gives us a completely convincing portrait of a happy, virile and well-knit family in which she grew up, recording the many overtones and undertones of little pleasures and benumbing tragedies that stalk the traveller of life. She invests her narrative with such simple power and infectious verve as are not very often in the lot of a reviewer to encounter.

RAMESH CHOSHAL

SOCHI RAUT ROY (A Poet of the People: A Symposium): Edited by Basudha Chakravarti. Prabasi Press, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 4.

The only object of this symposium . . . is to stimulate active interest of the educated intelligentsia of our country . . . in the creative efforts of Sri Sochi Raut Roy, a popular modern poet of Orissa. The writers who have participated in this symposium, include Dr. Parija, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen and Harindranath Chattopadhyay. They have pointed out the salient features of his poetry. In his foreword Sri Humayun Kabir observes: "If he remains true to his vocation as a poet he may achieve greater distinction. Whether he will actually do so is more than one can say. . . . In the *Boatman Boy* and *Forty Poems* he has shed immaturity of adolescence and achieved a deeper note born of feeling and experience."

D. N. MOOKERJEE

THE CO-OPERATIVE WAY (A Hand-Book): By *Sunil Guha*. Published by *Indian National Congress, New Delhi*. Pp. xiii + 193. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a useful publication of the Economic and Political Research Department of the Congress for the benefit of the Congress and other constructive workers in the field of co-operation, particularly during the Second Five-Year Plan period. It must be admitted that socialistic pattern of economy and society can only be suitably built upon co-operative methods.

The book contains chapters on principles and forms of co-operation, Congress and Co-operative Movement, Progress of Co-operative in India, Co-operative in selected foreign countries, scope of co-operative in the Second Five-Year Plan and co-operative education and training. Besides, the Appendix contains a summary of the recommendations of the All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee, How to organise a co-operative society and co-operative as a subject of study in the Universities.

The book is well-documented and up-to-date facts and figures have been given. Besides workers in the field, students of the Universities will find it helpful in the study of the subject.

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN INDIA: Pages 21.

Contains short notes on Importance of Rural Development in India, Community Development Projects, concept, aims and objects and scope of activities, administration and organisation, financial and technical aspects, review of the progress and national extension service, etc.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA: Pages 21.

Contains short notes on the importance of the problems, nature, trends, causes and solution of the problem, Government employment policy, progress of Five-Year Plan, etc.

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN INDIA: Pages 22.

Contains short notes on the need, development, analysis, progress and critical estimate of the First Five-Year Plan together with an outline of the Second Five-Year Plan.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA: Pages 22.

Contains short notes on emergence, need of check, causes and nature of the problem, population control, etc.

The above "Advanced Critical Studies" by Dr. Ambu Prasad Gaur, Head of the Economics Department, V.S.S.D. College, Kanpur, published by N. S. S. Publication, Agra, priced As. 4 each, will be helpful to the students of undergraduate classes of Indian Universities.

• A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

BHARATE JYOTISHCHARCHA O KOSTHIBICHARER SUTRABALI: By *Narendranath Bagal Jyotissastri*. Indian Associated Publishing Company Ltd., 93, Harrison Road, Calcutta-7. Pp. xvii + 496. Price Rs. 10.

In ancient India Astrology and Astronomy went hand in hand. In order to have a correct estimate of the development of Indian Astrology a knowledge of

the history of Indian Astronomy is necessary. Eminent Indian scholars like Balkrishna Dikshit, Sudhakar Dwivedi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Jogesh Chandra Roy have done a great deal to reconstruct from forgotten sources the history of Indian Astronomy. Though something has been done further research is necessary to have a fuller account of this science. The author Narendranath Bagal is an indefatigable research-worker. But he is primarily interested in Astrology. Though we get some new, and for the matter of that very important, things from his short history of Indian Astronomy and Astrology he has not, for obvious reasons, pursued it to its full limit. The fundamental principle on which Indian Astrology is based is the doctrine of *karma* and rebirth. Man is born again and again, and in this birth he has to reap the fruits of his actions in his previous births. Thus a man's life is in a way predetermined. The position of the planets at the moment a child is born indicates his life and destiny. This helps an astrologer in predicting events and casting a new-born child's horoscope. The author has differentiated *drirah karma* and *adrirah karma*. Though in the main a man's life is predetermined by the acts done in a previous state of existence, in the case of Adrirah Karma he may, if he tries hard and follows a virtuous course of life, get over the consequence of some of his actions. In addition to two valuable introductory chapters and an Appendix the book comprises twenty-one chapters. Art may be indigenous, science is universal. In the case of science scholars all over the world have not from time immemorial hesitated to borrow from foreign sources. The primary motive of the author is to restore the science of Indian Astrology to its pristine glory. The science of Astronomy and Astrology as developed in India originally influenced the ancient world, but in its turn was in later years influenced by the Greek, the Egyptian and the Arabic science. The author in dealing with terminologies shows the influence of foreign science on Indian Astrology. Curiously enough the Indian, the Egyptian and the Greek conceptions of the Zodiac are all alike. From the illustrations published in the book we find that these three different countries adopted the same signs of the Zodiac. The author does not merely reproduce in translation the *slokas* from ancient authors. He has thoroughly assimilated the knowledge of Indian Astrology and thus sets forth lucidly what he has derived from ancient sources and from his personal investigations. Bhavā-bichar or appraisal of Bhabas is a difficult subject, and in the course of several chapters he deals with the Dwadash Bhava or twelve Bhabas in a masterly fashion. The bibliography at the end of the book will be of great service to research-students. The author is connected with the Bisuddha Siddhanta Panjika and is associated with the Calendar Reform Committee that was formed under the chairmanship of Dr. Meghnad Saha. Written in a lucid style and chaste Bengali *Bharate Jyotishcharcha O Kothibicharer Sutrabali* will prove to be an authoritative work on Indian Astrology.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BAGH O AJANTA: By *Devavrata Mukhopadhyaya*, Ratnasagar Granthamala. Distributed by *Grantha Jagai*, 71, Panditjiya Road, Calcutta-29. Price Re. 1-8.

Equally deft in the use of the pen as well as the brush, Sri Mukhopadhyaya has given here his impressions of the caves of Bagh and Ajanta. They

preserve until this day wonderful specimens of Ancient India's sculpture and painting and are, to the student of Art and Indian culture, places of pilgrimage, so to say. The artists of our new Oriental school drew inspiration from them. Careful handling of materials, descriptive power and finely drawn sketches have contributed to the merit of the book.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

SWATANTRA KI KHOJ MEN (An Autobiography): By *Swami Satya Deva. Nivaran Ashrama, Ranchi*. Pp. 568. Price Paper-cover Rs. 4, Bound Rs. 5.

Swami Satya Deva is a pilgrim of the open road. His search for freedom, therefore, is not conditioned by any one country or church. Consequently, in the course of his quest he has found himself in India, Europe and America. His autobiography is, however, like the conversation of a congenial friend who shares with you in all sincerity what he has learnt in the hard school of experience. Listening to him one lives over again some of the most heroic moments in our now-past national fight for freedom and our individual efforts for personal freedom and takes to heart the wisdom of his words: "Not freedom we need but self-control—freedom begets licentiousness, while self-control gives blissful peace, releasing us from the snares of selfish freedom."

G. M.

GUJARATI

APANA BHASHA: LEKHAN ANE VYAKARAN: (Our Mother Tongue: Writing of it and Grammar),

Part I: By *Prof. Kantilal B. Vyas, M.A., F.R.A.S., (Bombay)*. Published by *Orient Longmans Ltd., Bombay*. Printed at the *Bombay Baibhav Press, Bombay*. 1951. Paper-cover. Pp. 148. Price Re. 1-12.

A novel method has been adopted by Prof. K. B. Vyas to make the dry subject of Grammar easy and interesting for students of the age of 10 and 12 years. Illustrations to explain the matter have been selected from the writings of well-known writers, with the double purpose of introducing them to the authors at this early age, and because they were written in easy language, so that students would become interested in them. In writing this book, rather text-book, the writer has conformed to the standards of the Government Education Department.

MADHYAM VYAKARAN NE SAHITYA RACHNA: By *Principal A. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B., Garda College, Nabasari*. Published by *MacMillan and Co., Ltd., Bombay*. Printed at the *Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay*. 1952. Paper-cover. Pp. 303 Price Rs. 2-10.

Middle Grammar and Literary Composition is meant for students, both of schools and colleges. The writer's deceased father, Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi, had written two Treatises on Grammar, Middle—*Madhyam* and Large—*Brihad*, which have become noted as standard books on the subject. Principal Trivedi has added to the composition of his father and in about 125 pages explained how correct Gujarati should be written. The slipshod way in which immature and callous youths write it at present is pointedly set out, and they are asked, in a very persuasive way, how to avoid pitfalls in their way.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Tilak and Gokhale

D. Anjaneylu writes in *The Indian Review* :

While the country celebrated the birth centenary of the "Father of Indian Unrest" (as his enemies considered him) or the "Father of Indian Revolution" (as we honour him), one is instinctively reminded of another great Indian who had nothing to do with 'unrest' or 'Revolution.' Tilak and Gokhale were both equally genuine and selfless patriots, second to none in their love for the motherland or concern for the people's welfare. Gokhale was born ten years later than Tilak and predeceased him by five years. Both were Maharashtrians and came from the same Chitpavan stock of orthodox Brahmins. Both were born in humble circumstances and ended their lives in comparative poverty. Both were good students of Mathematics and Sanskrit and took up the teaching profession as a mission, working in the same New English School and the Fergusson College at Poona in the first years of their public life.

There, however, the comparison ends. For, very soon, the difference in character and temperament led to an inevitable parting of ways. Tilak had to leave the Deccan Education Society, along with his friend Agarkar, owing to differences on matters of principle, while Gokhale stayed on for some more years. While Tilak took a new line of public service by starting the *Kesari* and *Mahratta*, Gokhale extended his activities to the Sarvajanik Sabha and later founded the Servants of India Society. Curiously enough, it was the younger leader that stood firmly for go-slow methods and came to be closely identified with the Moderates. The older man was the prime mover and chief source of inspiration for the rising forces of resurgent nationalism, dubbed by their opponents as the 'Extremists.' It is quite well-known that both the groups came to an open clash at the Surat Congress in 1907 and the gulf was never to be bridged.

Though they had a similar upbringing at home and not very different training at school and college, Tilak and Gokhale were cast in altogether different moulds. Stormy and combative in his make-up, though he could often assume the calm before the storm, Tilak drew his life's inspiration from the gospel of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the lives of heroes like Shivaji and Samarth Ramadas. With self-restraint as his distinguishing characteristic, Gokhale was influenced by the Liberal doctrines of Mill, Gladstone and Morley and modelled himself on the lives of Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha. Tilak was intensely religious in his outlook and his nationalism was based on the firm foundation of religious tradition. Known to have been an agnostic in his youth with his share of admiration for Maj. Bradlaugh, Gokhale considered religion as a matter of personal belief that should not be allowed to interfere with one's politics or public life. Sacrifice and suffering were the mottoes of Tilak's life and service was the badge of Gokhale's tribe.

Education and social reform were dear to the heart of Gokhale as they were to his master Ranade and his friend, philosopher and guide, G. V. Joshi. He belonged to the old school of thought which believed that an enlightened populace and a progressive society were the first requisites for political autonomy. They were quite ready to seek the aid of Government in forcing the pace of social reform, as, for example, in passing the Age of Consent Bill. To the Lokamanya, Swaraj was the inalienable birthright that could not be denied to any nation. Good government was to him, no substitute for self-government. The removal of social anomalies was a question of the society's internal regulation in which the foreign rulers had no moral right to meddle with. A revival of Hindu orthodoxy, without its evils, was an effective counterblast to stem the tide of modernism and Western materialism and defeat the forces of atheism and agnosticism.

In the British connection with India, Gokhale, and those who thought with him, saw the unmistakable hand of a benign Providence. He could never imagine a self-governing India outside the British Empire whose blessings it would be foolhardy to deny oneself. Tilak never laid much store by this mystic tie and the foreign rulers were not different from 'Asuras'. Though he did not mind a free nation continuing as a Dominion, the real substance of Swaraj was what he wanted and strove for. Home Rule was to him, as to the Irish, not the shadow of constitutional reforms, but a transfer of power, not merely office, to Indian hands, with full control over the purse and all branches of the Government—legislative, executive and judiciary.

If, in their aims, they were not identical, in their methods, they were poles apart. The Prince of Moderates swore by constitutional methods and peace and order were of supreme importance and without them all was nought. Believing in the gradualness of inevitability and the inevitability of gradualness, he had a horror of non-co-operation and passive resistance, not to speak of armed violence. Peace without freedom was, to Tilak, not different from the peace of the graveyard, and the law of a foreigner, imposed against the people's will, was only a "Lawless Law." Though the means were important enough, Tilak put them next to the ends in view. Diplomacy should be met with diplomacy, he said, as there was no place for absolute Truth in politics. Reforms could be accepted when they were offered, but only as a stepping stone in marching to the ultimate goal of Swaraj. Council entry was not objectionable but only as a stage in the fight for entry into a free state. Tilak never advocated violence or armed rebellion as such, but he could not help it if the intrepid youths of Bengal and Maharashtra were inspired by his speeches and writings to tread the path of revolution.

Gokhale's appeal was mainly to the intelligentsia whereas Tilak's was to the masses. One was the best example of the Western influence on the Indian mind while the other, also a cultivated mind, was a true son of the soil with his moorings in the hearts of

its people. As Dr. Pattabhi aptly put it in his Congress History, one was on level with the times and the other was ahead of them. Tilak had lighted the torch of freedom and shown the way in the struggle that followed, culminating in the achievement of independence. Gokhale, with his unshakable faith in peaceful progress and good government, may be said to have laid the foundations for political stability and national consolidation.

Principal Gopal Ganesh Agarkar

Prof. T. A. Kulkarni observes in *Prerana*:

Of all the great men that India produced during the last hundred years, two renowned patriots, who were born in July 1856, namely, the Late Principal Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and the Late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, can be mentioned as the most outstanding personalities. Agarkar was born on 14th July and Tilak on the 23rd. Blessed are the mothers who gave birth to such illustrious sons of India. The ideal of Agarkar stands out prominently as the beacon-light of inspiring guidance to us who claim to be public workers. In spite of his struggle with poverty, what a tremendous amount of work he rendered in his short span of life of 39 years! At the age of twenty-five in the year 1880 he passed his M.A. Examination and with the co-operation of Tilak and the Late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, he opened the New English School of Poona, which soon became a model High School. This was the foundation of national education according to the ideals of these great stalwarts. The aim of this school was to train our children to be ideal citizens capable of discharging their onerous duties of free India. The Deccan Education Society was soon founded and the Fergusson College was opened by this Society. In this way a class of selfless lifeworkers who pledged themselves to lead a life of poverty for doing noble work in national institutions was brought into existence. In no other part of India can we find this tradition of self-sacrifice.

The amount of work performed by these institutions is so formidable that our heart is filled with deep feelings of gratitude. Other similar institutions soon came into being framed on these models. The responsibility of Secondary and Higher education is to a very large extent taken up by these non-

official agencies. To this extent the Government has been relieved of this burden by all workers who followed the noble example of pioneers like Agarkar and hence the credit of creating an atmosphere of self-confidence goes to him and his colleagues.

Agarkar and Tilak soon felt that educating children was not enough for the regeneration of the country and therefore with a view to prepare the minds of adults for new thoughts and ideas, they started publishing the *Kesari* and Agarkar became its Editor. An article was published in this paper about the ill-treatment given by the Divan of Kolhapur to the Maharaja. Both Agarkar and Tilak were sentenced to four months' imprisonment, an account of which was soon published under the heading 'Hundred and One days in Dongri Jail.' Agarkar's conviction was that national regeneration required political as well as social reform. But in the *Kesari*, he could not find sufficient scope for his theme of social uplift and he gave up his connection with the *Kesari* and started his own paper *The Sudharak* (Reformer). Through the columns of this paper, he preached his views on social problems in a fearless manner. This compelled him to face the wrath of many enemies. His opponents were of various types. One group maintained that we should try to win Swaraj and then it would be easy to secure social justice by legislation. Another group of his opponents argued that social evils existed in all countries. Then why should we be ashamed of them? We should try to remove them gradually. This line of thinking was repugnant to Agarkar's mind and hence his paper *Sudharak* carried on a merciless campaign against ignorance, poverty, exploitation of helpless people, evils of caste, extravagance, untouchability, child marriage, persecution of widows and the miserable and helpless condition of women. His reform was based on the dictates of reason. He did not recognise tradition or religious sanction for the support of his social reform. Whatever was good according to the necessities of the time was acceptable to him.

All this splendid work was achieved by Agarkar in a short span of 14 years. He struggled with poverty and disease and expired at the early age of 39. His views were the views of the Late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who looked upon political and social reform as of equal importance, and Mahatma Gandhi, who looked upon Gokhale as his Guru, maintained the same importance of social reform with great fervour and faced public opinion in his campaign against untouchability. Let us, therefore, pay our humble tribute to Agarkar on the occasion of his birth-centenary and let us follow his footsteps in the work of national regeneration.

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Archaeology in East Africa

Prof. M. Ramakrishna Bhat contributes to *The Aryan Path* an interesting article from Africa where he has been for some time:

Africa is called the Dark Continent, possibly, on account of its inaccessibility to outsiders and the absence of written history. The past history of East Africa is practically a sealed book. The only sources of information are the local traditions of the various tribes, most of which narrate the stories of intertribal quarrels

and tribal migrations. In many cases they may turn out to be mere fictions, based upon contradictory anecdotes. In the absence of other sources, however, the historian can resort only to them. If archaeology helps him, he can verify the oral traditions with the aid of discovered antiquities. The written history of East Africa begins practically from the period of the arrival of European missionaries and explorers about a hundred years ago. Still this country is not poor in its archaeological wealth or in relics of ancient civilization and culture. Many European archaeologists, Professor Van Riet Lowe, E. J. Wayland, T. P. O'Brien, Dr. K. A. Davies, K. Ingham, Lanning, K. P. Wachsmann and others, have done a good deal of work in this field and aroused much interest in the ancient culture and dynasties of this country. The great ruins of Zimbabwe in Southern Rhodesia, for example, afford a rich field to the research worker. The discovery of the *linga* and other soapstone images in the sacred enclosure of the conical tower, the Sanskrit names of places and rivers, the worship of the Moon, the traces of the Swastika, the soapstone eagles perched on the walls—all these have driven such scholars as Walker, Van Oordt and Leo Frobenius to the conclusion that the Zimbabwe is a replica of Dravidian culture. Professor Leo Frobenius is of the opinion that an iron industry flourished in the interior of Africa about three thousand years before it was known in Europe and that some bellows found in Central Africa had travelled from India via Madagascar.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler said in a recent lecture which he delivered at Kampala :

"The history of East Africa began, as nearly as we can possibly place it, two thousand years ago, with one of the most remarkable books ever written by a traveller from Greece. He wrote a most vivid account of the traffic around the shores and across the Indian Ocean which linked East Africa, Arabia, the Mediterranean and India and China."

Owing to this intercourse among the coasts, Arabs and Indians were working and living together with Africans, Greeks, Italians and others in the first and second centuries, producing a wonderful conglomeration of races that is seen even to this day down the East African coast. Sir Mortimer adds :

"If you find a drinking cup, made in Italy in the first century, in the same layer of soil as a mass of African material, then you may be sure that the African material belongs to the same phase."

We are told that for the Middle Ages China may provide the clue to the sequence of events on the East African coast, and that there are places where one can fill one's pockets with pieces of Chinese porcelain. Dr. Gervase Mathew and Sir Mortimer Wheeler visited the islands off the Tanganyika coast and found remains of the great mediaeval trading centres, which were ruled by powerful Sultans who issued coins and built palaces, mosques, shops and fortifications. In Uganda too there are a few ancient structures of importance for antiquarian research.

The grim but fascinating history of the recently unearthed ruins at Gedi, near Malindi on the Kenya coast, was explained by Mr. James Kirkman, Warden of Coastal Historical Sites and of the Gedi National Park. He said that when he started his excavations he had thought he might find a pre-Arabic culture but there was no evidence of that. There are remains at Gedi of a mysterious city with a stone gate overgrown with the roots of trees. Scholars are puzzled as to the reason for its abandonment. Some are of the opinion that the city might have been Persian or Arab in origin. Mr. Kirkman suggested that one of the reasons why Gedi was deserted was droughts which had followed regular and ample rains. Scholars believe that the Phoenicians had trading posts along the coast around 500 B.C. and that Hindus were trading and settling in East Africa even before that. Interesting evidence of the existence of an ancient civilization is afforded by the so-called Pemba beads, which can be picked up even to this day on the beaches of Pemba Island.

The Uganda Museum at Kampala has exhibits of domestic utensils, objects of a magico-religious nature, musical instruments of various types and the regalia of the rulers of Buganda, etc. There is great evidence of Stone Age cultures and some Iron Age ones in this country. Some evidence of the existence of indigenous iron industries centred in the kingdom of Bunyoro has also been gathered. In this connection G. A. Wainwright says :

"It has been shown that the iron industry, and, therefore, no doubt the name for iron which accompanies it (*-uma*, *-chuma* and *-dzuma*) was ancient in Bunyoro and Buganda, dating from a time long before any trade with the Arabs on the coast had reached those countries."

Dr. G. Mathew and Mr. Lanning had found iron objects at sites in Western Uganda which are traditionally associated with the Bachwezi, who are said to have been clever smiths, and iron is plentiful near the traditional Bachwezi headquarters, Mubende Hill. Iron slag is found at the sites of Munsa, Kalisisi and Bugagadzi. A square block of stone, in the grounds of the N.A.C. School, Munsa, is supposed to have been used as an anvil by the builders of the Munsa earthworks.

Mr. Lanning, an administrative officer, has done wonderful work as an amateur archaeologist and published many papers in the *Uganda Journal*. He has discovered and studied many earthworks "clustered between the Bugoma Forest and the south side of the Katonga River" and found the one at Bigo to be the most extensive, the best preserved and most fascinating. The middens of Ntusi, about eight miles to the south-west, have yielded animal bones and potsherds in some profusion. There are earthworks of ancient origin in many places—Kagago, Kasonko, Munsa, Kalisisi, Kibengo, Karwa'a, Bujogolo, Kakindu and Buwekula—showing extensive systems of trenches, spreading over an appreciable distance, and traces of forts. Mr. Lanning has classified the trench systems into three types. Dr.



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Mathew observes that the earthwork at Bigo might have been used more as a cattle pen than as a fortress.

About nine miles south of the Kibengo earthworks there is a small reservoir, 40 feet by 300 feet which holds much water. Its name is Nyangate-gera. (Note the similarity of *gera* and the Kannada *kere*, tank.) Wayland has recorded the discovery of traces of a number of dams, built to form irrigation works, near Ntusi. It appears from this that there was ample provision for the watering of cattle and for the needs of a rather large population. Similar traces of irrigation works have been reported at Bukulula in Buddu.

From the mound at Ntusi some vessels have been recovered. Some of these resemble the potsherds found at Zimbabwe. In 1950 Wayland discovered an egg-shaped clay cylinder with a flattened top and bottom. This has made Dr. Mathew come to the conclusion that it must have been a centre for worship drawing pilgrims to its gates. Mr. Lanning opines that even to this day there is a fertility cult at Masaka Hill, in which the haft of a spear is carefully buried amidst the roots of a tree.

The Geological Survey Department of the Uganda Protectorate has unearthed several primitive stone tools, the most primitive Kafuan pebble tools and the finely worked and well-developed microlithic tools of the neolithic period, thus providing an excellent background for the study of archaeology. The people of Uganda hold the Bachwezi in great esteem. They are supposed to have been the originators of a pattern of social organization and a religion which were sedulously imitated by successive dynasties. According to Roland Oliver they handed down a working system of administrative officialdom accustomed to ruling small districts . . . and a regimental organization under which young men were conscripted into the military service of the king.

There are conflicting theories about the Bachwezi and Roland Oliver hopes that "with the contribution of archaeology, it should be possible to add a chapter to the history of Uganda which would be of significance for the whole mediaeval history of Africa."

An important feature of the finds in Uganda leading to further knowledge of its prehistory, is the series of rock paintings in the Teso district. Mr. Lawrence has written an excellent article with illustrations on this subject in the *Uganda Journal* for March 1953. It appears that a European missionary was the first to discover it some ten years ago. Near Nyero are numerous granite outcrop hills arising to heights of two or three hundred feet above the surrounding area. This is called in the native language "the place of the cowry shells." This name might have been suggested by the paintings inside, resembling cowry shells. In two of the many rock shelters paintings have been discovered. The author says that one group contains the remains of an acacia-pod design; the next, a canoe with paddlers; the third, unidentifiable faint markings; and the fourth and largest, two or three canoes, acacia-pod designs and many concentric circles, besides many designs formed like U's, dots and exclamation marks. Besides these there are line drawings probably representing human beings. Another group of rock paintings, at Ngora, five miles

from Nyero Hill, consists of geometrical designs executed in red pigment. At this place a small trench dug by Harwich has yielded bones, teeth, a carved bone implement and potsherds with different designs. He has also found artefacts in both lava and obsidian, and admired the skill in design. He thinks the remains discovered in the main shelter suggest "a long occupation from Stone Age times." It is believed that these paintings were executed by Bushmen who occupied the shelters.

On the flat top of the Masaka Hill there are portions of an earth rampart about 6 feet wide, enclosing a circular area about 180 feet in diameter. Broken pots of some antiquity were discovered in the centre of the circle. This place is supposed to have been a great centre of worship for the local people. Three cereconial vessels of different shapes and sizes and an old elephant tusk have been discovered in this place. Other articles found are one receptacle of baked pottery, a pot used for drinking beer, a spear haft, a spear and a large and unusual type of clay bead or amulet.

Of considerable historical importance are the *Amagasazi*, shrines, of the Babito dynasty of Bunyoro in Uganda. Some of these are well kept, others neglected. From these it is possible to reconstruct the practices connected with the burial of royal personages. In one such shrine the following articles were discovered: an iron carpentry tool, a metal bell, strings of beads, red, pink, blue and white, etc. The dead man's personal spear, drums and shield were also kept there.

Marshal attaches great importance to the Entebbe Peninsula on account of its having remains of prehistoric cultures lying scattered, often on the surface. The artefacts discovered in the Aerodrome Cave "represented an industry which was homogeneous and represented an advanced phase of the Late Stone Age Culture," according to Professor Van Riet Lowe. There are also some "open stations," where a dense scattering of quartz tools like crescents and awls has been discovered. The pottery found therein is of special interest in that it does not resemble in paste, form or decoration the sherds found in other sites, but compares with discoveries made by Leaky in Central Kavirondo, in Kenya. Marshal says that all these pots are reminiscent of the Peterborough (Neolithic B) culture of the South of England. Some low mounds discovered nearby suggest that it was once inhabited by people. The microliths finely worked in quartz show a high degree of skill.

At Engaruka, Tanganyika, there are stone ruins of a great village, where the inhabitants were perhaps once concentrated for defence against the Masai. On a frostage of about three miles tier upon tier of terracing is still clearly visible and a closer inspection shows the rock-built homes, the graves and the huge cairns of a vanished people. There are some prehistoric wells at Naberara in Masiland.

In many East African cities there are amateur archaeologists and Archaeological Societies which are doing very good work to unearth the past of these regions. In all the important towns there are museums which exhibit the archaeological finds and other interesting articles and specimens. After all, Africa is not so utterly a Dark Continent.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Germany and the Study of Romance Civilizations

Dr. Eugen Feihl writes as follows, on the 70th birthday and subsequent death in Rome of Ernst Robert Curtius of the Bonn University ;

Dk Bonn.—The recent death of Ernst Robert Curtius who was a distinguished leader among present-day scholars in the field of Romance civilizations, has torn a yawning gap in the ranks of this truly European branch of the humanities. During his lifetime, Curtius added new lustre to the chair of Romance studies at Bonn University once occupied by Friedrich Christian Diez. It has always been one of the glories of Bonn University that the great scholar Diez, the uncontested and recognized founder of the systematic study of Romance languages and civilizations, taught in its lecture rooms. As a matter of fact the teachers of Romance languages and civilizations in the Latin countries were among the first proudly to acknowledge themselves disciples of that master, so for instance Gaston Paris, Joseph Bedier and Paul Meyer in France, G.J. Ascoli, G. Bertoni, U.A. Canello, and Monaci in Italy, R. Menendez Pidal in Spain, and many others.

Gaston Paris was brought to Bonn in 1859 by his father, Paulin Paris, a famous French historian of literature, who wanted his son to continue his studies under Diez and at the same time learn the German language. Although Gaston Paris did not stay long in Bonn, he soon became not only the admiring student but also the friend of his German teacher. He adopted his scientific method and moreover, worked for decades to translate Diez's fundamental works into French, as, for instance, his *Grammar of Romance Languages*, published in 1836 of which the French edition appeared in 1882, and Diez's *Etymological Dictionary of Romance Languages* in three volumes, whose fifth German edition appeared in 1853 and which Gaston Paris published in a French edition in 1888. The introduction by Gaston Paris to the translation, published in 1870, of Diez's book *Old Romance Glossaries* contains the following sentence: "Nowhere has the founder of Romance philology demonstrated all his rare qualities more impressively than in the etymological and phonetic studies which he joined to the two oldest lexicographical Romance monuments." One of these glossaries, incidentally, had been discovered on the island of Reichenau in Lake Constance, and the other at Kassel.

The *Enciclopedia Italiana*, a masterly work of its kind, has this to say about Diez: "In the second and even more glorious half of his life Diez devoted himself almost completely to linguistic studies. An earnest sincerity combined with elegance of presentation, a sense of proportion and symmetry, clarity, and

brilliance especially in syntax—these are the distinguishing marks of his grandiose work which in its design and in some of its details almost enjoys the privilege reserved to art, i.e. to defy obsolescence . . . All in all Diez was a great systematician but also a creator, a man of scholarship, but also a man of genius."

INSPIRED BY GOETHE

Who had given the first impulse that resulted in this strange phenomenon of European cultural association, namely, that of all men it was a German scholar who became the uncontested founder of Romance philology and of the history of the languages of all those nations whose languages originated in late Latin and its dialects: Portuguese, Castilian, Catalan, French, Provencal, Romansh, Sardinian, Italian, Dalmatian and Rumanian? It was no less a person than Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

At the beginning of the 19th century the German Romantics had made mediaeval sagas and their topics fashionable. Under the influence of this trend young Diez, who was born at Giessen in 1794, had translated old Spanish romances into German. In 1818 the young scholar, then 24 years old, met Goethe. The latter directed his attention to the poetry of the Provencal troubadours, which was just then publicized in a literary way by the French poet and author Francois Raynouard, himself an adept of the Romantic movement. Diez eagerly followed Goethe's advice and became more and more enthusiastic about his new subject. His studies were reflected in two books, *The Poetry of Troubadours*, and *Life and Letters of Troubadours*, which appeared in 1826 and 1829 respectively. In the meantime, in 1820, Diez had become a university lecturer at Bonn. In 1829 he was promoted assistant professor and in 1830 professor-in-ordinary. By that time Jakob Grimm had developed comparative philology in the field of Germanistics, and Diez applied his method to the Romance languages with surprising success. Soon he and his work were recognized all over Europe. In all European countries a new generation of brilliant students of the Romance languages grew up who acknowledged themselves the disciples of Diez.

The chair once occupied by Diez at Bonn University was last held by Ernst Robert Curtius whose 70th birthday and subsequent death in Rome provoked a wave of public appreciation throughout the world.

HERITAGE AND COMMITMENT

I had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of that great scholar and outstanding author on the occasion of the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the College de France. At the time the distinguished Romance scholar and literary historian Joseph Bedier

was administrator of that College. Many speeches were made at the memorial banquet. In spite of a certain fatigue that had already set in, everyone listened attentively when it was Curtius' turn to speak. Most of those present later called his address the most important as regards contents and the most beautiful as regards diction. When a Polish participant congratulated Curtius on his "wonderful French free of any accent" he answered modestly and with a little sideward glance at these of his colleagues who also were not French; "After all, I am teacher of French." Professor Bedier afterwards remarked with a gracious smile: "The most substantial and judicious speech was made by Curtius."

For Germany and the University of Bonn the names of Friedrich Christian Diez and Ernst Robert Curtius constitute a precious heritage and a sacred commitment. —*Deutsche Correspondenz*, May 26, 1956.

Islamism in China

Islamism came to China in the Tang Dynasty (618—907 A.D.), more than, 1,000 years ago. It is called the Hui religion by some people because the Hui people who embrace the Islamic faith are widely dispersed in cities and towns having more contacts with other nationalities. Actually, there are other nationalities in China besides the Huis which believe in the Islamic faith, namely, the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghizs, Tajiks, Tartars, Uzbeks, Tunghsiangs, Salas and Paoans.

These Islamic nationalities are living mainly in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area and Kansu and Chinghai Provinces in North-west China. A large section of the Hui people is widely dispersed in all the big cities and villages throughout China. Their main occupations are agriculture and livestock raising, while some of them are engaged in commercial undertakings.

There are nearly ten million believers of Islamism in China, with 40,000 mosques as the centres of their

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religious activities. Together with other nationalities, they help develop China's economy and culture and have made great contributions to the country.

They suffered ruthless oppression under the past regimes, and particularly under the reactionary Kuomintang rule. They suffered harsh political oppression and economic exploitation and had no freedom in religious belief. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Islamic nationalities together with other nationalities began a new life.

It is explicitly laid down in the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic that all citizens enjoy freedom in religious belief. Religious activities of the believers of Islamism are given legal protection by the state.

Special attention is paid to their customs and traditions. It is laid down in the Marriage Law that government of provinces which have large communities of national minorities should formulate variant and supplementary provisions in accordance with the actual condition arising from the marriage question of local minority peoples. Such supplementary provisions are to be enforced after they are approved by the central authorities. It follows that Chinese Moslems can get married according to Islamic traditions.

It is also explicitly stated in the Land Law that with the consent of local Moslems, mosques and temples can keep the land they own. When land reform was carried out in North-west China, land belonging to mosques and temples were generally left intact.

The Government has helped Moslems to repair a number of well-known big mosques, as for instance, the Niuchieh Mosque and the Turgsu Pailou Mosque in Peking, the Kwangiaszu in Canton, the Hsiaotaoyuan Mosque in Shanghai, the Ferghwangsuz in Hangchow and the Imperial City Mosque in Chengtu.

The Central People's Government has decreed that the slaughter of cows and sheep to provide meat for Moslems during the Bairam (Id-Al-Fitr), Corban (Id-Al-Adha) and Birthday of the Prophet (Molid Napadi) Festivals would be exempted from tax. It also provides that special holidays should be given during the three big festivals to Moslems in government institutions, schools, factories, armed forces units and various enterprises.

In 1953, the China Islamic Association—a national religious organisation—was founded by the Chinese believers of Islamism.

In 1955, the Institute of Islamic Theology for training Imams to acquire a knowledge of Islamic doctrines and Arabic language was formally set up in Peking with government help.

Since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the Islamic peoples together with other nationalities achieved the right to administer their own nationality affairs. It is laid down in the Constitution that all nationalities are equal and nationality regional autonomy is to be instituted in areas entirely or largely inhabited by national minorities.

Up to the present, 17 autonomous localities for Islamic nationalities of the country level or above have been set up throughout China. The biggest among them is the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area, with the Sinkiang Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chow, the Kuyuan Hui People's Autonomous Chow and the Wuchung Hui People's Autonomous Chow in Kansu Province coming next.

The believers of Islamism like other nationalities are taking part in the administration of the state. In the First National People's Congress there were 41 deputies from various nationalities embracing Islamism. One of them was elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and one was elected Chairman of the Nationalities Committee under the Standing Committee. Among the 85 members of the Nationalities Committee, 16 are Moslems.

Noticeable improvement in the life of Chinese Moslems and a rise in their standard of living were evidenced following development in China's economic reconstruction. During the Land Reform, Moslems as other nationalities in the villages were given land, farm implements and draught cattle. In the upsurge of the agricultural co-operative movement, nationalities co-operatives have been set up in areas entirely or largely inhabited by national minorities and joint nationalities co-operatives in areas where a number of nationalities live together. In the latter, the peasants of different nationalities carried out mutual aid, respected each other and drew up co-operative constitutions which were beneficial to every nationality. This has engendered greater unity among different nationalities.

In urban areas, commercial undertakings and street stalls owned by peoples of Islamic faith have been appropriately placed during the upsurge of socialist transformation. All these helped the Chinese Moslems on the road to prosperity and happiness.

The cultural education of Chinese Moslems was extremely backward before liberation and illiteracy in the villages was as high as 80 per cent. After liberation, the Moslems, under the effective help of the people's government, revived and developed their cultural education. Moslems throughout the country have their own primary schools and wherever Moslems are many, they have their own middle schools, as for instance, the Hui People's Institute in Peking, the Hui People's Middle Schools in Shanghai, the North-west Middle School in Lanchow, the 13th Middle School in Kunming, the Hui People's Teachers Training College in Szechwan, the third Middle School in Sian, the Hui People's Middle School in Chengchow, and the Hui People's Middle Schools in Chengtu, Pingliang and other places. Besides, there are many Moslem youths studying in 9 institutes for nationalities throughout China. Moslem students are also admitted to other colleges, middle and primary schools throughout China.

The policies of freedom of religious belief and of equality among nationalities of the Chinese People's Republic have inspired Moslems in China to love their motherland and enhanced their enthusiasm in building a socialist society. Their sad fate in the past has made them sympathetic towards the people in countries suffering under imperialist aggression. They and other Chinese Nationalities firmly support their Moslem brothers in different countries in their just fight against colonialism and for national independence. They will keep close contact with their brothers of the same religion in the world through appropriate channels, strengthen mutual understanding and unity and struggle jointly with them for the elimination of war, for peace and the coming happiness of mankind.—*News Bulletin of the People's Republic of China*, May 31, 1956.

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The Khyber Pass

Pakistan Today, July 16, 1956, reproduces the following article by A. T. Chaudhri from the *Golden Digest*:

In the great mass of tangled mountain and plateau, geographically known as the "Pathan Highlands," stands the historic Khyber Pass, towards the North-West of Pakistan. It has been the most important of gateways from Central Asia into the plains of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent.

The tourist finds his excursion, in the heart of this narrow defile, richly rewarded. For no other pass in the world is dowered with such strategic importance; and no other pass unfolds so many historic ups and downs before the visitor's eyes as this beautiful but blood-strewn Khyber.

It is not exactly beautiful. Its beauty has a weird touch, inspiring awe. Situated in the midst of a jumbled landscape of crags and boulders, and harsh treeless hills, with an angular skyline of lofty mountains behind, the Khyber Pass, however, draws its charm more from history than geography.

Its stones bear the memories of many a conqueror's thumping feet. It has seen Persian and Greek, Seljuk and Tartar, Mongol and Durrani conquerors force their way through its rocky defile, during twenty long centuries.

Alexander of Macaëdon and Mahmood Ghazni marched through this gateway on the smiling plains stretching beyond it. Timur, Babar and Nadar passed and re-passed through it. Then Ahmad Shah Abdali and others pierced through this narrow route; and finally the Britishers marched in the reverse direction and advanced into Khyber from the Indian soil. That was during the first and second half of the last century.

THE NAME

The pass draws its name from the hills through which it runs, the Khyber mountains, which form the last spurs of the great range of Safaid Koh, as that mighty range, with its long straight line of rugged peaks, sinks down into the valley of the Kabul River. The connecting ridge has an elevation of more than 3,000 feet rising to more than 6,000 in the Tartara peak. On either side are the sources of two small streams. One runs north-west to the Kabul River and the other south-west. The beds of these two small streams together form the Khyber defile.

Since times immemorial caravans laden with merchandise from Central Asia trekked through this Pass to Peshawar whose plains stretch from the Eastern mouth of the Pass. Outside this Eastern gate there is a very remarkable collection of caves at Kadam. On the western mouth of the Pass are many interesting remains of Buddhism and of ancient civilizations.

The pass lies along the bed of a torrent and is visited by sudden floods. The elevation of various points varies from 1,400 to 3,000 feet roughly. Previously the main railway terminated at Jamrud, the eastern entrance to Khyber, but in 1925, it was extended to Landhi Khana at the other end of the Pass. The railway lies hidden in the folds of the hills and presents a beautiful aerial view.

THE PASS

Going by the main road, stretching from Peshawar to Kabul, a visitor's first attraction is the fort of Jamrud, which stands some ten miles west of

Peshawar. Massive in appearance and grim-looking, it guards the eastern entrance. Here the modern sentry stands tip-toe, proud of the new responsibilities which he has assumed with the establishment of Pakistan.

From Jamrud the Pass goes zigzag for about 33 miles towards the North-West. Among the main places of interest in its course are Ali Masjid, ten miles from Jamrud, Landi Kotal ten miles farther, and Torkham where the Pass enters the Afghan territory, about six miles beyond Landi Kotal.

Starting from Jamrud and covering about three miles, the tourist enters the mountains at an opening called "Shadi Bagiar" and there, in fact, begins the Khyber proper. For a short distance the highway runs through the bed of a ravine and then joins the road built by the Britishers in the Eighteen-forties, until it ascends the plateau called Shagai. From here one can see the Fort of Ali Masjid, which commands the centre of the Pass and has been the scene of many fierce battles in history.

Going westward the road swings to the right, descends to the river of Ali Masjid, with a graceful zigzag, and runs along its bank. The road just beyond Ali Masjid passed over rough and slippery rock. It is the narrowest part of the Khyber which is hardly 15 feet broad.

Three miles farther and the valley begins to widen. On either side of it lie the hamlets and towers of Afridis. Here and there the visitor may see an Afridi herdsman with his long locks, with strings of beads thrown wantonly roundly his neck, with a long staff, a coiled turban, a spade beard; inevitable moustaches and with a half-muffled face, protected from the sun by a swathe of this turban. Though primitive looking, this Afridi has a rare combination of vehemence, vividness, and effervescence.

After the belt of Afridi villages, one comes to the Shinwari Plateau some seven miles in length and, at the most, three in breadth. It ends at Landi Kotal, where there is another fort garrisoned by the Khyber Riflemen, which closes this end of the Khyber and overlooks the plains of Afghanistan. Beyond Landi Kotal one can see on the road some concrete road blocks too, which were installed by the Britishers in 1941, against the expected invasion of the Germans, via Russia. The Landi Kotal Bazaar is also seen here cupped beneath the skyline of hills.

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Leaving Lāndi Kōtal, the highway passes between low hills, reaches the world-famous signpost of Tor-kham, repainted on August 14, 1947, to indicate the Pakistan-Afghan border. From there the pass debouches on the Kabul River and ends in Dakka.

THE MEN

In this Upper Khyber the traveller's eye will catch Shinwari villages with their typical and numerous watch towers. At places he will find nomad encampments. Outside these lovely encampments, a solitary camel or a cow may be seen standing with a lofty air about it. As the nomads wind their way from place to place, and the evening shadows lengthen on the Khyber Road, it is a rare spectacle for the tourist. Equally charming in winter is the noonday halt of the Khyber Riflemen on the heights. They are in lightly armed mobile patrols and make jolly good company.

Recently tanks have also moved up the tracks in the Khyber Pass and the Frontier is regularly patrolled by aeroplanes. At intervals in this wilderness, a smart and sturdy rifleman is seen perched behind a rock on his knees, to guard the track of the Railway. This stiff figure, true to his hoary traditions, has an endless zest for life. With the quick charm of his smile he loses no time in making friends with the visitors. But if his friendship is to be won, you have to be conversationally alert and ready for brisk rejoinders.

Though simple-minded, he is unbending like the rocks around him, and has a peculiar individuality of his own. Even the Englishman, in the heyday of his word supremacy, found him a hard nut to crack. The British were singularly unsuccessful in their attempts to subjugate him; for they found him and his race implacably hostile and his native land a bed of thorns.

With the coming of Pakistan, however, the political outlook of the Khyber Afridis has undergone a vital change. These virile tribes have now been united in the service of Pakistan by the unifying bond of Islam and the political history of Khyber has turned over a new leaf.

The Khyber Pass is indeed a place of pride for Muslims and as a leading poet of Pakistan puts it, the Khyber is the cradle of countless civilizations, the place where the sword of Islam flashed with dazzling brilliance, where the voice of Islam rebounded against the rocks with endless echoes, the place where even the skies bend down with reverence.

"Too poetic," one might say, but it truly represents sentiments of an average Pakistani for this historic, beautiful blood-strewn Khyber.

Scientific Research in Antarctica

Several members of the Soviet Antarctic expedition have made a trip to one of the largest oases of East Antarctica, 370 kilometres east of the Mirny observatory.

The oasis covers a territory of some 500 sq-kilometres on the Queen Mary Land.

The explorations which the Soviets were the first to make, are of great scientific value. They reject the theories on the resulting from volcano activity, and coals, and others. In the opinion of the expedition, the oasis emerged though after the glaciers had receded. The intense solar radiation, and the intense heat cause the rapid spring thawing of the snow during the winter; thus rivulets and which fill the lake reservoirs. By summer there is no snow cover left.

The oasis has a climate of its own. The surrounding spaces. Local wind soon the ground gets heated to a temperature while the snow temperature is 0°C of warm air, like those over a plot of the rocky ground.

The vegetable kingdom is scarce. It possesses several species of black moss which grows on the rocks. In the moss is sometimes encountered.

Of surface animals only birds are seen. In the snow stormy petrels building their nests in the crevices, the south Antarctic skuas, petrel. Minute animal organisms. In the water red crawfish have been found. Crawfish and starfish are encountered isolated from the sea by shore ice: come there.—*News and Views from*

Painters Bearing Witness

"Painters as witness to their times" is a French organization of painters together French and foreign painters, the personalities and movement pictorially, and is encouraging art pictures. It was first projected in exhibitions from 1951. So far, it has held exhibitions. The first of these, held in 1951, was devoted to factories and Labour, 1953 and devoted to the "Sunday," from Paris to Bourges, Nice, Lyon. The third exhibition, illustrated life in the 20th century, in Paris, Avignon, and Tunis in 1954. Illustrating "Happiness" took place in 1955.

This year's exhibition has for its theme "The artist and his time" and is devoted to eminent contemporary literature, science and art, and is devoted to the art of portrait painting. A book of these portraits, that of the eminent French painter, Rostand, is published in this bulletin. It will be published in the coming issues.

The organization was able to attract such eminent painters as Fernand Léger, Raoul Dufy, and Maurice Utrillo, who are recently dead, and it contains a portrait of a large number of talented artists.—*News from France*, 16th June, 1956



Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, who passed away at Calcutta on August 7, 1956



Dr. Radhakrishnan being conducted round the library of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences at Prague



ARRIVAL OF THE MOTHER
By Mahitosh Biswas

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

Law and Order

The Central Government seems to have been much exercised by the outbreak of hooliganism over the publication of a book on religious leaders. It seems to have woken up to the fact that, due to some lacunae in law, it seems impossible to bring the recalcitrant to order or to control the outbreak of mob-violence. It is further discovered that due to the wonderful arrangements of the External Affairs Ministry, the illegal influx and overstay of undesirable aliens cannot be dealt with.

What the Central Government seems to have failed to understand that in the curious conglomeration of legalistic junk which we call our Constitution, there is no provision whatsoever to safeguard either the country against traitors, fifth-columnists and foreign enemies, or its nationals against the disruptive action of anti-social elements.

The situation has been further-aggravated by the highly legalistic attitude of both the administration and the executive on the one hand and the judiciary on the other. Excessive emphasis has been put on the rights of individuals and collective groups, like labour unions, without any reference whatsoever to their individual or collective obligations to society. As a result we find the paradox of the law helping the wrong-doer and the corrupt at every step, without affording any protection to the honest individual or to society at large.

The direct outcome of this curious state of affairs has been a total perversion of all ethical considerations. It is no exaggeration to

state, categorically, that today to be honest is a sin and a mark of mental depravity. For only the law-breaker, the law-evader and corrupt flourish, whereas the honest are ground down from all sides.

Labour unions do not give a hoot, either for the law or for the rights of society. They care only for themselves, without any consideration of the sufferings they may cause to millions. And they never suffer a defeat seemingly.

The corrupt official flourishes, thanks to the ignorance, inefficiency, and sometimes crass incompetence, of the ministers and high officials in charge. The income-tax evader goes about, flaunting his wealth, with impunity, whereas the honest tax-payer has to meet increasing demands of taxes, direct and indirect, till his vitality is at an end, or till his moral outlook gets perverted—and thereby adjusted to the working of the Welfare State.

The First Five-Year Plan is over. Has any honest individual—excepting the few that might be amongst the myriads of the Congress clacquers—gained any relief?

We have been writing in these columns about the rapid degeneration of our peoples due to the total perversion of moral values and the consequent cynical outlook on life. The root cause is the rampant corruption and degradation of the Congressmen. A country cannot be set on the path to real progress by mere agglomeration of iron, steel and cement. This is what Pandit Nehru fails to understand.

Administrative Reform

Dr. Paul Appleby's Report on administrative reform has evoked much interest from those who support it and those who are against it. Anyway, it makes stimulating suggestions which are bound to be controversial. Dr. Appleby is a noted American authority on administration and he was invited by the Government of India some time ago to study the problems of Indian administration and suggest means for improvement thereon. Dr. Appleby's report should be viewed against the acknowledged glaring pitfall of democracy—the red-tapism. As against the swift moving hierarchy of a Totalitarian administration, Democracy is very slow to move, particularly in the face of national emergency. President Hoover's indecision in 1933 in the face of ever-widening national economic crisis is the classic example of democracy's inaction and slowness. Since the 30s, democracy has been passing through a decadence and it is only after the Second World War that there is coming a resurgence in the wake of planned economies.

The nineteenth century pattern of democracy and a modern Welfare State are fast becoming incompatible, particularly with reference to the administrative machinery. A democracy is hedged with many procedures and tethered within the grooves of checks and controls. Until nearly fifty years ago, the State had all rights, and practically no duty. Now the State is coming in progressively in a wider scale into the diverse aspects of the life of the people. Naturally, the State's administrative machinery requires to be overhauled in the context of changing events.

Dr. Appleby's report puts primary emphasis on accelerating the pace of the administration. He is after breaking down the barriers of democratic administration that create hurdles in the progress. He finds that a particular decision of the Government has to pass through various checking authorities before it can be put into action. It is reviewed "by too many persons in too many organs of the Government in too detailed, too repetitive and too negative terms." He points out that "by a curious proliferation of the conceptions of parliamentary responsibility and cabinet responsibility and by reliance on excessive procedures of cross reference, there has been built an extra-

ordinary evasion of individual responsibility and a system whereby everybody is responsible for everything before anything is done." He asserts that every process of review is unbelievably petty and frustrating. Under the present procedure of scrutinising a plan by the Finance Ministry, Dr. Appleby rightly observes that a well-thought out plan may be scotched by a stroke of pen by an assistant of the Finance Ministry who may not have proper mental equipment to appreciate the real implications of the plan. Over such a delay, Dr. Appleby remarks that it is "particularly tragic, when it is based only on trivialities or downright ignorance."

Although most of the Ministers are not in favour of Appleby's suggestions, Pandit Nehru seems to have correct evaluation of the suggestions made by the eminent authority during the debate of the Report in the Indian Parliament. On 12th September, in the Rajya Sabha, Pandit Nehru rather defended the report when he said that a high Soviet leader had told him that India was making the same mistake as Russia had originally made of being too careful. Soviet officials were now being given much wider discretion so that they could get things done, the leader told the Prime Minister of India. Pandit Nehru is in favour of setting up an organization to make a regular audit of achievements. This, he explained, would keep a check on how much was being achieved rather than the amount of money being spent. Pandit Nehru thinks that since such an organization would have to evaluate scientific and technological achievements, it would have to be entrusted to specialists rather than the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

As a measure of lessening delay between decision and execution, Dr. Appleby suggests to limit the functions of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The execution of any plan has to cross two hurdles; firstly, the Finance Ministry and secondly, the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The scrutiny by the Comptroller and Auditor-General causes unnecessary delay in the execution of the plan and he is greatly responsible for inaction of the administrative departments. In the opinion of Dr. Appleby, the function of the Comptroller and Auditor-General is not really a very

important one. Auditors are not administrators and as such they know little or nothing about the needs and problems of administration. He says that auditing is a necessary but highly pedestrian function with a narrow perspective and very limited usefulness. Dr. Appleby remarks that a Deputy Secretary is better acquainted with the problem in his Ministry than what the entire staff of the Comptroller and Auditor-General can discern by auditing. He maintains that many of the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General are mere "substitutions of hind-sight for the kind of judgment possible and necessary and proper at the time of action and too many merely raise questions that are really questions of difference of judgment." The members of the Parliament have been indicted by Dr. Appleby for their exaggerated reliance on the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and that "increases the timidity of public servants at all levels, making them unwilling to take responsibility for decisions, forcing decisions to be made by a slow and cumbersome process of reference and counter-reference in which everybody finally shares dimly in the making of every decision, but not enough is got done, and what gets done is too slowly."

Obviously what Dr. Appleby says has some degree of truth and it is the universal drawback of democracy. But we should also take into consideration of the other side of the picture. In reply to Dr. Appleby's observations, Mr. A. K. Chanda, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, states that "Dr. Appleby seems allergic to audit which he describes as a highly pedestrian function with a narrow perspective and very limited usefulness. This attitude of mind has obviously coloured his observations on the Indian audit organization. I should have thought that any expert invited to report on a problem must inevitably examine in detail, undertaking a study of all relevant material. Dr. Appleby has, however, formulated his proposals without an examination and study of the structure, relevant procedural, technical and other rules and regulations of the Audit department. He did not consider it even necessary to have any discussion with those in charge of the organization. His report has thus become a reflec-

tion of his prejudices rather than an objective appreciation based on a careful study."

With regard to Dr. Appleby's observations that "the function of the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India is in a large measure an inheritance from colonial rule," Mr. Chanda said: "I do not know the historical basis for such an observation. I do not know of any colonial system which had or has an analogous post, independent of the executive with freedom to criticize administrative lapses. The conception of such a post runs counter to that of a colonial or autocratic system." Mr. Chanda further said that any student of constitutional history would be aware that this post was an essential one in a democratic form of Government as its functions were so defined as to secure public accountability of the administration. In the USA, the Comptroller-General's audit covered banking and insurance institutions and other corporations in which the Government had any financial interest, even when it was not a majority. The US Comptroller-General has also been given powers to issue surcharges against corporations and individual officers to effect recovery of expenditure which in his opinion is illegal. The powers of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of the United Kingdom, as defined in the Exchequer and Audit Act, are not also different from the present powers of his counterpart in India, except that they are more comprehensively defined.

In our view there is scope for securing a golden mean between these two extreme views. Admittedly, the Auditor-General's auditing is a useful machinery in controlling illegal public expenditures and it provides the Parliament with a weapon to control the vagaries of administrative expenditures not authorised by it. But it is also imperative that some liberty should be given to the administrative staff in the matter of executing important and urgent decisions. In this respect, shackles of auditing calls for liberalisation so as to impart greater initiative and dash to the executive. What is, therefore, desirable in the circumstances is that executive officers may be empowered to undertake expenditures in urgent and important cases without the prior sanction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General; but there must be auditing of the expenditure so under-

taken and the officer will be held responsible for illegal expenditures; and as in the USA, the officer concerned shall be liable to surcharges for reimbursement of Government funds illegally expended.

In recent years the volume of public expenditure has immensely increased and there should be some change in the way of sanctioning expenditures. In the First Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 57 crores was spent in the public sector; during the Second Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 569 crores would be spent in the public sector and this is a ten-fold increase over the First Five-Year Plan. The administrative staff needs must be given some initiative in executing plans, but they will be held responsible for illegal expenditure. To wait in the queue for all and sundry expenditures before the Auditor-General is to convert the exalted officer into a supra-executive which is not contemplated in our Constitution. But his authority of auditing must be *ex post facto* and thereby control of public expenditure in this country will be achieved and the Parliament will also retain its power to control.

One thing should, however, be stressed in this connection. The Parliament should not be peevish nor should it create a scene over a stray case of default or failure to perform a duty. An entire department should not be castigated for the fault of an individual member of the staff, nor an entire scheme need be denounced if some part thereof prove to be defective. This is not intended, however, to limit the sovereignty of the Parliament over the entire range of our administration. But for the sake of public interest, the Parliament should impose upon itself some voluntary restrictions on its power of scrutiny and supervision of public administration. The responsibilities of the executive in a Welfare State tend to be pyramided on a hierarchical basis and overall performance is to be looked after, ignoring stray pitfalls as administrative aberrations.

Dr. Appleby's other suggestions for administrative reforms include greater autonomy for State-owned enterprises, development of *intra-Ministerial* financial competence in the programme agencies and transfer of the accounting functions to the Ministries subject to the general direction of the Finance Ministry. Under the present practice, spending departments must

obtain prior sanction of the Finance Ministry for every individual item of expenditure, although such an item might be within the total sum approved to the Finance Ministry by the Parliament. Dr. Appleby says: "If the Ministry of Finance previously has decided broadly how much of the Government's limited funds can be made available for a particular programme, it should have little further special role in the specific allotments of funds to various parts of that programme. Such allotments are related to the question of how to achieve the programmatic object within the financial limitations already established. For this the programmatic agency has superior judgment. Only when the agency is given wide discretion in the deployment of those already predetermined funds can it be held accountable for results. Financial control will be ample in the basic determination of the amount by holding the agency more rigidly than now to that first determination. If the agency decides that something not planned for in its original budget is more important to the programme than something that was provided for, let it shift the funds earlier provided to the new activity. Much more will be saved by forcing agencies to re-examine their own priorities in this way than is saved under the present method, programmatic responsibility will be heightened and action will be expedited."

It will be recalled that sometime ago the present Comptroller and Auditor-General of India made similar suggestions against which the former Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, raised objections and even threatened resignation. Sometime ago it was reported in the Press that the authorities were moving in the direction as was suggested by the Auditor-General. The Government is now setting up a financial adviser in each Ministry who will represent the Finance Ministry.

Finally, before we conclude, we must say that modern administrative problems are enormous in their magnitude and a few piecemeal patchwork in administrative machinery will not cure the malady. It is not merely the question of machinery; it is also the question of personnel, from the Minister down to the clerk. Efficient personnel is all the more important. Democracy is a government by the mediocre people and the recent performance of many of

the Ministers will vouchsafe that. What is required is better selection of personnel in all administrative strata, and the Parliaments.

Economies of the Suez Politics

Now that the Suez problem has become an international issue, it is proper to have a resume of the economic importance of the Canal. The Canal was officially opened on 17th November, 1869. It connects the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and is the largest man-made canal. It is 101 miles in length as against 50 miles of the Panama Canal which is the second largest artificial waterway. In 1869, the Canal was 177 feet wide and 26 feet deep; in recent years much improvements have been done in order to ensure passage of large vessels and for that purpose excavation work was done in 1953. Now the Canal is 510 feet wide and 46 feet deep. The following table will indicate the position of the Suez *vis-a-vis* the Cape in trade between Asia and Europe:

	SEA ROUTES		Round trip (days)	
	Miles via Suez	Miles round Cape	Suez	Cape
London to—				
Persian Gulf	6,400	11,300	37	65
Mombasa	6,014	8,675	30	43
Bombay	6,260	10,720	31	54
Calcutta	7,933	11,450	40	57
Colombo	6,702	10,350	34	52
Singapore	8,240	11,575	41	58
Penang, Malaya	7,950	11,285	40	56
Sydney	11,630	12,450	58	62
Wellington, N.Z.	12,650	13,250	63	66
Hong Kong	9,680	13,015	48	65
Netherlands to—				
Indonesia	8,502	11,150	43	56

The Suez route saves much time, as for example, the distance between London and Bombay *via* the Suez is 4,460 miles less than that of the route between the Cape of Good Hope. In 1955, nearly 116 million net tons of cargo moved across the Canal and on an average it comes to about 120 million metric tons a year. About 50 ships pass through the Canal every day. In recent years the volume of cargo sailing through the Canal has been on the increase and today the cargo is four times larger over that in 1938 and twice as much as in 1948.

The Suez Canal is the artery of trade between Asia and Europe, particularly that of Britain. A large volume of strategic materials passes through the Canal, including raw mate-

rials, fuels, manufactured goods, oil and oil products, the last two forming the largest proportion of cargoes. In 1955, the share of oil and oil products passing through the Canal was 65 per cent of the total volume of cargoes, the remainder of the cargoes consisted of raw materials and finished goods. Ores, metals, cereals, oil-seeds and oils, fibres, and rubber move from Asia and the East to West and from the West to East come manufactured goods, plant, machinery, food-grains, cement, fertilisers and certain raw materials in which the East is deficient. Of the total trade done through the Canal in 1955, about 11 per cent of the total was the export and import trade of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma; 14 per cent to and from Malaya, Indonesia and the Far East; and 7 per cent to and from East Africa. The share of the American trade through the Suez is not very appreciable, being only one-eighth. But Europe, as the Western origin or destination, accounts for 85 per cent of the Suez Canal traffic.

Among the individual countries, Britain's trade is the heaviest through the Suez. Raw materials, oil and finished goods for Britain are brought through the Suez. Nearly one quarter of Britain's imports and exports are with the countries to which the Suez Canal is the speediest and the most economic route. In 1955, 67 million tons of oil moved across the Canal and of this Britain's share was 21 million tons. Through the Suez Canal, Britain imports rubber from Malaya; wheat, meat and wool from Australia; cotton, chrome, etc., from East Africa; tea, jute goods, cotton and cotton goods, manganese, hides and skins from India; raw jute from Pakistan, and oils from Ceylon. The nationalization of the Canal has, therefore, vitally affected Britain's foreign trade and with regard to her import of strategic raw materials, particularly oil, she stands to suffer.

The movement of the Middle East oil and oil products and the Suez Canal are the part and parcel of the same strategic importance. About 66½ per cent of the proved oil resources of the world is located in the Middle East and it will not be an easy job to replace the Middle East as a source of oil. The alternative route of oil transport will be too costly for European countries. A proposal is being mooted to build another canal, linking Gulf of Aqaba to the

Mediterranean via Israel. But that will involve a large capital expenditure. In 1955, 145 million tons of Middle East oil were exported. Of this volume, 67 million tons passed through the Canal to the West and 40 million tons through the pipe lines from Iraq and Arabia to the Mediterranean. Of the remainder, 22 million tons moved to the East of Suez, 10 million tons to East and South Africa and 5 million tons to Australia. Western Europe consumes nearly 120 million tons of crude oil per annum. Three-fourths of this volume are imported from the Middle East and about half of it passes through the Canal. In 1955, 21 million tons of crude oil, representing 75 per cent of Britain's requirements, were imported through the Suez. Oil constitutes 17 per cent of the total energy requirements of Europe and the corresponding figure for Britain alone being 15.

The Suez Canal, apart from its strategic importance, is also economically vital to Egypt. The region across which the Canal now passes was virtually an arid desert, with a fringe of swamp at the Mediterranean end. Today the Canal region has brought prosperity to Egypt, with cultivated land, modern well-planned towns and good road and rail communications. The Canal is a source of employment to thousands of Egyptians, some of whom get a very lucrative income. Both to Egypt and to the Middle East countries, the Canal is economically and strategically a vital route. Without the passage of the Middle East oil across the Canal, it would be economically unprofitable. The traffic of the Middle East oil is essential for the upkeep of the Canal and for that, the goodwill and support of the Western nations are also needed. Unless the Western nations continue to import the Middle East oil, the Canal would lose much of its present revenue earnings. "Egypt has the Canal, but no ships to use it, no capital and technical know-how to develop it. Similarly, the Arab countries have oil, but not the wherewithal to drill, refine and ship it. The European countries have ships, skill and capital but not the oil which they badly need and the shortest route to Asia and the East with which their economy is closely tied." As regards India's interest in the Canal, it may be stated that 67 per cent of India's exports and 72 per cent of the imports pass through the Canal.

Suez Developments

The first London conference on the issues arising out of the nationalisation of the Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez by the Egyptian Government on July 26, 1956, had concluded with an open division among the twenty-two participating nations. The majority (18 nations) backed the Western proposal put forward by John Foster Dulles of the USA for the international management of the Canal, knowing fully well that such a proposal would not be acceptable to Egypt. In contrast the Indian proposal (supported by Ceylon, Indonesia and the USSR), Egypt's willingness to discuss on the basis of which was made known soon, however, failed to make any impression on the threatening obstinacy of the Anglo-French politicians. According to the majority decision, a five-nation committee (composed of Australia, Ethiopia, Iran, Sweden and the USA) under the chairmanship of Robert Gordon Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, was deputed to present the Western point of view to President Nasser of Egypt whose willingness to meet the committee was made known on August 27.

The Menzies Mission arrived in Cairo (which was finally selected as the venue of the talks as President Nasser did not accept the other suggestion of a meeting at Geneva) on September 2. It held extended conference with President Nasser from September 3 until the 9th. The failure of the Menzies Mission, a foregone conclusion in view of the expressed Egyptian disapproval of the Dulles plan even as a basis for any discussion, was finally announced on September 10 when the Mission left Cairo.

The meeting between the Menzies Mission and President Nasser opened with the presentation of a memorandum by the former to the latter. After the Egyptian rejection of the Dulles plan the Menzies Mission drew the attention of Egypt to the Spanish proposal recommending international participation on the present Egyptian body administering the Canal (as contrasted with the Western proposal for Egypt to be represented in an International Board to administer the Canal).

President Nasser in his letter to Mr. Menzies said: "We find ourselves in agreement

with the eighteen countries when they state that the solution (of the Suez Canal question) must

- "(a) Respect the sovereign right of Egypt;
- "(b) Safeguard the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal in accordance with the Suez Canal convention of October 29, 1888;
- "(c) Respect Egypt's right of ownership;
- "(d) Ensure the efficient and dependable operation, maintenance and development of the Canal.

"When, however, we come to consider the ways and means proposed by the committee to attack these objectives," President Nasser said, "we find that they are self-defeating and that they lead to opposite result than those aimed at."

The "definite system" of guaranteeing freedom of navigation through the Canal, as proposed by the Menzies Committee on the basis of the 18-nation resolution, President Nasser said, "is bound to be considered and treated by the people of Egypt as the hostile infringing upon their rights and their sovereignty, all of which precludes real co-operation."

Referring to the question of freedom of navigation through the Canal, President Nasser said, "Was it not, indeed, the Government of Egypt who safeguarded, and still safeguards, that freedom of passage? Would this freedom be, or could its actual practice be, safeguarded by the proposed Suez Canal Board?"

President Nasser further said: "Strangely enough, those who pose as protagonists of 'insulating' the Suez Canal from politics have been the authors of many acts which diametrically contradict this announced purpose."

"What is the 'internationalisation' of the Suez Canal, the convening of the London conference on the Suez Canal within the most particularly selected invitees, the delegating of the five-member committee, the threats, the deployment of the armed forces and the economic measures—what are all these, if not politics?"

The "real insulation of the Canal from politics," President Nasser said, "would be best guaranteed by a solemn and internationally binding commitment in the form of a reaffir-

mation or a renewal of the 1888 convention, either of which, as we have already declared is acceptable to us."

Turning to the question of international confidence in the future of the Canal, President Nasser pointed out that "confidence is a two-way proposition and that, while the confidence of other nations is important, that of the Egyptian people is at least of equal importance in this respect."

President Nasser reiterated Egyptian willingness to do everything possible to keep the Canal open to the ships of all nations at all times and to provide adequate finances to ensure the efficient upkeep and development of the Canal. To do so was also in the self-interest of Egypt; and she was also ready to "enter into a binding arrangement concerning the establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges."

Summing up the Egyptian stand President Nasser said that his Government's policy "remains to be:

- "(a) The freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and its secure use without discrimination;
- "(b) The development of the Suez Canal to meet the future requirements of navigation;
- "(c) The establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges; and
- "(d) Technical efficiency of the Suez Canal."

For a satisfactory solution for questions relating to the above-mentioned points the Egyptian Government proposed on September 10 in a memorandum to the UN Secy.-General, for the formation of a negotiating body representative of the different views held among the Suez Canal users. The Egyptian Government further urged for discussions to settle the composition, the venue and the date of the meeting of such a body. To that body might also be entrusted the task of reviewing the Constantinople convention of 1888, the memorandum said.

The failure of the Menzies Mission came as a surprise to none. Reporting from London, Thomas P. Ronan wrote in the *New York Times* of September 10 that the abortive conclusion of Cairo talks "came as no surprise to British officials." Yet this was made an occasion of a

renewed sabre-rattling against Egypt. The proposal put forward by Egypt on September 10 was totally disregarded. In a joint statement issued in London on September 11, Premiers Guy Mollet of France and Sir Anthony Eden of Britain said that the failure of the Cairo talks had engendered a "very grave situation," and that "full agreement" had been reached between them about the future measures to be taken. Simultaneously the former Suez Canal Company at Paris Headquarters announced its direction to its non-Egyptian employees to stop work from the 14-15 September. Reporting on the decisions arrived at in the talks between the two European Premiers, Kenneth Love wrote in the *New York Times*: "The two countries would take all action short of war, with emphasis on economic measures, to break unfettered control of the Canal by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. This long-term goal was regarded as more important than keeping the Canal operating efficiently in the immediate future."

"Military forces would be kept ready to act in the event of an Egyptian provocation."

"Entanglement in the United Nations would be avoided, if possible, but respectful gestures would be made toward the world organization."

Substantial confirmation of the report came the day after (September 12) in the British Premier's announcements in the Parliament, which was called back from summer recess to debate the Suez developments. Sir Anthony said that the Western Big Three—USA, UK and France—had decided on setting up provisionally a Suez Canal "Users' Association" (SCUA) which would undertake responsibility for traffic through the Suez Canal. The broad outline of the proposed Association given by Sir Anthony indicated that besides the three Western Powers other users of the Canal would be invited to join it. "The Users' Association will employ pilots, will undertake responsibility for co-ordination of traffic through the Canal and in general will act as a voluntary association for the exercise of the rights of the Suez Canal users," he said. The Egyptian Government, who would receive appropriate payment from the association in respect of the facilities provided by them, would be asked to co-operate with the association. "But I must make it

clear," Sir Anthony said, "that if the Egyptian Government should seek to interfere with the operation of the association or refuse to extend to it the essential minimum of co-operation then that Government will once more be in breach of the convention of 1888."

Sir Anthony added: "I must remind the House that what I am saying is the result of exchanges of views between three Governments." He said the three Governments would take such further steps "as seem to be required either through the United Nations or by other means, for the assertion of their rights." A reference to the United Nations was not outside the range of possibility and the President of the Security Council had already been informed of the situation jointly by UK and France, he added. The Prime Minister said that Britain had no intention of relaxing her military precautions. "If military precautions were justified a month ago, they are justified today."

The British Government's announcement caused widespread surprise and doubt even amongst its own supporters. It was rightly looked upon as completely unrealistic or only a provocation against Egypt for military intervention.

The origin of the Canal Users' plan was traced to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles. Yet Mr. Dulles himself was reportedly "irritated over the way Prime Minister Eden presented the plan in London," writes Homer Bigart, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*. In a Press conference in Washington on September 13, Secretary of State Dulles said that the formation of the Users' Association had been decided upon on three things: (1) The users had rights under the 1888 Treaty; (2) Those rights could not legally be nullified by unilateral Egyptian action; and (3) Co-operation among users was normal in times when they are jointly in jeopardy. Mr. Dulles said that though the USA would join the Association, in the event of Egyptian opposition USA would not try to "shoot its way through the Canal" and would rather detour its shipping around Africa, the Cape of Good Hope. It was neither her purpose "to try to bring about a concerted boycotting of the Canal."

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on September 12, Prime Minister Nehru said that Sir Anthony's speech in Parliament "seems to say

the least, surprising and the consequences that may flow from it may well be grave."

"One thing is clear," Shri Nehru said, "the action proposed (formation of the Users' Association) is not the result of agreement, co-operation or consent but is to be taken unilaterally and thus is in the nature of an imposed action. The Government of India deeply regrets the development which is very unusual and which will render peaceful settlement more difficult of realization. It is not calculated to ensure to the users peaceful and secure use of the Canal." He appealed to the USA and the UK to take the path of peaceful settlement of the problem through negotiation—a way for such negotiated settlement has been provided in the Egyptian Government's reply to the Menzies Mission, he added.

A second London conference, attended by the representatives of the eighteen States who had supported Western Dulles Plan during the August London conference, was called on September 19 to consider the establishment of a provisional Suez Canal Users' Association. The conference lasting three days concluded on September 21. During the conference wide differences of opinion within the participating nations about various measures came to the fore. At the end of the conference the eighteen nations agreed to put to their Governments a plan for setting up a Users' Association. Much of the edge of the original proposal was lost when the conference decided that payment of dues to the Users' Association would not be compulsory for the users of the Canal.

Meanwhile on September 23, the British and the French Governments lodged a formal complaint with the Security Council against Egyptian action. Egypt also lodged a protest against Britain and France on September 24. The Security Council decided to discuss both the complaints which would be taken up by the Council on October 5 for regular discussion. Thus the Suez issue which threatened immediate war now seems to be destined to be solved through discussion and negotiation.

The Suez Canal Users' Association formally came into being on October 1, 1956, with unreserved participation of fifteen countries.

World Conference on Atomic Energy

Representatives of eighty-one nations—the largest number of nations ever to attend an

international meeting—were currently discussing the draft statute of the proposed international "atoms for peace" agency. Participants in the conference included all the seventy-six members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The draft statute for the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency, drawn up with the participation of twelve countries including India, USA, UK, USSR, France, Canada and Australia, said that the agency "shall seek to accelerate and enlarge contribution of atomic energy to the peace, health and prosperity of the world." To that end the agency would be authorized to provide "materials, services, equipment and facilities to meet the need for research on, and development and practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, including the production of electric power, with due consideration for the needs of the underdeveloped areas . . ."

The scrappy reports appearing in Indian newspapers on the proceedings of the conference, being held in Washington since September 20, seem to suggest a wide difference of outlook among the different Powers over the scope of the proposed agency. The Indian point of view was presented by Dr. Homi J. Bhaba, who said that the various safeguards proposed to be included in the statute would divide the world into atomic "haves" and "have-nots."

Criticising the draft statute, Dr. Bhaba said that it gave the agency power to interfere in the economic life of States which came to it for aid, "though a control over the fissionable material required their future electric power generation. It, therefore, constitutes a threat to their independence which will be greater in proportion to the extent that this atomic power generation is developed through agency aid."

Dr. Bhaba pointed out that the safeguards would not affect the countries already ahead in the development of atomic energy and atomic weapons. The safeguards would hit hardest the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "The present safeguards will give the agency maximum powers of interference in such areas," he said.

Further, many technically advanced States might find it convenient to take aid from the agency fulfilling all the conditions to start atomic projects with a view to utilise the experience thus gained in running parallel pro-

grammes of their own which would be outside the agency's supervision.

In an editorial article on September 26, the *Hitavada* deplores the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the international conference on atomic energy—especially as non-members of the UN also were invited to join. The fact that the efforts of two of the sponsoring powers—India and the USSR—were ineffective in securing China's representation in the conference, indicated the "dominating position of the Western Powers," the *Hitavada* notes.

The *Hitavada* writes: "India has had an uphill task in seeing that the statute does not give the Big Powers a preponderant position in the Board of Governors. Had the original plan been adopted the Afro-Asian representation on the Board would have been negligible. Under the new arrangement the Afro-Asians will get 6 or 7 seats out of a total of 23. This is an improvement on the representation originally proposed, but even this is not satisfactory considering the fact that the Agency is being set up to benefit the under-developed countries which are mostly to be found in Africa and Asia. By denying adequate representation to the densely populated Afro-Asian countries, the more advanced countries of the West have arranged to keep the control of the agency in their hands. It is to be hoped that during the current discussions an attempt will be made to further modify the draft statute so that the under-developed countries will be adequately represented on the Governing Body."

The newspaper emphasizes the need for ensuring the sovereign equality of nations in the proposed Agency's Charter and to see that no Big Power could gain predominance in the Agency. It says:

"We can understand the need for reasonable safeguards in the matter of atomic development, but if these safeguards are unduly severe and far-reaching they will hamper rather than assist the under-developed countries in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Atomic Energy Agency is being set up to benefit the less developed countries; hence any assistance which these countries receive from the Agency in the shape of materials and services, should be on liberal terms and not

hedged in with irksome safeguards and conditions."

Gold Coast to be Independent

The Gold Coast would be granted independence within the Commonwealth on March 6, 1957, the British Colonial Office announced in London on September 18. This proposal of the British Government now awaits statutory ratification by the Parliament which may not be long delayed. The new member of the Commonwealth will be known as Ghana.

At the suggestion of the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lenox Boyd, who had said in May last that the British Government would be willing to consider a proposal for granting independence to the Gold Coast if such a motion were approved by freshly elected legislature "by a reasonable majority," elections were held there in July in which the ruling Convention People's Party, led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, which favoured immediate independence, gained 72 of the 104 seats in the country's single-chamber legislature. The newly-elected legislature approved of a motion calling for immediate independence on August 3 by 72 votes to none, all Opposition members boycotting that session as a protest against the Government's decision to introduce the motion for independence before the future constitution of the country had been decided upon.

The British Government has, as is evidenced by its latest announcement, however, accepted that the majority for the independence motion was "reasonable" and has promised early action.

According to British Government pronouncements, the trust territory of Togoland adjoining the Gold Coast would also be transferred to the new State Ghana if the United Nations' General Assembly endorsed the resolution passed by the UN Trusteeship Council in July, 1956, noting that the will of the majority of the inhabitants of the Togoland was for union with an independent Gold Coast and recommending that steps be taken for the trusteeship agreement to be terminated on the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast.

In a message of congratulation to the Prime Minister of Gold Coast, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on the occasion of the forthcoming independence of the country, Shri Jawaharlal

Nehru, Prime Minister of India, said that it "is an event of great significance in the history of Africa, the Commonwealth and the world."

While the British Government deserves praise for taking this bold step in the case of Gold Coast it is impossible in this context to forget that Malaya and Singapore are yet to get a fair treatment from them. It is to be fervently hoped that the British Government would be able to see reason in their cases also until it is too late.

Indians in American Eyes

Dr. W. S. Woytinsky, one of the leading experts on world economy, recently had undertaken a journey to India in the course of his nine-month Asian tour. After his return to the USA he has summarised his experiences in India in a series of four articles in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*.

India, which was passing through a state of political, economic, social and cultural revolution, presented itself as the "most confusing spot in the scene of Asian turmoil" to the Western observer, Dr. Woytinsky notes. In the 17th century the country had been far ahead of the West in wealth and artistic skills. Two centuries later it was now of the poorest countries of the world.

The present-day India struck this leading economist by its great contrast of wealth and poverty. Indeed, Dr. Woytinsky says, "There are, however, few places in the world where poverty of the masses is combined with such an ostentatious display of wealth." He was also impressed by the striking contrast in the Indian scene between what he describes as "the illiteracy of the masses and a brilliant intelligentsia." He says, "The intelligentsia is the ruling class in modern India. The proportion of scholars and thinkers in the upper layer of its bureaucracy is probably higher than among professional politicians in other more developed nations."

Dr. Woytinsky's views about India's position *vis-a-vis* the ideological clash between the West and the Soviet Union are expressed in the following words: ". . . Indians are far from being neutral in this historical clash of ideas of our time. They have rejected the Communist idea of progress through violence and dictatorship and have chosen the road of

evolution followed by the free Western nations." He says that the events accompanying the reorganisation of States within India were "the best evidence of the democratic nature of this state"—since no decision was being imposed by force all disputes were being settled in a democratic way, by persuasion.

"Another characteristic feature of modern India was the state of nationalist ferment. 'Indian nationalism, however, is free from blind hatred of foreigners,' Dr. Woytinsky notes. While, according to him, Indian newspapers were not always fair to the United States, and some had even 'specialized in America-baiting as an expression of nationalism,' during his stay in India Dr. Woytinsky 'met no sign of hostility or suspicion of us as Americans'."

The nationalism of Indian intellectuals was reflected in their "unrealistic appraisal of the role of their country in world affairs" and in their sensitivity to the lack of respect for their country on the part of foreigners. "Its clash with Pakistan appears to them far more important than unification of Germany or the conquest of eight East European countries by the USSR after World War II. Indeed, Kashmir is for them not only the central issue of their country's foreign policy, but also one of the main problems of Asian policy. May be India's attitude towards regional military alliances, SEATO, the United States, and the USSR would have been different if its liberation had not been followed by the clash with Pakistan," Dr. Woytinsky writes.

With all deference to his views we must point out that Dr. Woytinsky is seriously mistaken in his appraisal of India's foreign policy and the sentiments behind it. The fact that even the unequivocal support of the USSR to India's stand over Kashmir has not induced India to join the Soviet orbit (Dr. Woytinsky himself notes: "Nehru leads India in *our* direction, and is among the outstanding champions of the free world") should have been deemed by an acute observer of Dr. Woytinsky's standing to provide sufficient clue to a proper and more balanced appraisal of India's position in world politics than the learned economist has provided. No country's foreign policy is devoid of self-interest. So, while it would be naive to deny India's interest in the manner in which the Kashmir question is

looked upon by the Powers—an interest openly proclaimed by India—it would in no way be correct to conclude that India's expressed concern for world peace has its roots no deeper than in a narrow self-interest. Equally unacceptable are his remarks that Nehru's neutralism was an attempt to play the West and the USSR one against the other "in pursuit of his own nationalist policy." Indeed, the learned economist here contradicts himself as would be evident from his remark quoted earlier in this very paragraph. Again it is difficult to agree with Dr. Woytinsky when he says that words meant for Indian intellectuals "more than the substance of the problem." If this be true of the Indian intellectuals it is equally true of the intellectuals of every other country in the world—and to the same extent. Is it not a mere jugglery with words to put SEATO as a "Defence" organisation? Yet many of the Western intellectuals, including Americans, are doing so. There is no point in making this weakness appear as a specific Indian phenomenon.

Religion and Fanaticism

Strange are the ways of Muslims who are of this sub-continent! Otherwise how one is to account for the orgy of hooliganism displayed by a section of the Muslims of India and Pakistan over the reprint of an American book in India?

The facts are as follows: The Bharatiya Vidya Bhaban recently brought out an Indian reprint of a book entitled *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders* written by two Americans and originally published in America fifteen years ago. Though the book has been in circulation throughout the world for fifteen years no Muslim of any description considered it necessary to protest against the contents of the book. However, soon after the publication of the Indian reprint it dawned upon an ingenious Kanpur editor that there was a Hindu (Indian) conspiracy to throttle Islam in India, and his hue and cry was in turn duly adopted by the rabidly communal section of the Indian Muslim leaders now turned Congressmen with the able and discreet support and encouragement of a highly selected batch of co-religionists across the border who were imported into the country in an apparently pre-

planned manner well in time to add fuel to the passionate fanaticism of the unfortunate and misguided Muslim masses.

Even then at the very first indication of Muslim indignation the publishers and the editor of the book apologised and withdrew the book from circulation. The book was proscribed in several States. Prime Minister Nehru condemned the book. Even the President of the Hindu Mahasabha condemned the derogatory remarks made against the Prophet (an attitude yet to be reciprocated by the Indian Muslims, by the way). One might have thought that there was then no case for any agitation of any kind over the matter. But how could that be? Would so much painstaking planning and expenditure then go in vain? Moreover, the Hindu Nehru was getting (at least in so far as Pakistan's record stood) a very very good audience among the Muslim countries of the Middle East. He was shortly to leave for talks with King Ibn Saud. Could there be any greater opportunity for the traitors and agent-provocateurs to prove their usefulness to their masters?

So, apology or not, Islam must be considered to be in peril in India against whom the support of the whole Muslim world has to be invoked. The result has been appalling indeed and quite reminiscent of the independence eve in Bengal when the life, liberty and honour of the Hindus were at the mercy of the Muslim League hooligans. People have been murdered and Hindu temples desecrated on Indian soil where a Hindu Raj is supposed to be conspiring to obliterate the Muslims. All this was done in the name of upholding Islam! As if this was not enough the Muslim students of Aligarh University publicly burnt an effigy of their Chancellor, Shri K. M. Munshi, whose sole "crime" lay in the fact that he happened to be one of the editors of the Vidya Bhabana. His unequivocal regret made several days earlier was not deemed to merit any consideration whatsoever. Some speakers in a Calcutta meeting wanted to have his head as well! Karachi Muslims went one step further and burnt the effigy of Nehru himself.

The strangest spectacle in the whole affair was the curious reluctance of the responsible Indian Muslim leaders in the registration of protest against the hooliganism of their co-

religionists. Whatever was said eventually came much later on when the movement had done all the mischief and had died down in India and had crossed the borders. So that it was left to the Muslim leaders of Pakistan to denounce the hooliganism of the Muslims in India and Pakistan in the name of religion. The great moral courage shown by Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani, himself a life-long devotee of Islam, and the responsible newspapers of Dacca in decrying the orgy of violence and loot indulged in by the Muslims, deserves the unstinted praise and genuine admiration of every peace-loving and democratic people, whatever may be his nationality or religion.

We would have been glad to be able to say as much of the official attitude in Pakistan. Though the promptness with which Dacca quelled the riotous Muslims must be commended it is difficult to see how the Pakistan Government could find the publication of a reprint of an American book in India an occasion for diplomatic representation. Such a protest becomes the least intelligible when considered against the fact that the publishers had already publicly apologised for having brought out the book and had withdrawn the book from circulation. Moreover, the Government of India had at no time had lent any support to the publication of the book. On the contrary, the Prime Minister got the first opportunity to condemn the book and its publishers. It is not understood what else the Government of India could do about it.

The Pakistan Central Government in its note to New Delhi asked the latter to take steps to ensure communal amity in India. As an abstraction such a sentiment is unexceptionable. But if the death of a few Muslims (in the regrettable disturbances which were the reaction to the original Muslim outrages on Hindu property and sentiments in India over the trifling affair of a reprint of a book,—which was severely condemned by all sections of public opinion and the Government in India—can by any stretch of imagination be utilized to invoke the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement of 1950 what one has to do with regard to the lootings of Hindu shops in Dacca and killing of Hindus in Chittagong and the enforced migration of Hindus from Pakistan. The Pakistan Government cannot be serious about its complaint though it has to do

it to keep the Opposition League at bay. But it is dangerous to be so playful.

We, on our part, never did, nor do condone the barbarism perpetrated either in the name of Hinduism or in the name of Islam. That has helped us only to the extent of making us a target of attack from the fanatics on either side. Yet it would be criminal naivete if one should fail to muster the courage to put the blame where it lay. In our desire to be conciliatory many of us had in the past had showed an inclination to turn away from facts. That did not get us to our goal of communal amity nor could it forestall the realisation of even such an unrealistic demand as that for the creation of Pakistan (that same slogan is now being sought to be raised in the Muslim League memorandum to the US Embassy in Karachi to press for the creation of yet another 'homeland' for the Indian Muslims). Escapism in any sphere of life is dangerous—it is thousand times more so in politics. The harrowing tales of the millions of refugees are a constant reminder of that fact.

The major share of the recent disturbances lay with the fanaticism of a section of the Indian Muslims. This fact must be recognised before any effective measure could be adopted to prevent the recrudescence of such events. But for some reason or other no political leader of any stature (except the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha) could muster the courage to say so. One obvious reason is the approaching elections when everyone expects to exploit the Muslim to further its power position.

In this connection one cannot but refer to the nefarious role of the Communists of India. True to their anti-national tradition when they had tried to pass off the subversive slogan of Pakistan as the Muslim's demand for self-determination, they are now repeating the treasonable slogan of "Islam in danger" in India. The utterly distorted fashion in which the party's weekly mouthpiece, *New Age*, has featured the incidents in Aligarh clearly demonstrates this.

Lastly, a word is due to Shri Munshi whose "able and conscientious" editorship of a responsible publishing house has landed us in the trouble. His behaviour has been, to use the mildest terms, utterly irresponsible, both in the manner of bringing out the book and in the

manner of tendering apology for that. On his own confession he had not gone through the book. Yet that did not deter him from writing an introduction to the Indian edition commending the book to the Indian public. Again, he had no hesitation in denouncing the book at the first indication of protest, this time also without taking the trouble to verify the justice of the criticism. Thus both in praise and criticism of the book Shri K. M. Munshi, who has a fair reputation as a historian, has given an example of an irresponsible conduct which it will be difficult to surpass.

Theft in Indian Secretariat

An employee of the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India and his wife were now facing trial on charges of having stolen the file containing the Indo-Egyptian correspondence over the Suez issue. According to the *Statesman's* Delhi office, the information had allegedly been sold to two foreign countries. The theft was detected on the eve of Shri Krishna Menon's departure for Cairo on September 16.

The employee concerned, Shadi Lal Kapur, made a confession to a New Delhi Magistrate on September 22 in which he had reportedly involved certain officers of the External Affairs Ministry as being part of an international spy ring.

It was further reported that the foreign agent, to whom the contents of the file had been communicated, had left the country; and that along with him had left two other foreign diplomats stationed in India.

In a statement on September 23, a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry denied the existence of any spy ring in India or the involvement therein of any officers of the Ministry. He categorically said that there was no truth in the report that two or three diplomats had suddenly left India.

The Ministry's promptness in countering speculative rumours is commendable. However, the real story still remains to be told since nobody in his senses would believe that the clerk had removed the Department's top-secret file at the moment of utmost urgency to have a chat over it with his wife and children. No ordinary man could be so much interested over the file. The inescapable conclusion is that

foreign agents, hostile to India, were at work in New Delhi, as possibly in all capitals with, perhaps, this difference that their efforts were now concentrated on the Indian capital for some reason or other, and the Indian Security Department had miserably failed in its duty to keep on to their track. Crores of rupees were being annually spent on the security forces, yet they could not forestall the enemy agents from pinching India's topmost secret.

The public has a right to know who were responsible for such a bungling.

Trade in Narcotics

A six-day All-India Narcotics Conference was held in Simla from September 24. In his presidential address Shri A. K. Ray, Secretary, Union Ministry of Finance (Revenue), said that following the resolution adopted by the All-India Narcotics Conference in 1949, measures would have to be taken for the eventual elimination of such narcotics as *ganja* and *bhang* in the same manner as had been done in the case of opium.

In this context the Report of the Permanent Central Opium Board on the legal trade in narcotics throughout the world in 1954 is of some interest. According to summary of the report published in the January-March, 1956, issue of the United Nations *Bulletin on Narcotics*:

"In 1952 and 1953, the licit production of opium had exceeded requirements and large stocks were piling up, mainly in the producing countries, so that at the end of 1953 the amount of opium available in those countries and in the morphine-manufacturing countries would have been enough to meet the world's licit requirements for two and a half years." Even a considerable reduction of licit production in 1954 could not reduce the stock of narcotics appreciably so that the stock at the end of 1954 was enough to meet the world requirements for two years without any production.

The *Bulletin* reports: "The Board continues to feel some concern with regard to available supplies of opium, by reason of the fact that Governments are not invariably able to ensure that all opium harvested is surrendered to them and their production figures accordingly represent only the quantities bought from producers by State monopolies. Positive evidence

that the Board's apprehension in this respect are well-founded has been provided this year by the disclosures in Iran," where out of an average annual production of 700-1200 tons of opium the State purchases accounted for only 140 tons a year from 1945 to 1954.

Referring to the danger from narcotics the *Statesman* points out in an editorial article on September 26 that narcotics control was necessarily an international affair. "Investigation has shown that gangs of international traffickers exist who shift their operations from country to country wherever Governments are lax or inefficient," the newspaper notes.

"Among the agencies of the UN, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs is one of the most successful. But here too, as with slavery, a single convention and a single International Narcotics Board which would take over the work of the Permanent Central Opium Control Board and the Drug Supervisory Body have not yet been possible. Nationally, India's contribution has been greatly satisfying and its policy of control of opium through governmental monopoly has been accepted as a model. Eventually, as Mr. Roy forecast, *ganja* and *bhang* must go the way of opium," the *Statesman* concludes.

Colliery Disaster at Asansol

About 40 persons were killed on September 27, when a roof of a coal-mine belonging to the Burra Dhemu colliery near Asansol caved in crushing persons working in it. About sixty men were at work in the mine when the disaster took place. Further details were not available at the time of writing.

The Burra Dhemu colliery, managed by a Calcutta firm, was not involved in the current strike in which about 40,000 workers belonging to 24 Raniganj coalfields had stopped work since September 17 demanding higher wages, re-introduction of the rationing system, payment of bonus, and distribution of free rice.

The frequency of accidents in Indian coal-mines in the recent years has given rise to great alarm. In December last year 65 persons lost their lives in an accident in the Newton Chikli colliery in Madhya Pradesh. In another accident in the Amliabad colliery, Jharia, in 1955, 51 persons were killed by an explosion. In February, 1955, nine persons died when a roof

caved in in the Model Dharmabad colliery, Jharia.

The Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government to investigate into the causes of accident in the Newton Chikhli colliery found gross dereliction of duty on the part of the management to provide safety measures in the mines. The committee also laid part of the blame on the shoulders of the inspection officers of the Government of India for their connivance with the management's omission and commission. After the publication of the Enquiry Report the Government of India was reported to be considering measures for prosecuting the guilty officials and coal-mine managers. But nothing appears to have been done. The latest mine disaster would seem to suggest that nothing was done to examine the safety measures in the coal-mines.

There is a Bengali saying that an intelligent man learns from other's experience, but a lesser man can learn only from his own experience. The repetition of the same pattern of accidents—in coal-mines, railways, roads, etc.—naturally leads one to the question: Is even the intelligence of the lesser man beyond the authorities in India?

Political Fasts

In an article in the September 12 issue of the weekly *Bhoodan*, Dada Dharmadhikari examines some of the fasts recently undertaken by different political leaders in India. The fasts had been variously commented upon and some, notably Dr. Rammonohar Lohia, had even questioned the use of the method of fast to get any particular grievance redressed in a democracy.

Discussing the compatibility of political fasts with democracy Shri Dharmadhikari writes that no serious objection could be raised against a purely self-purifying fast in which nobody else than the person undertaking the fast was involved. Self-purificatory fasts might also be undertaken in another way. When a person found that he could not convince others about his own point of view he might ascribe that inability to his own lack of moral stature and might resort to fasting to go through a process of self-sacrifice and thus to obtain the necessary moral authority to put through his own views. This second type of purifactory

fast, "it is well to remember," he writes, "is not open to all. Only those who have sincerely accepted non-violence as a faith and have renounced violence completely may have the right to undertake such a fast if they have a feeling of real affection for the people whom they are anxious to influence and if there is no desire to coerce."

Elucidating further Dada Dharmadhikari writes: "I would like to emphasise that fasting, even when it is in the pure non-violent way, has to be undertaken in very rare and extreme circumstances." Since fasting might be undertaken as a last resort in very rare circumstances it would not be correct to taboo fasting in a democratic India. But the light-hearted political fasts frequently resorted to with a view to irritating the opponents or making them look small had absolutely no justification.

All things considered, however, the recent fast of the Communist leader Shri A. K. Gopalan and the Bombay Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, had some special significance. The Communists had not yet had completely given up violence as a means for achieving their end. In such circumstances, the fact that even Shri Gopalan considered it expedient to resort to a fast to make his voice heard "proves that in the conditions under which we are living today the non-violent method is more appropriate and is likely to be more successful than the violent method."

Shri Morarji's fast was unique in that it was the first time when a person in high authority had resorted to fasting. Some had pointed to the incongruity of his fasting and the police violence in Bombay. While there was obviously some relevance and substance in such criticism, writes Shri Dharmadhikari, "it must be confessed that his fast had a special meaning for the leading men who are running the country. They must learn a lesson from it." The political leaders of India, especially those in authority, had a pathetic faith in police methods and violence. They rarely thought staking the personal popularity and goodwill they had. "Shri Morarji Desai has it to his credit that he showed the courage to stake his leadership."

The fasts, among others, of Shri Gopalan and Shri Desai, had a lesson for the leaders of the Government and of the other parties. It was: "Everyone must sincerely abjure violence

and agree to tackle all our problems by strictly peaceful methods. All our parties must recognise that the non-violent method, in the present circumstances of the world, is the only practical method. It can no more be called idealistic or utopian," writes Shri Dharmadhikari.

Distressed West Bengal

West Bengal has been tormented by thousand and one problems in these days. Even difficulties common to other parts of India assume a particular intensity and character here. For example, while there is the problem of the educated unemployed also in the rest of India in this state it has assumed the acutest form. The recent sample surveys highlighted the economic distress of the people of the State. War, famine, partition and the influx of the refugees have combined to reduce its inhabitants to the lowest level of existence where they have not much resistance left in them to cope with any new crisis.

In recent years floods and droughts have become a familiar annual feature to the residents of Southern and Eastern India. This year has been no exception. Parts of U.P., Bihar, Assam, Orissa and West Bengal have been seriously hit. Everywhere the suffering of the common people beggars description. For reasons, already noted, the effect of the recent rains and flood have been particularly appalling in West Bengal. Eight districts have been severely hit. Five rivers are in spate. The result has been the officially confirmed destitution of more than a lakh of people in the State. Four days' rain have killed 15 and have injured about 60 persons. In some regions crops and vegetables have also been adversely affected. Roads, Railway lines and Telegraphic system have been breached in many places resulting in difficulty in the proper assessment of the havoc caused and of sending help to the needy.

Pakistani Influx in India

Misrule and economic muddle in Pakistan has not only driven the Hindu minority in Pakistan into desperate straits, but the Moslem majority also is flitting across the border, intensifying the economic pressure on India. This influx in the main consists of labour, skilled and unskilled. But a very substantial number of

grossly undesirable elements also come over and go back to evade the law. New Delhi seems to have at last realised it as the following report by the *Statesman's* political correspondent indicates:

"New Delhi, September 26.—The Government of India, I understand, is giving serious thought to the problem created by an almost unregulatable influx of Pakistani nationals into this country.

"The problem is not a new one, but there have lately been signs of aggravation and the activities of some of these non-nationals have had repercussions on the State of law and order and even on national security.

"Formerly this kind of traffic was regulated by the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act of 1949. This law lapsed on October 15, 1952, and now the passport-cum-visa system, which can easily be sidetracked, obtains. The Passport Act and rules require that Pakistani nationals should in addition to passports hold a visa issued to them by Indian diplomatic missions.

"The Indian authorities are in effect powerless to make those who overstay in India go back to their country because such persons can go to courts and obtain injunctions claiming that they were Indian nationals.

"The presence in India of non-nationals is governed by various Acts such as the Foreigners Act, the Registration of Foreigners Act and the Indian Passport Act.

"While the Indian authorities have full control over the entry and movements of foreigners and can even send them back, Commonwealth citizens can enter the country with an endorsement on their passports by their own Governments. They do not have to register and no information about their presence in the country need be given to the Government.

"In the case of Pakistanis there is also the visa requirement. Now the Government of India proposes to arm itself with powers to send back those who have overstayed. This will most likely be done by amendment of the existing law rather than through a separate Act."

Anti-Social Activities

The *Statesman's* political correspondent sent the following communique a little while

ago. The Government of India should realize that both the Constitution, as it stands, and the administrative machinery as it runs today, would foil any attempt to check such activities by the formulation of new laws alone.

What is needed is a thorough enquiry in both directions. Too much stress has been laid hitherto on the rights of individuals, without taking any count of society as a whole, as affected by anti-social elements, or corrupt and/or grossly inefficient administrators and executives of law:

"New Delhi, September 21.—Attempts by extraneous agencies and unpatriotic elements to stir up unrest in the country and further steps which the Government of India should take to deal with this problem were discussed at a high level conference summoned at his residence by the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, this evening.

"Among those who attended it were the Home Secretary, senior police officers and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

"Attention was concentrated not so much on any specific aspect but, on the whole series of incidents somewhat variegated and baffling in pattern which have occurred in the past few weeks and which have generally pointed to the existence of activity which seems to be aimed at disrupting national solidarity and therefore at the creation of embarrassment to India's external relations.

"The same context of events also seems to have posed a problem of internal security.

"The limitless freedom of expression which is permitted to all sections of the community, it would appear, has provided fruitful opportunities to anti-social and anti-national elements to whip up trouble and conduct campaigns which can have no other effect than that of weakening the country and injuring its interests.

"Among the specific incidents which have come to notice lately is the organized agitation which was conducted against a book written by Americans more than ten years ago.

"Evidence reaching here indicates that much finance and organized manpower were put behind the agitation which was conducted in such a way as to hurt feelings and lead to a breach of the peace.

"As was, perhaps, calculated by the men

Behind the scenes, the agitation produced reactions which unfortunately have not yet died down and also an opportunity for some of the Opposition parties to exploit the situation in their favour.

"The bomb explosions in Delhi and other incidents of more recent happening have in addition drawn attention to the problem of internal security.

"The whole series of incidents has also revealed a lacuna in the existing law of the land and its inability effectively to keep a check on the presence of unauthorized elements in India.

"The Government of India, I understand, is maintaining close contact with the State Governments and is assisting them in getting on top of the situation.

"All these questions were reviewed exhaustively at today's meeting and measures were devised whose effect should become visible in course of time.

"These measures should also assist in maintenance of accord during the coming weeks which will be marked by a number of religious festivals."

Election Fever

The Congress is attacked with Election Fever. Hence this resolve, made in order to be observed in the breach. What we would like to know, is, why victimise one-third, when nine-tenths consist of rubbish?

"New Delhi, September 24.—The Congress High Command is understood to have decided that at least one-third of the sitting Congress legislators should be replaced with a view to drawing in fresh blood from within the party.

"It is stated that for the general elections every prospective Congress candidate's record of service would be the main factor which would weigh with the High Command while making selections. If a candidate is a sitting member, his work and experience in that capacity would also be considered but this qualification, in the opinion of the High Command, should not override special merits of another candidate who does not happen to be a member at present.

"The High Command is stated to have thought it essential that sufficient scope should

be given to younger people and decided that they should be given at least one-third of the candidatures."

The Naga Problem

The following bit of news, by the *Statesman* correspondent, indicates an improvement:

"Shillong, September 23.—For the first time since disturbances started in Naga Hills last December a whole village has surrendered arms. Hitherto such surrenders were made by individuals.

"The first village to surrender arms along with a group of rebel Nagas is Zakhama village in southern Angami area. Village elders yesterday produced 20 men along with two Sten guns, eight service rifles, three Japanese rifles and seven muzzleloading guns and surrendered them to the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima.

"It is understood that those rebel Nagas who had surrendered arms in response to General Kochar's proclamation had been pardoned and set at liberty.

"Troops on patrol captured six Service rifles, four Japanese rifles, five muzzleloading guns, two Sten guns and a quantity of ammunition near Hanema village in Kuki area.

"In Kohima yesterday, two Nagas with a Japanese rifle and a muzzleloading gun surrendered to the civil authorities there. An army patrol in Tuensang Frontier Division rounded up five hostiles near Shamnyu village. Two Service rifles, seven muzzleloading guns and some ammunition were captured in the area.

"Nagas of Merema village, five miles north-west of Kohima, with their confidence restored by the presence of troops, are returning to their homes in increasing numbers. Nearly one-third of the population has been resettled and villagers are going about their normal work.

"Rice, salt, tea and sugar are being distributed in villages. To combat epidemic diseases army doctors equipped with mobile dispensaries are touring the area, attending the sick."

Water Transport

The following grandiose plan was released in the news a short while ago. In view of the muddle and confusion over the Ganga Barrage and the consequent deterioration of river traffic

in the Hugly river and the Ganga, to say nothing of the ruin of the Calcutta Port, we might be excused for asking our readers to use salt liberally in taking notice of this plan:

"New Delhi, September 22.—A master plan for developing inland waterways in the country in order to provide adequate cheap transport in a developing economy is understood to have been drawn up by the Central Water and Power Commission.

"The plan envisages the linking of Calcutta port on the east with Cochin on the west *via* Cuttack and Madras by a network of canals connecting some of the major rivers of Orissa, Andhra and Madras, a continuous waterway from Western India to Northern and North-East India *via* Central India, and a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast through the hinterlands of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra.

"The Commission feels that while sufficient attention has been given to the development of railways and road transport in the country, no attention worthy of mention has so far been paid to the development of inland waterways whose potentialities are great.

"The Government of India, it is learnt, will shortly appoint a committee to go into the question of development of inland waterways in the country.

"The total navigable inland waterways at present in the country is estimated at roughly 5,760 miles as compared with 36,000 miles of railways. River navigation is now confined to the Ganga and the Brahmaputra, and the Godavari and the Krishna in the south to some extent. The Commission feels that the Godavari, the Krishna, the Narbada and the Tapi hold navigation potentialities similar to that of the Ganga.

"The Commission says that from information received from the States, it is found that it is possible to connect the Western and Eastern Coast through multi-purpose works on the Narbada, Sone, Chambal and Ken, thus connecting the Narbada with the Ganga River system and the Narbada with the Godavari system. These rivers are at present not navigable except at their lower reaches. A number of dams, weirs, locks and, probably later, canals will have to be constructed to make these waterways navigable.

"On account of partition, inland navigation in the eastern parts of India has been dislocated. Assam has no direct water link through Indian territory with West Bengal. The latter has also lost her connexion, by waterways with the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Inter-communication between these States by waterways now means a detour of nearly 450 miles through East Pakistan.

This has caused much hardship and uncertainty to the merchants. Therefore, the Commission suggests that the River Tista can be utilized to provide an all-India waterways connexion between the Brahmaputra and the Ganga River systems, that is between Assam, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

"The Commission has also suggested certain improvements to be made in the River Bhagirathi in order to have a continuous waterway throughout the year from Calcutta to the hinterland of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh through Indian territory. These schemes, according to the Commission, will necessarily be very costly and will take a long time to be executed.

"For linking the Ganga River system with the west flowing rivers in order to provide a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast, the Commission has suggested four schemes for preliminary investigations. These are: •

Connecting the Narbada with the Sone (a tributary of the Ganga) *via* the Johilla (a tributary of the Sone);

Connecting the Narbada with the Sone *via* the Biran and the Katni Nadi (tributaries of the Narbada and the Sone, respectively);

Connecting the Narbada with the Chambal (a tributary of the Jamuna) *via* the Karam (a tributary of the Narbada); and

Connecting the Narbada with the Jamuna *via* the Bearma and the Ken.

"For providing a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast through the hinterlands of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra, the Commission has recommended connecting the Narbada with the Godavari River system.

"It has also suggested the linking of the Tapi with the Godavari river system *via* the Sardha, a tributary of the Godavari, for an alternative waterway connecting the West Coast with the East Coast.

"It has suggested the linking of the Ganga River with the Mahanadi *via* the Sone and the Rihand (tributaries of the Ganga and the Sone, respectively) and the Hasdo (a tributary of the Mahanadi) for providing a continuous waterway between northern and north-eastern India and Orissa *via* Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh.

"For speeding up traffic in the existing inland waterways, the Commission has suggested the introduction of modern self-propelled tugs and barges. For this considerable enlargement and other improvements will be necessary in all the navigable canals of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra and Madras.

"For linking Calcutta with Cochin on the west coast by a network of canals *via* Cuttack and Madras the commission says that in the east Calcutta was connected with Cuttack by waterway through the Orissa coast canal which had been abandoned since 1928 by the Orissa Government. This could be revived to have a continuous inland waterway from Calcutta to Cuttack along the east coast.

"Similarly Cuttack could be linked with Madras by constructing a new canal from the Mahanadi to the Chilka Lake and again from the Chilka lake to the Godavari River. Already there exist 400 miles of canals from the Godavari down south along the east coast where there is a fair amount of trade. These canals could be linked with the west coast canals and backwaters of Travancore-Cochin *via* the existing Vedranyan Canal (35 miles), situated about 105 miles south of the Buckingham Canal.

"For the development of these waterways detailed survey for collection of up-to-date data will be necessary."

Raniganj Collieries Strike

The following extracts from the *Statesman* of September 19, give an idea of the strike that has been called in the Raniganj coalfields. It shows how little the labour-leaders care for the Labour Tribunals or the administration:

"There was little change in the situation in the Raniganj coal fields on September 18, about 35,000 workers of 22 collieries continuing on strike for the second day. The staffs of the power house, water supply installations and offices carried on work as usual.

"Two more collieries started work on the same day, bringing the total number of collieries working, despite the strike call, to four. Reports have reached Calcutta that willing workers of other collieries have been prevented from going to work.

A spokesman of the coal industry told me on Tuesday that the strike was illegal for three reasons: (1) the Tribunal award of May 25 was binding on all parties for a year unless appealed against within a month. The P.S.P.-controlled Colliery Mazdoor Congress which had called the strike, had not appealed against the award within the stipulated time and must therefore be presumed to have accepted it. (2) Certain other parties to the dispute before the Tribunal, including the Communist-controlled unions, had appealed against various terms of the award and these appeals were now before the appellate Tribunal. As the different managements were a party to these appeals any strike during their pendency was illegal. (3) Conciliation proceedings, which had been started last week by the Government, were still effective.

"The spokesman pointed out that about 80 per cent of the workers had benefited very considerably under the award, the increase in emoluments in many cases exceeding 50 per cent. Others who had not benefited—clerks, chaprassis, engineering staff and mining sardars—had been made certain offers which in effect would give them between Rs. 8 and Rs. 15 a month extra."

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 11th October to 24th October, 1956, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor.

THE CHANGING COMMONWEALTH

By PROF. G. D. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., P.E.S.

THE dominating trend of the British empire during the past generation was centrifugal. Self-government as the guiding principle of British colonial policy was first laid down in the Durham Report of 1839 and the conception of dominion self-government was derived from the British North America Act of 1867. The term 'dominion' was first used in a resolution of the Colonial Conference of 1907 to designate the self-governing units of the British empire though Canada was known as the dominion of Canada ever since the passing of the British North America Act. The Balfour declaration of 1926 defined dominions as

"autonomous communities within the British empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The then existing administrative, judicial and legislative relations of the dominions with Britain were not wholly in accord with the above position as the Declaration was an attempt to define dominion status only in non-legal terms. The legal framework was, therefore, provided by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. No information about the criteria which determined the status of a dominion was, however, given, as Section I of the Statute defined the dominion only by enumeration, i.e., the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. The preamble to the Statute declared the Crown to be the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The substance of independence, both internal and external, was granted to the dominions though the legal sovereignty of the Parliament remained intact. The grant of internal sovereignty to the dominions by Britain implied the removal of the legislative and judicial dependence of the dominion on the Crown. In the executive sphere the provision for a responsible executive was not specifically made by the Statute, but by convention the Governor-General of a dominion began to act as the representative of the Crown

holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in a dominion as is held by His Majesty in Britain and he acted not as the representative of His Majesty's Government but of His Majesty.

Analysing the relationship Prof. K. G. Wheare finds three indisputable elements in dominion status.¹ A dominion was a territorial community other than Britain which first owed allegiance to the king in common with Britain, secondly, was equal in status with Britain, and thirdly, was freely associated with it. Allegiance to the common British Crown was the legal tie which acted as a strong bond but the link could be broken or abolished at will by any dominion. The dominion might constitutionally and factually repudiate the Statute and thus become a fully independent State outside the Commonwealth. Ireland ceased to be a member when in April, 1949, it passed the Republic of Ireland Act which repudiated all the three elements postulated by the Balfour Declaration and the Westminster Statute. Ireland did no longer wish to recognise the king as the symbol of its free association with Britain and other dominions; it did not wish to be a kingdom; it did not wish to continue as a member and so it walked out of the Commonwealth.

COLOURED DOMINIONS

India and Pakistan attained dominionhood through the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and Ceylon through the Ceylon Independence Act and the Order-in-Council of 1948. The acquisition of dominion status by these countries introduced a new factor in dominion relationship. The multiracial character of the Commonwealth and the diversity of the political and economic interests of its component units not only brought about a change in Commonwealth terminology but also profoundly influenced the underlying legal and constitutional theories.

India continued to be a dominion till it became a republic in 1950 but unlike Ireland India wanted to repudiate only one of the elements implicit in the Statute of 1931. India found the

1. K. G. Wheare: *Dominion Status*, p. 33.

old monarchical symbolism of dominion status inconsistent with her republican status. She would not continue to owe allegiance to the Crown but wanted to retain her association with the Commonwealth. The declaration of the Prime Ministers' Conference of 1949 while permitting India to remain a full member of the Commonwealth introduced a significant change in the Commonwealth concept.

"The governments of Canada, U.K., Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe a common allegiance to the Crown which is also a symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

"The Government of India have informed the other governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that India shall become a sovereign republic. The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the king as the symbol of the free association of its independent member-nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognise India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of the Declaration. They declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

The Commonwealth now became a Commonwealth of seven kingdoms and one republic with the king as the head of the State in the law of seven kingdoms but with no position in the law of the republic. The Head of the Commonwealth had no legal basis and therefore had no legal powers. The reference in the last paragraph of the Declaration was to the king and not to the Crown.

"So the king had no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth, as such, is not a body. It has no organisation through which to function and the king can have no functions."

The Crown was no longer a constitutional link. The Crown-functions became divisible and varied from one country to the other. The Commonwealth tie became purely diplomatic. The declaration, however, preserved the symbolic unity of the Commonwealth. The

new arrangement enabled Pakistan in February, 1955, at her request and with the agreement of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to retain, as a republic, full membership of the Commonwealth. Ceylon made a similar request at the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

CHANGE IN TERMINOLOGY

During the past decade the practice has been widely adopted in official and unofficial circles to replace the term British Commonwealth of Nations by Commonwealth of Nations and to replace the term dominion status by realm or member status.

"The House will observe in the Royal Proclamation," said Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on February 11, 1952, "the importance and significance of the word 'realm.' The many States, nations and races included in the British Commonwealth and empire have found in the word realm the expression of their sense of unity, combined in most cases with a positive allegiance to the Crown or a profound and respectful association with it."

Member status denotes a higher status in so far as the term dominion implied a relation of adolescence to the mother country and signified historically at least some idea of inferiority to the United Kingdom, but, in fact, the new terminology means little more than new names for old things. There is, moreover, no legal and constitutional basis for the distinction. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee observed:

"All constitutional developments in the Commonwealth, the British Commonwealth or the British Empire have been the subject of consultation between His Majesty's governments and there has been no agreement to adopt or to exclude the use of any of these terms. Opinions differ in different parts of the British empire and the Commonwealth on this matter and I think it better to allow people to use the expression they like best."

MULTI-RACIAL COMMONWEALTH—NEW

LOYALTIES

Apart from the change in terminology the Asian element in the Commonwealth has produced a greater variety in constitutional symbolism. The emotional factors which bind the Whites to the mother country are absent in the Asian counterpart of the Commonwealth.

2. Nehru : *Independence and After*, p. 269.

3. Quoted in Wheare : *Dominion Status*, p. 300.

4. Quoted in Palme Dutt : *Britain's Crisis of the Empire*, p. 8.

Addressing the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association in July, 1956, Mr. Bandernaike said:

"The Queen of England is indeed a gracious lady. But we prefer a republican form of government which we consider more suitable to our country and our conditions. We are too far away, with too few personal contacts, to stimulate that feeling of personal attachment which you have for her."⁵

So the development of a Commonwealth sentiment and a sense of loyalty to the Crown are out of question. As a result, the Commonwealth lost its structural and organic unity. India, Pakistan and Ceylon retained their membership not because of sentimental reasons but after considering the relative advantages and disadvantages.

If the Commonwealth is to survive as a cohesive institutional pattern, new loyalties must develop to replace the old ones that have withered away. The Commonwealth is an experiment in co-operation among States of varied race and culture having divergent political and economic interests. The common practice of a parliamentary system of government may provide a new link. At the Commonwealth Relations Conference held at Lahore in 1954 the Prime Minister of Pakistan spoke of the common practice of responsible self-government as the strongest bond of Commonwealth unity. The communique issued by the Prime Ministers' Conference in July, 1956, held parliamentary democracy to be the common heritage of the people of the Commonwealth. But there are countries outside the Commonwealth which also practise various forms of democracy. Moreover, the concept of democracy within the Commonwealth widely differs. Democracy, peace and like-mindedness appear to be but high-sounding platitudes which cannot provide a strong link to bind together States having acute racial and political differences.

What, then, are the conditions of Commonwealth membership? At the Lahore Conference there was general agreement that they are five—a desire for membership, recognition of the Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth, a firmly established parliamentary system, sufficient size and resources to support the responsibilities of a sovereign State and the agreement of existing members to admission.

The outward sign of membership was attendance at the Prime Ministers' Conference not by courtesy but as of right. These conferences have become a factor of unity which holds the Commonwealth together and makes formal and informal consultations possible. The meetings are largely a continuation of the unceasing exchange of views on matters of common concern which is an important element in the relationship between member-countries of the Commonwealth.

CRISIS WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

While the cohesive forces tend to weaken, the multi-racial Commonwealth is increasingly becoming vulnerable to political, racial and economic tensions. There has been recently a limitation in the area of common experience as between the old European and the new Asian members of the Commonwealth. Writing in the *Times* in June, 1956, Mr. Menzies admitted that there were now two Commonwealths—the hard core of the old dominions whose association possessed an integral character and the new Asian republics which were only loosely associated for functional purposes and which could not be drawn into any joint conclusion on any matter of international policy. The Commonwealth no longer possesses an operative principle of unity in terms of a common purpose and outlook or a sense of direction. The points of agreement between the old European and the young Asian members of the Commonwealth have recently diminished. They had to face different problems and certain temperamental differences have given rise to divergencies of thought, ends and means. There is a deep distrust in Asia of Western imperialism; the willingness of any imperial power to transfer the responsibility to colonies is very much doubted. On the other hand, formal and rigid relationships like the NATO, SEATO and ANZUS have emerged because of the European concept of security. Pakistan's membership of the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact and her stand over Kashmir has produced intra-Asian tensions. At the same time the so-called neutralism creates further irritations in the West. India and Ceylon stand for the policy of non-alignment while other members of the Commonwealth are deeply committed. Differences in foreign policy are inevitable as each country in the Commonwealth is free to go its own way, but

5. *National Herald*, July 9, 1956.

they may not go so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. The communique recently issued by the Prime Ministers' Conference emphasised the points of agreement, though somewhat vaguely. The Commonwealth, they said, was committed to the gradual liquidation of the empire. In the pursuit of peace, the Prime Ministers attached great importance to a comprehensive disarmament programme and welcomed the Soviet decision to reduce their armed forces. They agreed on the civil use of atomic energy. At the same time open references to expressions of differences were artfully avoided. The Prime Ministers were 'informed' of the activities of the NATO; they were also 'informed' of the progress of constitutional advance in Malaya and Singapore, and they 'heard' a report from the Prime Minister of New Zealand about his visit to Japan. Reference to the admission of China was, however, avoided.

RACIALISM

While disagreement on foreign policy may be unavoidable and permissible, racialism provokes such deep-seated passions as may destroy the Commonwealth unity. Apartheid poses difficult problems for India and Pakistan whose nationals have been the victims of South Africa's efforts to maintain the Christian civilisation and establish the supremacy of the White Man. For Britain also racialism raises in an acute form the future of the three Protectorates, largely enclaves within the Union of South Africa. The Union wants to incorporate these territories but the Africans are opposed to it. As the Commonwealth family grows race oppression is likely to be attacked from within the Commonwealth with increasing intensity. The Gold Coast is at the door of independence; Nigeria and Uganda are preparing for it. The future of African States within the Commonwealth depends on the solution of the problem of colour attitude. There is something unreal about a relationship which claims to be a free association of free peoples but at the same time supports a State which bases its policy on the concept of the White supremacy and denies the Queen's subjects on racial grounds the freedoms which are associated with that status elsewhere. Respect for human rights and acceptance of human equality seem to be the conditions of Commonwealth survival.

On the economic plane the Colombo Plan is an attempt to increase production, raise the standard of living and enlarge the volume of trade so as to advance through co-operative effort the economic development in South and South-East Asia. The Prime Ministers' Conference also agreed that each country through sound internal economic policies and steady development of its resources could help to strengthen the Commonwealth and the sterling area and move steadily towards the agreed objectives of the widest practicable system of trade and payments. But the divergencies which have become increasingly manifest within the Commonwealth on political and racial issues are likely to extend to economic attitudes. India is moving towards a socialist pattern of society and ere long other Asian members are likely to move in that direction; as no such tendency is visible in other Commonwealth countries, difference of approach might arise.

FUTURE

The Commonwealth tends to become internally and externally anomalous. Addressing the Commonwealth Association Mr. Menzies doubted the value of an association which might become

"so loose and vague that it might almost pass for a committee of the United Nations. Differences are natural in an association of sovereign equals but if too much disagreement on fundamental questions is allowed, the Commonwealth would only provide a forum for discussion and would come to mean a small United Nations without a charter and without the obligations under a large United Nations."⁵

There has been recently some thinking about the means to establish closer collaboration among the Commonwealth countries in order to make it more effective. The Australian Prime Minister suggested more functional conferences, more specialised meetings on ministerial level and more frequent use of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The suggestions might improve the means and spirit of contact but cannot by themselves establish stronger bonds. In his articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. K. M. Panikkar proposed the setting up of a Commonwealth Tribunal for settling justiciable intra-Commonwealth disputes. The suggestion is not likely to appeal to

5. Speech as reported in the *National Herald*, July 10, 1956.

any member of the Commonwealth as it might amount to the establishment of a super-body which might bring about by its supervisory activities a diminution in the sovereignty of member-nations. The recent Prime Ministers' communique contained platitudes like world peace, parliamentary democracy, rule of law, economic prosperity, etc., and these alone are supposed to represent the common outlook of the Commonwealth. In fact, Commonwealth thinking has been an exercise in political escapism. The evolution of the Commonwealth along the traditional lines appears to be blocked. A stage of disentanglement has arrived. In the absence of common allegiance and common institutional pattern and without any legal or ethical unity the Commonwealth may survive

only as a forum for international co-operation on a small scale. The Commonwealth could, however, act as a third force as a way of life between the two extremes on the Right and the Left. In welcoming the Soviet decision to reduce its armed forces and taking note of the recent changes in the Soviet Union, the Prime Ministers' Conference has already worked for a friendly relation between the rival blocs. The multi-racial community can, 'however,' survive only if the intra-Commonwealth tension is lessened and the moral unity of the Commonwealth is rehabilitated by the preservation of fundamental human rights and values. The Commonwealth family would gain more force and flexibility by the addition of more Asian and African members.

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COMMITTEES IN THE MODERN PARLIAMENTS

By N. L. GUPTA, M.A.

PARLIAMENTS in democracies represent the people and rule on their behalf with responsibility to them. The representatives consist of laymen and amateur politicians. They represent the various parties and programmes and the main trends of public opinion in body politic. The representatives are not experts.

Primarily they are elected to Parliament to make laws. Law-making, today, has become the job of an expert. Every law involves so much of statistics, technical details and expertness that a member cannot be expected to have all such knowledge. The amount of laws to be made by every Parliament is so enormous that no Parliament can do more than decide on general issues leaving aside details. The Committees have provided for these deficiencies, at the same time not shifting the control of law-making from the hands of Parliament to outside experts. These Committees discuss bills in detail and examine all technicalities involved before a bill is passed by Parliament. They may call for evidence, records or witnesses. They may hold investigations and hear the interests affected by such bills. The bills are thoroughly discussed, debated and analysed. These may be amended, modified and even changed. These Committees reflect the party strength and discuss bills clause by clause; much of the time of the Parliament is saved because

the arguments advanced by the Government and the opposition parties in the Committee are not generally repeated on the floor of the Chambers. These Committees save the time of Parliament and provide it with expertness and technical knowledge. Even some compromises may be arrived at between the Government and the opposition. They meet in private beyond the glare of publicity. The Government may accede to the opposition's point of view and make concessions, of course barring concessions in the principle of the bill. The Government may not agree to such concessions on the floor of the Chamber. In the Chambers of Parliament, the Government and the opposition parties meet like armies and fight a battle of wits more to influence the voters with a view to win the next election.

In certain countries, these Committees not only provide the 'expertness' but also the 'control,' 'unity' and 'direction' in legislative policy. This is true of the U.S.A. and France. The Committees of the House of Representatives in the U.S.A. have been described as 'real legislatures' or 'little legislatures.' The House legislates with their permission. In Britain and in India, Parliaments are controlled by the Cabinet and discuss, examine or pass only such bills as are initiated by the Cabinet Ministers or which receive their approval. Because of the

majority at its back, the Cabinet is the master of the Parliament and controls the initiation and formulation of legislative policies subject to final adoption by the Parliament. The Cabinet in practice controls time, procedure, and priority of legislation. Due to the absence of Cabinet Leadership in the U.S.A. and due to weak, unstable and short-lived Cabinets in France, the content and substance of legislative policy is provided by Committees. All bills introduced in the House of Commons and Lok Sabha are discussed by the House and Sabha in the first instance. A bill is referred to a Committee only after its principle or main broad outlines have been agreed to by the House. Thus the Committees perform a secondary, though important, role in law making in these Houses. But in the U.S.A. and France, every bill first goes to a Committee and the House discusses it only after it is reported back from the Committee. In the U.S.A. the Committees kill about 4/5th of the bills by not reporting them back to the House. The House can force them to report a bill back under a 'discharge rule' by passing a resolution on two Mondays in a month with absolute majority (218 members). In practice it is a difficult process. Bills are often initiated by a member to satisfy the constituents. No other member is interested in such measures. During 1923 to 1939, eight such 'discharge' resolutions were passed, the House approved 4 such bills and only one could go to the statute book. Hence the bills to be discussed by the House and the contents of the legislative policy are determined by the Committee. The 'Committee on Rules' not only presents the 'rules of procedure' to the House for adoption and may suggest their amendment, but it may also indicate to the House what clauses of a bill shall be amended and what shall not be. It may even intervene when the House is discussing a bill and may stop its discussion. It may introduce a bill of its own on the same subject and demand the House to proceed with its consideration. Thus the Committee in U.S.A. controls the direction of procedure on the floor of the House.

In France, 'Commissions' consider every bill in the first instance; the House considers it only if and after it emerges from the 'Commission.' The Reappateur (Spokesman) of the Commission controls the proceeding of the bill in the House. Amendments introduced by members may be

required by the Commission to be referred to it. If a suggested amendment concerns the financial aspect of the bill, it may also be referred to the 'Finance Commission.' The Commission may intervene itself. Even when a bill is finalised by the House, the 'Commission' may get a recommittal of the bill to itself for further consideration. The Commissions exercise supervision over finance and administration. They challenge the budget. A 'Commission' has real authority and members may replace positions from the Cabinet to the Commissions. One Commission alone included 12 ex-ministers. In Britain the Committees have no such powers of intervention or decision.

The Indian Parliament has, in the main, followed the practice of the British House of Commons. The Committees play a secondary role in law-making and work within the limits imposed by the House. They can neither kill a bill nor exercise the power of intervention and decision. They act as subsidiary bodies to thrash out technical details and provide expertness and save time of the House.

However, the Lok Sabha has not followed the Committee System of the Western Parliaments very rigidly. It has no 'Standing Committees.' There are 19 such Committees in the U.S.A., 6 in U.K. and 18 in France. A 'Select Committee' is appointed with every bill. Its members are appointed by the House. The number of members differs with each Committee. They are appointed proportionately to the party strength in the House. The Chairman is appointed from amongst the members by the Speaker of the House; in case the Deputy Speaker is a member of such a Committee, he acts as its Chairman. The quorum is 1/3 of its members. The time for reporting is fixed by the House; extension may be given on the request of the Committee. These Committees follow the procedure identical to that of the House. In case of doubt, the Speaker's decision is final. The Committees meet in the precincts of the Lok Sabha; they meet even when the House is in session. In such cases, their meeting must be adjourned to enable the members to participate in the division in the House. The Committee deals with a bill in details, clause by clause; amendments are moved, accepted or rejected, *every clause is voted upon.* The Committee can call for evidence or witnesses—official or non-official. It may call for records. The witnesses are allowed to tender evidence

through counsels. It may appoint a Sub-Committee on certain points. The meetings are held in private.

In case of important bills, like the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, Hindu Marriage Bill, etc., a 'Joint-Committee' representing both the Houses may be appointed. The House, where the bill is initiated, may pass a resolution for appointing a Joint Select Committee and request the other House for nominating its members. If the other House agrees, the Joint Committee comes into existence. The number of members differs with every such Committee. Its membership generally is about 50; the Lok Sabha nominating 2/3 members and Rajya Sabha one-third. It follows the same Procedure as the ordinary 'Select Committee' does. It may appoint Sub-Committees on specific points.

To exercise control over finance, the Lok Sabha appoints two Committees: Public Accounts Committee and Estimates Committee. The Public Accounts Committee consists of 15 members, elected by the House in accordance with proportionate representation, on single transferable vote system. The Chairman is appointed by the Speaker. The Lok Sabha has not followed the practice of the House of Commons of appointing a member of opposition as its Chairman. Its tenure is one year. Its quorum is 5. It may appoint Sub-Committees. It may call for officials, records and witnesses. The decision of the Speaker on matters of procedure is final, though the Committee may pass a resolution for his consideration and approval. It examines accounts of various departments to see that the money has been spent in accordance with appropriations sanctioned by the Parliament and no unauthorised expenditure or no diversion has been made by the departments. This Committee examines accounts of previous years. To take an example, the Committee in 1952-53 examined accounts of 1948-49 and 1949-50. It does not and cannot examine accounts of all the departments every year. It examines accounts of one or two departments every year and may examine accounts of one of the Government enterprises or Semi-Government enterprises, like the Chittaranjan Locomotive Enterprise, the Bhakra Dam or the D.V.C. Its work is of retrospective nature. It sits not for a very long time. The 1952-53 Committee held 35 meetings and devoted only 83

hours during the whole year. Yet its very existence and its findings are a great restraint upon the executive in matters of finance. Its report is discussed in the Lok Sabha and necessary action is taken on its highly commendable recommendations.

The Estimates Committee consists of 25 members, is appointed in the same manner as the Public Accounts Committee and follows a similar procedure in conduct of its business. Its quorum is 8. Its function is to examine the estimates presented by the departments in the budget for grant by the Parliament. It examines whether the estimates have been properly framed. It suggests to the Lok Sabha if economy could be effected in estimates and suggests alternative policies for bringing efficiency in the administration. It again examines estimates of one or two departments every year and goes on examining them even when the budget has been passed by the Parliament and estimates have been granted. The 1952-53 Committee held 21 meetings covering 55 hours throughout the year. These two Committees provide to the opposition the opportunity to have a peep into the inner working of the administration besides providing to the House devices to control finance.

The Committee of Subordinate Legislation consisting of not more than 15 members is appointed to scrutinize and report to the House whether the powers to make rules and regulations, sub-rules, by-laws, etc., delegated to the executive under acts of Parliament or conferred by the Constitution, are properly exercised or not. It may recommend to the House that any order should be annulled wholly or in part or should be amended in any respect.

Besides, there are Committees like the Committee on Petitioners, the Committee on Government Assurances, the Rules Committee, the Committee on Private Members Bill, etc., like the sessional committees in the House of Commons.

Finer has well summed up the importance of Committees :

"In England the Government, in France the Government and the Commissions . . . in the U.S.A. the party leaders and the Committees decide and debate, the rest is advertisement, explanation, electoral strategy, the joy of talking, and sealing wax."

In India the Cabinet rules.

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT

By K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A.

INTERNATIONAL investment has come into the limelight not only as a desideratum of prime importance in a sound system of international trade but also as a potent motive force in moving off an under-developed economy from the dead centre of the vicious circle of stagnation. International Investment is, like the quality of mercy, twice blessed; it blesses him who gives and him who takes. For, apart from its benefit or profitability to a debtor or creditor as an individual, it helps the debtor country as a whole, inasmuch as it provides real savings for capital formation and foreign exchange for importing capital goods from abroad; it also helps the creditor country as a whole to increase income and employment within its borders, being itself in *pari materia* with domestic action for increasing income and employment. Fundamentally it is a means of improving the distribution and use of the world's productive resources. The dictum of Polonius, "neither a borrower nor a lender be," if it is applicable elsewhere, is not certainly applicable here.

It is a fact worth noting at the outset that almost all developed countries did in their time of development rely to a greater or lesser extent upon external finance—not by choice, but by necessity. England used to borrow from Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries, though she herself became the world's leading creditor nation in the 19th century. The U.S., now unsurpassed in its size and solvency, did in fact borrow heavily in the 19th century when her resources were opened up.

In the exceptional circumstances of the 19th century international investment in fruitful conjunction with international migration paved the way for the spread of industrialisation and world trade. Capital flowed in a fertilising stream from Europe—England in particular—to the under-developed countries of the world. The period 1870-1914 can indeed properly be called as the golden age of international investment. Even by the time of the World War I, international investment was at a level of about 1,600

million dollars a year and by the end of the 1920s it was at 2,000 million dollars a year worth about the same in real terms when the change in prices is taken into account. But there was a noticeable shift in the source and direction of capital flow. The U.S. was no longer a net borrower, but had become an overwhelming competitor to U.K. in lending out.

But the epitaph had to be written to the golden age of international investment. The severe depression in the '30s affected international investment as well and reduced it to a tiny trickle. (Strangely enough it was this period that a theory of international trade based on mobility of factors like capital and labour was put forth). Though there has been a revival of world production and trade since the World War II, international investment excluding U.S. Government grants, is only in the range of 2,000 million dollars a year. This is clearly very low not merely when we compare it, allowing for change in prices, with investment before the World War I; it is also low when we take into account the needs of the capital-hungry nations.

The problem of international investment demands therefore an explanation not so much of mobility of capital between nations but of its immobility. Let us first look at international long-term investment by private investors. This type of investment undoubtedly possesses certain special advantages. Being governed by the Calculus of profit, it will be "productively" employed, if not in the social sense, at least in the private sense; it may bring in its wake technical knowhow and better methods of production and management. There are also no such rigid requirements for interest and amortisation as govern loans by international agencies.

But, if this type of investment has special advantages, it has special disadvantages as well. Political factors and economic logic vie with each other in militating against any large-scale investment of this type. Its movement is not only subject to the uncertain weather of international politics; it is also governed by the

particular measures and attitudes of the borrowing governments; the fear of nationalisation without adequate compensation may be hanging like a Damocles' sword on private investors investing in certain countries. There is also the harm done by double taxation, which can however be obviated by agreements between the creditor and debtor countries.

There is also the fear of refusal of foreign exchange (by the governments of borrowing countries) for transferring profits or repatriating capital and this stems essentially from the absence of convertibility. This fear is not groundless since in the '30s the refusal of exchange did happen, for no other reason than that no foreign exchange was available. Sometimes the governments of borrowing countries give their assurances in this regard, but it is difficult to see how such assurances would be useful in times of severe exchange crisis. In such times, only the help of the creditor country by way of temporary foreign exchange loans can be useful. Such an idea is reported to be viewed favourably in Washington and is said to be operating in certain classes of investment.

There are also sound economic facts which we may deplore but cannot ignore. It is wrong to think that just because a country is undeveloped and wants capital, it will be profitable for private investors to invest there. The purchasing power of domestic consumers in under-developed countries is too low to be profitable for private investors and investment of this type has usually been concentrated, not primarily because of "exploitation" but because of profit calculus, in the extractive and raw material industries working for exports. Even such investment as usually occurs cannot be expected to be steady and continuous in view of the uncertain demand conditions for raw materials in future and in view of the fact that the state in many under-developed countries has been spreading a growing net over many industries.

Another perplexing problem is posed by the high level of business profits in U.S. in recent years. While the U.S. is undoubtedly the fittest to play the creditor nation in the world the conditions are often more favourable for investment there, not only for Americans but for others. Indeed, though the Point Four Programme originally stressed the role of private foreign investment, more recent pronouncements like the Gray

and Rockefeller Reports have desisted from laying emphasis originally laid on it.

Before 1929 private investors also used to lend out to foreign governments (e.g., India used to float sterling loans in the London Market). But such a form of investment is, for more than one reason, no longer possible on any significant scale and if governments have to borrow they have to borrow from other governments only. There is good reason, therefore, to believe that the era of private foreign investment has ended.

International grants, whether they are called as such or as unilateral income transfers or as unrequited capital exports are only an euphemism for that simple word, "gift." The *raison d'être* of such grants is that a transfer of resources from the wealthy to the poor nations is a natural application of the principle of progressive taxation on the international plane. Apart from the question as to how far narrow nationalist feelings will allow for the recognition of the principle on the international plane, the grants are inevitably based on the sandy foundations of domestic and international politics, and will be neither continuous nor equitable. It is hard to think of such grants as a permanent institution.

Under present conditions of international politics and economics, inter-governmental lending offers the best hopes for advocates of international investment. It is needless to say in this connection that the U.S. has been the greatest lender and that President Eisenhower has proposed to send 1200 million dollars on the existing economic aid programmes of all kinds in the fiscal year ending in June 1957, and 590 million dollars on new programmes. Loans have been given by the U.S. Government itself both to war-devastated countries and to under-developed ones. In some countries there are also government institutions for the purpose of granting foreign loans—like the Export-Import Bank of the U.S. and the Colonial Development Corporation of the U.K.

It is important to remember that inter-governmental lending is also in its size and flow a function of domestic and international politics and that a government is rarely wise and fortunate enough to get the loans it needs without sacrificing in any way its international status. There is also another great difficulty—not hypothetical but real—to which inter-governmental

grants discussed above are subjected to an even greater degree. The loans granted may be used not for productive purposes of capital formation, but for increasing consumption. This may be obviated by earmarking loans for particular productive purposes, but in such cases it is possible that domestic resources thus released may be ill-spent. The rationale of international investment then loses all meaning.

International agencies for investment have a great advantage in that they provide for fruitful co-operation between creditor and debtor countries. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which formally came into being on December 27, 1945, has been intended to arrange and guarantee private loans and in their absence or inadequacy to provide finance out of its own capital. Loans granted by it upto 31st March 1955 amounted to 2168.9 million dollars. But while it has satisfied punctilious standards of financial propriety, it has not been able to satisfy the hunger of capital-starved countries.

Proposals for other such international agencies have been in the air but they have not yet materialised. Particularly noteworthy are the proposals since 1948 for a United Nations Economic Development Authority and the proposal since 1953 for a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. Both proposals are said to have "foundered on the rocks of American creditor opposition." Such institutions if established can devote full attention, unlike the I.B.R.D., to under-developed countries, but it is wrong to think that they will be governed by a different financial spirit than that of the I.B.R.D. or that they can by themselves satisfy the demands for capital.

In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that the *modus operandi* of international lending is also of prime importance. The payment of a loan should be so arranged as not to involve undue strain on the trade and payments position of the creditor and debtor countries. The repayment of the loan also presents serious problems for both countries. Here the creditor country is apt to feel like an inverted Micawber in daily fear of debtors. The reason is that repayment of loans might have damping effects on its domestic business activity. The problem was indeed posed as to "how and at what sacrifice the United States can accept (re) payment." Though the question has been illuminated by economic discussion and cleared of many misgivings, it is still open to debate. The possible solution is to continue renewing loans so that there is not net repayment of capital as long as the position of capital abundance of the creditor country is not changed.

For the debtor country payment of interest and repayment of principal present in each case a budgetary problem and a transfer problem. The budgetary problem is a problem of taxation to mobilise resources for repayment. While an import of capital may dispense with additional taxation at the moment, it does necessitate additional taxation when net repayment is due. But such taxation may be easier of accomplishment than in the case of the absence of the foreign loan itself, since it can be expected that national income of the country will increase between the time of import of capital and its repayment. The transfer problem is the creation of an export surplus to service the loan and its success in this endeavour depends on the co-operation of the creditor country also.



SIGMUND FREUD

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"Who divined the famous riddle and was a mighty man."

—Chanted by the chorus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and lettered in Greek at the base of Freud's statue standing in the University of Vienna's hall of fame.

ONE hundred years ago, two months before Bernard Shaw was born, the 21-year old wife of an elderly Jewish woolmerchant in Moravia gave birth to a son who devoted himself in later years to the elucidation of the theory in which the intellectual thought of the 20th century is soaked. Facetiously dubbed "the unholy trinity," Darwin, Marx and Freud are fundamentally responsible for the predominant influences that characterize our age.

Eldest of the eight children born to Jakob Freud's second wife and with two step-brothers as old as his mother, Sigmund was born in Freiberg of Emperor Franz Josef's Austrian Empire and continued to be his mother's favourite all through childhood showing early signs of developing into a diligent student and a voracious reader. When Sigmund was four years old the family moved to Vienna and when he was 17 he passed out of high school carrying the highest honours.

His famous biographer, Ernest Jones, has not been able to state clearly why young Freud chose medicine as a career.

"I felt an overpowering need to understand something of the riddles of the world in which we live," Freud tried to explain much later in life, "and perhaps even to contribute something to their solution."

Completing his studies in medicine at the age of 22, Freud lingered on working at the laboratories until he fell in love with Martha Bernays to marry whom he had to become a breadwinner. He set up practice as a neurologist and after four years of parsimony was able to marry Fraulein Bernays.

At 29 Freud received a scholarship to study in Paris under the famous Jean Martin Charcot whose attempts to use hypnosis to cure hysteria made Freud interest himself in the inner workings of the mind.

Freud did not discover his theory in a flash of revelation. No overflowing bath-tub, no

falling apple, no lid of a boiling kettle helped him. Like Darwin, Marx and Einstein, he was a man with prodigious capacity for work. The hysteria of Berta Pappenheim who was being treated by a colleague (Breur) gave Freud the first hints of how a person mentally troubled might relieve himself or herself by talking. As he handled and watched case after case the glimmerings of a theory were discernible to the one-track mind of the genius who continued to mull over the eccentricities of the human mind. The sexual basis of emotional upsets and the free associations of thoughts were slowly becoming corner-stones to a theory of psycho-analysis.

When his important book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, was published it sold a little over 500 copies. But his theories had excited interest in a small group of psychologists in Vienna. Back in Austria, Freud met with this group once a week and discussed and sharpened his theories. One among them was another of the famous psychologists of our age—Alfred Adler. Slowly the new revolutionary theory of Freud spread and one of the heartening pieces of news that Freud received was that Carl Jung of Zurich had begun to use psycho-analysis and was already devising certain tests which seemed to confirm the theory. By 1907 the theories of Freud were attracting attention in Europe and Britain and two years later he crossed the Atlantic and received a favourable reception in the United States.

POWER OF THE THEORY

While dissension was developing among the psychologists themselves, the intellectual world of writers, artists and critics became powerfully impressed. The stream of consciousness novel was coming into fashion; literary criticism began to use the analytical principles of Freud; a music critic achieved overnight fame by explaining Wagner's operas in terms which were then ex-

clusively psycho-analytical; a group of artists in Paris which included Picasso and Matisse was powerfully impressed by the sexual overtones of the theory. If Freud did not convince all psychologists he had totally succeeded in capturing the imagination of an intellectual world in flux.

Marx and Freud were the only bull-dozers that cleared the debris of the classical pattern of thought. Even long before them Kepler and Newton had given currency to various 'heresies' hewing away large chunks from the classical conception of man's place in the universe but it was Darwin's theory of evolution that first spelt disaster for the traditional pattern of thought.

Darwinism actually cleared the way for Freud by undermining the Aristotelian teleological theory of natural phenomena which had been reinforced by Stoic philosophy and Christian theology to declare man as the end of the universe. Darwin and Spencer succeeded in reversing this outlook and freed 20th century thought from the illusion of final causes. Since the theory of evolution has destroyed the arbitrary limits between various forms of organic life and since biochemists are slowly unravelling the mysteries of the protein molecule, modern thinkers are able to challenge Aristotle who emphatically denied the possibility of understanding the phenomenon of life by material causes.

At the turn of the century when Freud was enunciating, documenting and improving his theory, man's conception of himself had lost its intellectual centre. In the long history of mankind there have been instances of such discrepancies in theory and opinion, but even in the midst of seeming confusion, there had remained a general orientation, a frame of reference, to which conflicting ideas had been referred. Metaphysics provided this orientation during the heyday of Greece and Rome, theology during the Middle Ages and mathematics from the time of Descartes up to the Victorian era. Through Spencer and Huxley, biology made a bold bid to establish objective standards but did not succeed and had to capitulate quickly in favour of the subjectivism of psychology. In our own generation Planck and Einstein have made physics vie with, but not supersede, psychology as the master-faculty—*l'idée maitresse* of Taine—which interprets and gives homogeneity to the seemingly conflicting branches of specialized human knowledge.

Into this cauldron of disoriented intellectual confusion Freud poured his brew—his scholarly thesis popularized by pseudo-psychologists luridly emphasizing "sexual drives." The intellectual atmosphere of the time, as we have sketchily detailed at the risk of oversimplification, had been conditioned to receptivity and in every sphere of intellectual effort, except in that of psychology, his theory caught on like wild fire.

What Freud had successfully done was to undermine our faith which had its origin in the definition of man by Socrates as "that being who, when asked a rational question, can give a rational answer." This faith had reached its acme in the post-Newtonian era when man imagined the universe to be a super-machine and God to be a super-mechanic. Blasting to bits the conception of the rational behaviour of man, Freud made the effect of emotion, the importance of drives and the critical limitations on behaviour imposed by repression a generally accepted fact. In doing this Freud had conquered a new territory for science—a field until then exploited only by philosophy, poetry, art and religion.

FREUD AND DISSENTERS

Freud's main contribution is the extension of scientific investigation to explore mental conflict by exploring the "unconscious." Holding that the nature of man mainly biological, Freud recognized in human beings instinctual drives toward self-gratification. He divided the psyche into the "conscious" and the "unconscious" and then again into "id," "ego" and "superego." The "unconscious" is the pool in which are drowned both forgotten things or those "suppressed" and things painful to remember or those "repressed." The "id" is unconscious and is primitive in attempting gratification of drives. The "ego" is the conscious part of the human mind and the "superego" which belongs to the unconscious is the arbiter permitting the "ego" to allow the gratification of "id" or not. When these three fail to achieve harmony of functions, Freudian "neurosis" sets in, the common cause being "Oedipal feelings" (modern psycho-analytic term for Oedipus complex) in children. The variety of psychological or emotional disturbances that are the result of this lack of harmony is innumerable and these contribute to lack of social responsibility in individuals.

Psycho-analysis is the cure devised to "resolve" this emotional imbalance. On the couch the patient talks in "free association" and "repressed" and "suppressed" experiences are ventilated. In this the language of the patient's dreams plays an important part. "Neurosis" is said to be "resolved" when social responsibility is regained.

One of the earliest admirers of Freud to break away was Alfred Adler in 1911 because he attached more importance to "inferiority feelings" (modern scientific term for 'inferiority complex') than to sexual drives. For instance, organic inferiority, according to Adler, would develop "inferiority feelings" but it would, according to Freud develop "Oedipal feelings." Freud, at that time, was chiefly concerned with "libido" and had not, as yet, introduced the theory of "death instinct." Hence Adler's stand was not totally unjustified.

Another reason for Adler's schism is commonly attributed to Freud's overweening admiration for the only non-Jew in the group—Carl Gustav Jung. But two years later Jung himself broke away denying that "libido" (basic mental energy which, according to Freud, converts itself to sexual energy) was overwhelmingly sexual. He once condemned Freud's theories because "the brain is viewed as an appendage of the genital glands." Jung contended that "libido" is composed of both non-sexual and sexual drives and that such a thing exists as "racial memories" or "collective consciousness" within which are emotional stereotypes which he names "archetypes." Parts of Jung's theory are considered scientifically untenable because, according to Jung, dreams (resolution of conflict in sleep, according to Freud) are preparations for the future having prophetic content. Eighty-year old Jung now lives in Zurich interesting himself in Buddhism, yoga, myths, and rituals.

Another of the important dissenters is Otto Rank who said that the real emotional trouble was the "birth trauma"—the shock an infant suffers when it leaves the security of the womb. Normally this shock should disappear when the infant and later the child matures, but if it did not then neurosis would set in. Much of the symbolism of James Joyce's novels is derived from Rank.

WAS FREUD SCIENTIFIC?

Freud like a true genius was a man seeking the answer to a question. Many a scholar and

saint in India has posed himself the same question: Who am I? Two of India's well-known Yogis who passed away six years ago—Aurobindo Ghosh and Ramana Maharshi—have both asked themselves this question and they have both answered it in terms of Hindu mysticism. But Freud demanded of himself a scientific answer.

Throughout the course of his life Freud constantly checked and modified his basic assumptions at a time when the world was stretching or mutilating the economic man of Marx and the superman of Nietzsche on the Procrustean bed of theory. The numerous shifts he made have raised the question whether any theory that changes so frequently as Freud's did can be called scientific. One wag tried to clinch the argument by asking: "Does the multiplication table change?"

Only, the multiplication table is not science; it is only predetermined relationship between agreed symbols. Physics, the most reliable of our sciences, has changed so vastly that only the second law of thermodynamics has survived. On the other hand, science is not capricious either, like fashions by Christian Dior. Much of science relies today on statistical probability and so, according to a modern definition, "Science is the creation of a reliable notion."

Incontrovertibly Freud created a reliable notion. No theory has outmoded Freud's as Einstein's has outmoded Newton's. Despite many variations, psycho-analytical field work has amply borne out the validity of the fundamentals of Freud's life-work. Modern psychopathology owes more to Freud than any other individual. There are 9,000 psychiatrists in the United States alone of whom 619 are "hard-core" analysts. Apart from them there are many "lay" analysts (those who do not have an M.D.). At any one time in the United States there are about 15,000 patients undergoing psycho-analysis and the estimated total of Americans who have tried analysis as a cure is over 100,000.

All through his life Freud waged war to defend his theories. "They may abuse my doctrines by day," he once observed, "but I am sure they dream of them by night." Seventeen years ago on September 23, some days after the world blew up into the mighty conflagration of World War II, stricken painfully for many months by cancer of the jaw, Sigmund Freud died at 83 in London—another Jewish refugee of Hitler's domination of Austria.

He is not alive today to hear from the lips of every one the revolutionary phrases of his which shocked the urbane societies of Europe and America. He did not know that fiction, and consequently motion pictures, would adopt his ideas so completely in a few years that even an Indian peasant in a remote village would become aware of the necessity of a happy environment for his children. Psychologist Charles Baudoin, a staunch Swiss Catholic, declared recently, "Modern man cannot conceive of himself without Freud."

It is peculiar that all criticism one hears about Freudian theory is mostly invective hurled against its indisputable core. The strongest weapon of the anti-intellectuals who decry Freud is oversimplification. They say that, according to Freud, "man is nothing but a bundle of sex instincts," just as they say that, according to Darwin, "man is nothing but a monkey."

WHERE FREUD WAS WRONG

Those who preoccupy themselves with sexual instincts do not explore those theories of Freud which scholars consider scientifically unacceptable. These lie in the extension of the field of human behaviour where Freud makes dynamic impulses determinants of cultural patterns. For example, if factors of "death wish" and "aggression" were posited, these by themselves do not determine that we should have an organized war. Organized war, if Freud were right, would occur regularly.

When Albert Einstein posed Freud the question in a letter: "Is there any way of delivering mankind from the menace of war?" Freud wrote a very discouraging reply:

"Any effort to replace brute force by the might of an ideal, is under the present conditions, doomed to fail."

Later on in the same letter, summing up his arguments, he said:

"There is no likelihood of our being able to suppress humanity's aggressive tendencies."

At this conclusion Freud arrived by methodical argument in his letter to Einstein and in other works. This part of his theory is today considered obsolescent. The theory of aggressive tendencies in individuals from which society derives its organized force for destruction is at least two thousand years old and nothing new that Freud discovered. The Apostle James wrote in his General Epistle:

"From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?"

The rejection of this theory surprisingly comes from sociologists who are themselves educated on Freudian theses. Since aggression in individuals can be traced to childhood environmental factors, the latter could be improved under controlled conditions to such an extent that the former will cease to become a social menace. Plato, by the way, had envisaged this centuries ago and suggested in *Republic* that to build an ideal state children must be separated from the corrupting influences of elders

"by sending out into the country all those who are more than ten years old and by taking possession of the children who would thus be protected from the habits of their parents."

The elimination of war by elimination of individual and social aggression might only be the "wishful thinking" of well-intentioned social scientists. Freudian theory has too often been distorted and viewed as a study of sex and the "unconscious" without recognizing it as socio-psycho-biological one. If, in its role as the latter, it does not provide all the answers we must remember that it does attempt to pose all questions in a scientific manner—an advance over 19th century psychology.

However the "basic urges" which serve as the foundation of Freudian theory appear too much like the theory of "instincts" given currency by 19th century biologists of which Freud himself was highly critical because while components of "libido" lead to hetero-sexual fixations, there are libidinal components homosexually directed. Thus individuals are instinctively race-preservative or race-destructive.

It follows that if behaviour is either race-preservative or -destructive, there are no *basic* instincts independent of environment. Some psychologists, basing arguments on the "instinct theory" contend that socialism and elimination of war are impossible. Others hold that change in the educational system might divert aggression into socially more acceptable forms.

Much argument has gone on and will be mooted on this subject. Scientifically it may not be possible to prove whether the pacifist-minded social scientists of today or the gloom-ridden Freud of yesterday is right. Any such attempt will be frustrated because in social life many

conflicting situations will arise which will preclude the limiting of variables.

But science is essentially an accumulative process—the piling up of bits of reliable knowledge. Freud added a large chunk. The present conceptual and methodological difficulties of Freudian theory represent a transition from class-theoretical psychology to a field-theoretical one. Freud began his work when psychology was a class-theoretical science. The genius of Freud forbids a halo round his theories (like that imposed by Communists on the theories of Marx) to render them rigid, inelastic and doctrinaire.

Logical argument and original thinking based on statistical data devoid of prejudice should not hesitate to improve and modify his contribution. But meanwhile, the intellectual and the housewife and the unlettered factory-hand have admitted Freud into their vocabulary, into their very processes of thought, so much so that W. H. Auden writes :

"If often he was wrong and at times absurd
To us he is no more a person
Now but a climate of opinion."

—:O:—

REGIONAL PACTS AND WORLD SECURITY

BY PROF. DINA NATH VERMA, M.A.

ONE of the most widespread and superstitious beliefs in the modern world is that world peace can be maintained through regional pacts. The concluding of innumerable such pacts after World War II has been sought to be justified on this ground. The usefulness of such pacts has been repeated *ad nauseum* so that the people of the world have begun to cherish the belief that these alliances and pacts are the royal road to international peace and security. Strange as it may appear, even the U.N. Charter has recognised regional pacts as one of the efficacious instruments for world peace. The result is that beginning from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to the newly-signed Jeddah Pact between the three Arab States, the world has been at present honeycombed and meshed with a network of sundry regional, defence and mutual aid pacts and all in the sacred name of world peace. But the logic of this argument can appear only to those who are innocent of historical knowledge and devoid of analytical thought. The existence of regional pacts in our times is the testimony to the fact that we still believe in the old Roman adage, "If you want peace be prepared for war." Regional pacts have never maintained world peace. On the other hand, they have precipitated international crises and world wars. If there had been any signi-

ficant exception to this statement that has never been made a matter of record.

The genesis of regional pacts, as of many other things, can be traced back from ancient Greece. The Amphictyonic League, the Athenian Leagues, the Peloponnesian League, the Achæan League in ancient Greece are the examples of such ancient regional groupings which were created to deter aggression and promote co-operation. But in course of time these leagues swerved from their original moorings. Athens, like modern, America became a capitalist plutocracy and self-appointed guardian of public liberty throughout the Greek world. Sparta embraced communism dedicated to "discipline" and "planning." Power politics led these super-powers to try to dominate the various leagues which resulted in incessant fratricidal wars and eventually the complete destruction of ancient Greece.

The mediaeval period of world history was an age of endless confusion and hopeless international anarchy. However, out of this commotion came the conception of balance of power, set up by the Peace of Westphalia which concluded the Thirty Years' war in 1648. But the balance of power soon proved unstable due to disunity among the European powers; and the principle itself degenerated into confused

struggles among various warring camps. It was thought at that time that the security for the individual states could only be obtained by the formation of alliances to offset any attempt to overthrow the existing political equilibrium. But this also ended in disillusionment. Despite several alliances and counter-alliances the period witnessed many wars such as the War of Spanish Succession (1701), the War of Austrian Succession (1740), the Seven Years' War (1756) and the revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars, etc.

At Vienna Congress in 1815 a Quadruple Alliance was formed which gave birth to the Concert of Europe. Though the Concert had been supposed to be the first international organisation, it was in fact a sort of regional alliance, which also failed to maintain peace in Europe. Throughout the period between 1815 and 1871 there were violent revolutions for national unification and democratic rights in whole Europe and the Concert restored *status quo* (but not peace) only through the coercive method of armed intervention in the affairs of other sovereign States. There was also no dearth of wars in this period. The Crimean War of 1856, the War of Italian Unification, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 followed one another and no regional arrangement could prevent them.

In 1871 Germany along with Italy entered the European family of nations. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor of Germany, introduced a new element in international diplomacy. What is known as "Interlocking of International Politics" is solely the legacy of Bismarck, whose ambition was to make the newly-created German Empire secure from the "revanche" policy of France by diplomatically isolating her. He, therefore, cultivated friendship with Russia and finally succeeded in forming a secret Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy in 1882. The interests of these powers were so irreconcilable that Russia finally deserted the Central Powers and formed a counter-alliance with France in 1891, known as the Dual Alliance. Due to the Russian penetration in the Far East, England also abandoned her policy of "Splendid isolation" by concluding the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. When it became clear that Germany was becoming a powerful nation eager to dominate the world, England came to an understanding with France and the

Anglo-French Entente came into being in 1904. In 1907 England, France and Russia formed another alliance known as Triple Entente. Thus before the outbreak of the Armageddon in 1914 two opposing alliances—Triple Alliance and Triple Entente—were standing face to face and the spokesmen of each claimed that they had done so for sheer self-defence and world peace. But we all know what happened in 1914 and even before that. Alliances and counter-alliances were mainly responsible for Morocco, Agadir and Balkan crises that set the stage for the great dance of death that followed the Searajevo murder.

Though the aggressive policy of the dictators caused the Second World War, here too defence pacts were no less responsible for aggravating international tension. The Franco-Belgian military alliance of 1920, the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance of 1921, the formation of Little Entente in 1920-21 by Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and later on the French participation in it were all regional pacts created during the period between the two World Wars. In 1934 Mussolini formed an "Italian bloc" by concluding a series of agreements with Hungary and Austria. The anti-comintern Axis and other alignments were all symptoms of a general malady which ultimately brought the Second World War.

Thus it is clear that never since the dawn of history regional pacts have served their ostensible purpose of securing world security. This historical sense of Woodrow Wilson impelled him to remark that

"There can be no leagues or alliances, or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations."

But this considered opinion of the learned President was contemptuously ignored by Churchill when he made his notorious speech at Fulton in 1946 in which he propounded "the policy of containment" of communism by fair means or foul. If as a matter of practical politics, pleaded Senator Vandenburg following Mr. Churchill, the free world could do nothing more, "let us by all means help to form a series of special groupings for peace." And on June, 11, 1948, the Senate passed his resolution empowering the Administration to favour the "progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements." The result has been that during the last ten years various regional organisations



Bihar Martyrs—A view of the full composition
Sculptor: Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury



The dead falling boy being supported by one of the followers of the great march
Sculptor: Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

have cropped up under several treaties among a group of nations such as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the Brussels Pact, the NATO the ANZUS Pact, the U.S.-Pak Military Aid Pact, the Balkan Pact, the SEADO and the Bagdad Pact. This growing trend towards regional arrangements and mutual assistance pacts is not in consonance with the aims and objects of the U.N. Charter. Such arrangements divert the attention from the international organisation and may in time, according to Armstrong, "overshadow the organisation's universal character and aim." That such arrangements have led to the formation of well-marked blocs and had aggravated power politics and international tension in recent times is a patent fact even to a superficial observer of every day newspaper.

It is mainly on this ground that the U.S.S.R. has condemned such pacts. But the irony is this that she has done the same thing which she criticises. The Warsaw Pact, the Communist counter-part of the NATO, and the Sino-Russian Mutual Aid and non-aggression pacts are the regional alliances sponsored by the communists.

Historically speaking, therefore, regional pacts are no panacea for world wars. Their very existence creates war atmosphere and international tension. Each country thinks that the pacts or treaties formed by others are so many daggers pointed at its heart and *vice versa*. This compels everyone to be always in a "state of preparedness." It sometimes tempts them to wage even "preventive wars." Now in this atomic age it will serve nobody's purpose to refuse to read the writing on the wall. In the present state of international tension one can say with mathematical certainty that there will be no localised war and this also is equally certain that in any future world war there will neither be victor nor vanquished; the same volcano will engulf both Mr. Ike and John, Mr. Nikita and Nikoli. What is required in this much-tormented world of ours is, firstly, to delete Articles 51 and 52 from the U. N. Charter, and secondly, the affirmation of

faith by all nations in the principles of "Panchashila" so sincerely sponsored by our own Prime Minister. And if pacts are at all necessary let there be Locarno-type agreements or Kellogg-Briand type Pacts. But covenants, said Hobbes, are useless if the parties are unwilling to observe the solemn pledges they have undertaken. Even Locarno-type agreements would be unnecessary if we are not sincere about our international commitments. And the tragedy is that our international obligations are observed more in their breaches than in their observance and thus we are still, as it were, in the "State of Nature."

The several offers of olive branches by Russia recently, the repudiation of Stalin line, the dissolution of the Cominform and the conciliatory attitude of the Russian leaders led the present writer to believe that these regional pacts would be allowed to die a natural death and they would be given a decent burial. But the recent meeting of the NATO powers and decisions arrived at there have shocked the consensus of enlightened public opinion of the world. The decision to recast the NATO and thus bring the cold war in yet another field is evidently not calculated to throw oil on troubled waters. The only lesson that history teaches, said Hegel euphemistically, is that history teaches no lesson. But there is still time to learn at least this lesson from history that pacts and alliances are really the cause of war and not the harbinger of peace.

Fortunately for the world Mr. Churchill who so assiduously pleaded for regional pacts in his Fulton Speech, and who by no stretch of imagination can be considered an admirer of Soviet Russia, has made a very important statement recently at Aachen in which he has stated that if Russian repudiation of Stalin were sincere she should be invited to join the NATO. That means the NATO would lose its real significance and other regional pacts would naturally follow suit. This is high time to seize the opportunity and act. History should not be allowed to repeat itself.



SUEZ—LEGAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

By H. N. GULATI, M.A.

THE worldwide importance which Suez Canal has gained today, on account of a proclamation of nationalisation by Col. Nasser, is due to the fact that this small artery is to some extent responsible for linking Europe and Asia, the East and the West.

In order to have a clear grasp of the legal and political aspects of the Canal, it is essential to keep before us a clear and unblurred picture of its growth, right from its inception and conception.

The credit for this profoundly important link goes to one Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps. Of course the idea was not original. A navigable canal linking the Nile to the Red Sea through Wadi Tumulat had been started by the Pharaoh Necho in the seventh century B.C., and brought to completion by Darius I after the Persian conquest of Egypt.

Constructed at a time when air traffic was yet unknown, its significance today in an era of air navigation remains undiminished. For transportation of odd, unwieldy, bulky cargoes the usefulness of waterways is unrivalled.

The equivalent to the all-sea route round the Cape of Good Hope figured prominently in the minds of all European nations. Already in 1839 an overland route through Egypt between the Mediterranean and the Arabian through the Red Sea had been achieved through British efforts. Alexandria-Cairo railway link completed in 1856 and the Suez-Cairo railway link completed in 1857, made possible the journey swift and comfortable. The new route, no doubt served well the light and passenger traffic; the commercial proposition was still unsolved.

Out of this commercial proposition emerged momentous political issues. A new all-sea route dispensing with the Cape was highly pungent to Britain. She had an exclusive control over the already existing, water route. Not only would her monopoly be lost, but the new plan would create rivals to the British commercial interests, most of whom being closer to the Suez might hamper the British trade, and upset the political balance in Europe. A canal, "changing as it would the relative position of some of the maritime powers of Europe towards each other," as Lord Palmerston observed, "would involve the possibility of political consequences of great import." Britain saw in the enterprise French intention to assert political hegemony over Europe.

In 1834, the request of a Frenchman Fournel to build a canal was turned down by Mohammed Ali, who at that time was the ruler of Egypt (under the

suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey). The latter with a penetrating political foresight visualized that in the event of a canal being constructed, the independence of Egypt would be jeopardized. Mohammed Ali's successor Abbas followed in the footsteps of his grandfather.

After the death of Abbas in 1854, his uncle Said succeeded him. Ferdinand de Lesseps, a shrewd Frenchman, was quick to grasp the opportunity. He had developed friendship with Said while his father had been the French Consul-General in Egypt. Ferdinand himself happened to be an *élève* Consul at that time but was dismissed later by Napoleon III. The friendship fetched to de Lesseps a fat reward. Said granted him in November 1854, a concession for the construction of the coveted canal. It was to last 99 years. It is important to bear in mind at this stage that the concession needed and still awaited ratification by the Sultan.

At that time the political atmosphere in Europe was one of bellicosity. Britain, France and Turkey were ranged against Russia. France did not want to take the political risk of embarking upon the new waterway without taking partners with her. Russia was already arrayed against her. In the teeth of British opposition, the adventure was reckoned unwise. Under these circumstances, the attitude of the French government could be none other than that of aloofness.

De Lesseps, however was fired with great enthusiasm. His zeal would not allow his scheme to be watered down. Propelled by the determination to carry through the scheme, he hit upon the project of making it an international proposition. He would not like to subject the canal to an international control. His only objective was to avoid the possibility of political tensions.

An international Commission was formed, and charged with the duty of furnishing a report on the advisability of the venture.

At the time of granting the concession, it was not stipulated whether the canal was to pass through the Isthmus of Suez or would go *via* the Wadi Tumulat to the Nile. On the basis of the recommendations of the Commission the Wadi Tumulat route was abandoned and the alternative through the Isthmus of Suez adopted.

With the shift from the individual to the international proposition, the original concession was revised in January 1856 in favour of a corporate company named *Compagnie Universelle du Canal*

Maritime du Suez. Two of the stipulations in the new concession need a special mention.

In the first place, in addition to the express provision for cutting the canal through the Suez Isthmus, the Company was granted for the period of concession a strip of land in the Wadi Tumulat for the purpose of constructing a sweet water canal. This would link the Nile to the Suez Canal and satisfy the essential needs of the Canal zone. Secondly, the Company was exempted from the payment of taxes while it would be enjoying the benefits unhindered.

Financial provisions entitled the Egyptian government a royalty of 15 per cent of the net dividends of the Company. 10 per cent of the net profits were earmarked for the founder shares, allocation of which rested with the Company. Balance of 75 per cent of the dividends was to be the share of the ordinary share-holders.

Said was lured into concluding a secret protocol whereby Egyptian labour might be supplied during the course of building the Canal. This to all intents and purposes was forced labour. The workers were to work hundreds of miles away from their hearths and homes. No willing worker was prepared to undertake the hazardous job, especially when there was no expectation of a commensurate remuneration for the work. The Company by forcing this provision down the throat of Said hoped to solve one of the difficult problems connected with the Canal construction.

In October 1858, a blue-print for financing the scheme was drawn up and subscription list opened. The capital of Fr. 200,000,000 (£8,000,000) was divided into 400,000 shares of Fr. 50,000 each. 207,111 shares were held in France and 96,517 by the Egyptian government. 85,506 shares which had been set apart for Britain, Russia and U.S.A., were unacceptable to them, and as such remained unsold.

De Lesseps dexterously handled Said and allured him into purchasing the unsold shares.

The French nationals and the French government owe not a small amount of gratitude to the ingenuity of Ferdinand de Lesseps who with tireless efforts was bent upon carrying through the scheme. His way was fraught with hazards and hardships at every step. Napoleon III was not sympathetic towards him and had even gone to the extent of dismissing him from the consular service in Egypt. However, he managed to win over the support of Napoleon. De Lesseps could now with confidence count upon the support of the French government. In April 1859, De Lesseps undertook to initiate the construction without the ratification of the Sultan. Viewed at from the legal stand-point the step was highly objectionable.

The impotence of the Egyptian government and the Sultan to take steps against the illegal move of De Lesseps in starting the construction was partly

and temporarily off-set by the British opposition which took advantage of the forced labour issue and brought about suspension of the construction till the beginning of 1863. Said's successor Ismail was required to pay £1,520,000 as recompense for having refused to supply the labour in contravention of Said's agreement. An additional sum of £1,840,000 was to be paid, as a price, to the Company, which abandoned the sweet water canal concession. Ismail after the death of Said had called into question the validity of 1856 concession granted by the latter. Conscious of his weakness Ismail could ill-afford to ask for an outright annulment of the concessions; he contemplated to negotiate a revision of the concessions relating to the supply of labour and the Wadi Tumulat lands. To that end he commissioned his minister Nubar Pasha. The Pasha found himself helpless amidst his powerful virtual masters; and was constrained in March 1864, to submit the claim to the arbitration of Napoleon. It is a strange case of arbitration where a party to the dispute is made the judge.

The award directed Ismail to pay the price for the abrogation of the two clauses (in respect of forced labour and sweet water canal) in the 1856 concession. Not only was the award unilateral, but it lacked the support of law. The contract was unenforceable by municipal or international law. It was incomplete, wanting in ratification by the Ottoman Sultan, who possessed the sovereign right to grant the concession.

The Egyptians had to buy back their own property against a huge payment as a result of the arbitral award. It was a sort of penalty, so it may be said, imposed upon the Egyptians, on account of the 'generosity' of Said. Let it not be forgotten that the Canal Company had not been deprived of the benefits of the sweet water canal. Rather the new waterway could not possibly have been built without the supply of fresh water from the Nile.

The manner in which the Sultan, in April 1865, was forced to issue a *firman* giving approval to the canal enterprise, brings into lime-light, the high-handedness with which the concessions were secured.

Hoskins in *The Middle East* has correctly remarked :

"The methods of financing the construction and maintenance of the Canal constitute the darkest chapter in the history of the waterway."

The international commission appointed in January 1856, to advise on the technical aspects of the project, had estimated that the entire project till completion would not cost more than £6,000,000. However, the cost published by the Company put it at £16,000,000, which has not been unimpeachably established. Of this sum, more than two-thirds of the contributions were those of Egypt. The table given below illustrates in detail the Egyptian disbursements:

Amount of ordinary share holding	£3,750,000
Compensation as per Arbitral Award	£3,500,000
Expenses in connection with construction	
of sweet water canal	£3,250,000
Expenses of opening ceremony plus	
sundry expenses of missions, etc.,	
in connection with the canal	£1,000,000
Total	£11,500,000

—John Marlowe: *Anglo-Egyptian Relations*, 1800—1953, p. 71.

Putting the things in a slightly different way, it may be said that Said and Ismail paid about £8,300,000 in return for a 15 per cent share in the profits, while approximately the same amount had been invested by the ordinary share-holders in return for 75 per cent of the shares.

Matters do not end there. The Egyptian treasury was unable to contribute. Ismail was forced to borrow money on disastrous terms.

The inauguration ceremony of the Canal took place in November 1869, with great pomp and show. Whatever might be the quantum of opposition offered by Britain, the Canal was a *fait accompli*. The new opening to the heavy goods represented a diplomatic triumph of France. French interests accounted for 50 per cent of the ordinary shares, and probably the entire 10 per cent of the founder shares. The balance largely represented the Egyptian stake. The Canal was controlled entirely by French personnel. The company was not international.

Hardly had a few years elapsed after its construction, when the British Government began to realize the political wisdom of a share in the control over the Canal. Fortunately for the British, Franco-Prussian war was fought and Napoleon III was defeated. Prime Minister Disraeli was quick to grab the opportunity. By this time Ismail was passing through financial difficulties, and negotiating with one M. Dervien, a French banker. Implementation of the project meant 100 per cent ownership and control of France. Disraeli viewed it as having serious political consequences for Britain. Taking advantage of France's weakened position, he did not allow Dervien-Ismael proposal to be carried through. Instead, at a cost of £4,000,000 he in 1874 purchased all of Egypt's ordinary shares.

That is not an end to the tragic history of Egypt connected with the new hopes of the West. Ismail was forced to transfer control over the finances of the State to Anglo-French Controllers who sold away the 15 per cent Preference Shares to the credit of Foncier de France in part settlement of the debt.

The Canal brought ruin to Egypt in another way also. The revenues from it were not benefiting Egypt. By peculiar methods of financial irregularities, the real masters were being deprived of their due share; and were also left with no alternative but to bear the

brunt on account of the diversion of the traffic from the overland Egyptian route to the Canal. Thus the waterway instead of adding to, was in no small degree responsible for, subtracting the State revenues.

Henceforth, the effective control over the Canal was shared between the French and the British, and with the passage of time the latter came to dominate the scene.

The history of the Canal and the political fates linked therewith have passed through curious metamorphoses. Intended as an international highway, it turned out on completion, to be one having the French prerogative. It started with bitter British opposition, but in course of time came to be a British monopoly. John Marlow has likened the British role in the economic and political game of the Canal to that of a batsman intending to resist the intensity and target of the ball striking the wicket 'had mistimed it, and scored an ignominious boundary through the slips'. Started with Egyptian capital and labour it came to have European ownership.

It was only as a result of strong agitation and bitter demonstrations that the Company in August 1937, was forced to allow Egypt to derive certain benefits from the operations of the Canal. The royalty of the Egyptian Government was fixed at £ E 300,000; two Egyptians were included in the Company's board of directors, and the share of Egyptian employees in the Canal organization was enhanced to 33 per cent. The agreement of 1949 between the Company and Egypt, elevating the latter to the position of a "privileged partner", was also the result of pressure brought to bear on the Company.

STAKE OF BRITAIN AND U.S.A.

Since the onset of industrial revolution till towards the beginning of World War I, Great Britain held a position of supremacy in the world. During these years the Canal was, in the British communicational system, an indispensable link between her and her empire in the East. Primary reliance for maintenance of hold on India, Burma and other interest-zones was placed on it. World War II brought in its trail a gradual loss of Britain's power and prestige. The United States emerged as a leading power. Suez Canal has played not an insignificant role in the new world relationships. Halford L. Hoskins observes:

"Nothing better illustrates the shift in international leadership and the new role of the United States in world politics than the sudden development of American interest in the Suez Canal."

American interest in the waterway developed as a result of the necessity of transportation of petroleum from the Middle East required for the fulfilment of the Economic Recovery programme. The fuel requirements assumed bigger proportions with the assumption of leadership by the United States of North Atlantic treaty commitments. The enhancement of petroleum

needs increased the importance of the waterway. In the beginning of World War II, American interest in the Canal was meagre. In 1938, cargoes carried by American ships represented only 1.2 per cent of the total tonnage passing through. By the close of the War the figure reached 22 per cent. Since then American traffic was on the increase. The construction of pipe lines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia in 1949 and thereafter, did not make her dispense with the necessity of movement of oil through the Canal. The recoupment of the economic and political health of Western Europe demanded a still greater quantity of petroleum. Pipe lines alone could not cope with the situation. Transportation by tankers passing through the Suez was necessary.

INTERNATIONAL STATUS

The international status of the Canal emerged from the political situation prevailing at the time. Though De Lesseps had been successful in obtaining the concession, he did not like to move ahead with the project single-handed. When the time came for subscribing the shares, big powers were unwilling to have a finger in the pie. Russia, U.S.A. and Britain declined participation. The status of the waterway remained undefined even when it started functioning.

The exigencies of the war that broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1877 brought to the fore the issue of control over the Canal. Formerly, Turkey exercised sovereignty over it. It being a part of her empire the Canal was open to Russian attack. The logical inference alarmed Britain, who had already in 1875 purchased shares of the Company, essentially with a view to the safeguarding of her imperial interests. With that end in view she had assumed responsibility for the defence of the Canal, which was the nerve-centre of her empire. On May 6, 1877, she had asserted her position of control by a proclamation that any interference with the free navigation of the Canal would be considered an unfriendly act, inconsistent with her neutral position. An Anglo-Egyptian agreement signed on September 7, 1877, further strengthened British claims of protection.

In 1882, there was an armed revolt in Egypt headed by Ahmad Arabi. Acting on the authority of the Khedive British forces were employed for the protection of the Canal. Till 1882, *de jure* control over the Canal rested with Turkey, and *de facto* power was exercised by Britain.

The incident of 1882 has in it the seeds of the birth of 1888 convention. Other powers desired to restrain Britain in the exercise of her exclusive control over, and her acquiescence in the principle of free navigation through the Canal. After a good deal of negotiations, a convention representing Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Holland, Italy, Spain and Turkey, was signed in 1888 at Constantinople. *Inter alia*, the text says:

(1) "The Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag."—Art. 1.

(2) "Similarly the provisions of Articles IV, V, VII and VIII shall not interfere with the measures which His Majesty the Sultan and His Highness the Khedive, in the name of His Imperial Majesty, and within the limits of the *firmans* granted, might find it necessary to take for securing by their own forces the defence of Egypt and maintenance of public order."—Art. X.

Britain, however, still possessed the trump card. The agreement exempted her from the applicability of the terms of the agreement, till her occupation of Egypt. France accepted the reservation grudgingly. It was only after the Anglo-French agreement of 1904, that the Constantinople convention came into force. Britain consented to respect the 1888 convention, and to accept the obligation of defence and of safeguarding free navigation. The principle of free passage was respected during the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, notwithstanding the fact that Japan was allied to Britain. During both the World Wars when Britain had a direct stake, she subordinated the provision of free navigation to the necessity of defence.

The year 1922 brought independence to Egypt, but Britain retained *status quo* in respect of the Canal. The British declaration of February 28 "absolutely reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government" the defence of the Canal, and by implication the security of free navigation.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, though granting to Britain the same rights in respect of defence of the Canal as she already possessed, brought about one significant change. The Canal was recognised as an integral part of Egypt. Great Britain was to aid in the defence and security of free navigation of the Canal till such time as Egypt made herself strong enough militarily "to ensure by her own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Canal."

The outbreak of hostilities between Egypt and Israel after the announcement of the partition scheme of Palestine by the United Nations brought forth fundamental problems over the use of free passage through the Canal. These arose out of the institution of blockade of movement of goods or passengers from and to Israel passing through the Canal. Embargo continued even after armistice. On the one hand, the Egyptian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs asserted that "Egypt's sovereignty over navigation in her territorial waters is affirmed by international law," on the other hand, the conflict between the two clauses of the 1888 convention presented itself as a problem. Israel referred the complaint against unjustified acts of Egypt to the Security Council in 1951. The Council

upheld Israel's contention and called upon Egypt "to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound." Egypt refused to accept the admonition, invoking Art. X in support of her standpoint. Contending that armistice had not terminated the state of war, self-defence gave her the right to continue the ban on the passage of ships through the Canal.

The question as to what extent the Constantinople convention restricted Egypt's sovereign rights remained unsolved.

In the context of the recent developments, arising out of a declaration of nationalisation by Col. Nasser, that has given rise to hectic moves on the part of the West, especially Britain, the fundamental issue is whether there can be any international control over the Canal. History of the Suez tells us that Egypt has an inalienable right of sovereignty over the Canal. We are to recall the year 1925 when Egypt declined to extend the concession by an additional period of 40 years. The right to refuse, establishing Egypt's suzerainty, has never been challenged except till recently.

Undoubtedly, not only the West but other powers also are interested in the free passage through the waterway. That, however, does not imply a throw of challenge to the sovereign rights of a nation. Our Prime Minister while accepting participation in the London Conference scheduled for 16th. August, announced in Parliament:

"A settlement of this problem on the basis of the sovereignty and dignity of Egypt and by agreement among all concerned and the abandonment of postures of threat and violence and of unilateral action by either party are therefore of the utmost concern to India."

Egypt's refusal to attend the Conference is based upon the non-acceptance of the unqualified principle of internationalisation. Sri Nehru remarked:

"This conference can reach no final decision for that requires the agreement of Egypt."

As to the necessity of freedom of navigation, and a guarantee of the implementation of 1888 convention, Col. Nasser has unequivocally announced that nationalisation does not affect that freedom. The stand that Egypt has taken appears to be justified.

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THE ECONOMICS OF CHEMICAL FERTILIZER

By JYOTIRMOY RAY, M.A.,

Economic Research Section, Central Jute Committee

THAT the law of diminishing returns comes into operation more rapidly in agriculture is known to the people since the time of Ricardo, if not earlier. That intensive cultivation renders the soil poorer and poorer is not a new experience either. The reason is also clear enough. For centuries, man has known that nitrogen, a chief plant food and the vital constituent of soil fertility is taken out by each harvest much faster than it is replaced in the natural course. To meet the situation, man at first took recourse to farm-yard manures and composed heaps; but soon the necessity of increased supply of nitrogen was felt and felt deeply. Farm-yard manure was found to be insignificant as compared to the demand of the soil.

In fact, this nitrogen deficiency of the soil began to cause headache to the scientists in the agriculturally advanced countries as early as the last quarter of the 19th century. It was realised that unless a cheap and abundant source of nitrogen could be discovered, the world would run short of food-stuff at no distant date.

Three-fourths of the air is composed of nitrogen, but unfortunately it cannot be used as plant food in

its free state. Scientists, however, found a way out to separate nitrogen from other elements and this finally led to the production of fixed nitrogen to be used in soil as fertilizer. This was, undoubtedly, a great achievement in the field of science and technology which has saved mankind from the impending danger of starvation. Today, the world uses 1,76,37,000 metric tons of chemical fertilizers every year. One cannot but lift his hat in the memory of those German scientists* who pioneered the field.

The dawn of independence synchronized with a keen desire to augment the agricultural productivity of India. The experience of the Bengal Famine in 1943 had been so terrible that even the foreign rulers of the then India found it hard to sit idle. It was not difficult to realise that unless a successful programme of intensive cultivation could be launched immediately, the story of 1943 would repeat again and again.

It was under such background that the Foodgrains Policy Committee was constituted. This committee

* Harber and Bosch.

recommended as a first step, the implementation of a 350,000-ton Ammonium Sulphate factory. The choice naturally fell on Sindri in view of its nearness to two essential raw materials—coal and coke. The river Damodar would solve the problem of water. Gypsum, another essential raw material was, however, not available in Bihar or its neighbouring States. It was, therefore, decided that gypsum would be imported from North Punjab. But unfortunately, we have lost that part of the country as a result of partition. Thanks to the agility of the National Government, a new source of gypsum was soon discovered in Rajasthan.

Though planned by the foreigners, the giant fertilizer factory at Sindri was implemented by the National Government of India with a total investment of Rs. 23 crores. It went into production in October, 1951 and since then is progressing in rapid strides. The following figures will speak for themselves:

Year	Production of ammonium sulphate at Sindri (in tons)
1951 ^a	7,445
1952-53	219,340
1953-54	249,953
1954-55	290,983
1955-56 ^b	320,000

- (a) The factory went into production towards the end of the year, namely, October.
 (b) Estimated. The actual production figure of 1955-56 was not available at the time of writing this article.

Though Sindri marks an important epoch in the history of our heavy chemical industry, it would, however, be wrong to suppose that it was the first plant to manufacture chemical fertilizers in India. The pioneering credit is due to Mysore which installed an ammonium sulphate factory at Belagula in the year 1939. That was, however, a very small plant with a production capacity of only 6,000 tons per year. The Steel works at Tatanagar and Burnpur as well as some coal fields in Bihar were also producing some amount of synthetic ammonia as by-products of their coke-oven plants, the sum-total of which was about 250,000 tons per year. Before World War II, the imports of chemical fertilizers in India was also insignificant.

Being a student of agricultural economics, I may venture to say that of the nitrogenous fertilizers now in use in India, ammonium sulphate is the most popular. There exists, however, a general belief that its continuous use renders the soil poorer and poorer every year, if not actually barren. It is the business of the soil chemists to dispel this belief and I consider myself least capable of saying anything in this regard.

It has, however, been found to be an important source of nitrogen supply to the soil, its nitrogen content being 20.6 per cent as against 6 per cent in

oil-cakes and only 0.5 per cent in farmyard manures. In regions of heavy rainfall, ammonium sulphate is found to have a wonderful preserving value and is excellently resistant to leaching.

* * *

The ever-growing burden of population on the one hand and the fantastically low standard of living on the other demand an immediate and thorough overhauling of the agricultural system in India. The First Five-Year Plan, therefore, concentrated much of its energy and resources in that direction. A vast area of hitherto unploughed lands were successfully brought under cultivation. But that was not enough. Attention was, therefore, diverted to intensive cultivation as well.

When more and more crop is required to be obtained from a particular plot of land, it is imperative that a sufficient quantity of manure be applied. One may expect that with the largest number of cattle population in the world, India can obtain more than enough of farmyard manure and composed heaps. But alas! here also we are poor. A huge quantity of cattle-refuse is used as fuel by the village-folk thereby depriving the land of a potential source of nitrogen supply. The role of chemical fertilizers in the agricultural regeneration of India can, therefore, be, by no means, insignificant.

A plant generally requires three kinds of food—nitrogen, phosphorus and potash. The soil in India is particularly deficient in nitrogen and phosphorus. Ammonium sulphate and superphosphate are responsible for the supply of nitrogen and phosphorus respectively. It has already been stated that ammonium sulphate contains about 20.6 per cent of nitrogen; the phosphorus contents of superphosphate varies from 15 to 18 per cent. The experts in agriculture assert that almost all crops grown on almost all types of soil in India respond favourably to the application of nitrogen. Its response to crop like paddy has been stupendous throughout the length and breadth of the country in spite of the difference in topography and climate. I have the practical experience of applying ammonium sulphate in several doses as top-dressing to jute plants and the results obtained were highly satisfactory. I must also add here that the response to the application of additional doses of phosphate was not so encouraging.

Anyway, it has been successfully demonstrated to our agriculturists that the use of ammonium sulphate in different types of crop becomes in the end more than paying. Still one must confess that chemical fertilizers in India have not made much headway so far as an average Indian farmer is concerned. The reason is mainly two-fold: psychological and economic. The psychological factor has already been referred to. The

apprehension that it causes a permanent deterioration in the soil can, however, be dispelled without much difficulty if it has no actual foundation. But the second factor is more baffling and cannot be so easily eradicated. Bold planning and energetic drives are necessary for the purpose.

The poverty of an Indian ryot is proverbial. Though the price of India-made ammonium sulphate compares favourably with the world price, an average Indian cultivator can hardly afford its use even in small doses. Unless there is sufficient inflow of money in the rural sector, the dream of agricultural regeneration of India is destined to remain unfulfilled. Some steps have already been taken in the right direction. The abolition of the Zamindari system, the creation of the State Bank of India and various co-operative societies, all are expected to augment the purchasing power of the teeming millions of India.

In the meantime, as a result of central subsidy ammonium sulphate was being made available to cultivators at a specially reduced rate. The subsidised scheme, however, now stands withdrawn and in its place a scheme for providing credits to the agriculturists has been introduced. To enable the cultivators to purchase chemical fertilizers, the Government of India is making available to the States a sum of Rs. 8 crores since the year 1953. This is to be given as loan to be recovered either in cash or in kind at the end of each harvest. Needless to say that this fund is being utilised profitably by the farmers as far as it goes.

The distribution of chemical fertilizers is the responsibility of the Central Fertilizer Pool operated by the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The retail distribution to the cultivators is done by the States through its various agencies. The distribution machinery of the State is further to improve and should aim at establishing a depot in each village. That the chemical fertilizer has taken its roots firmly in the Indian soil can be gauged by the following

figures of its consumption in different years:

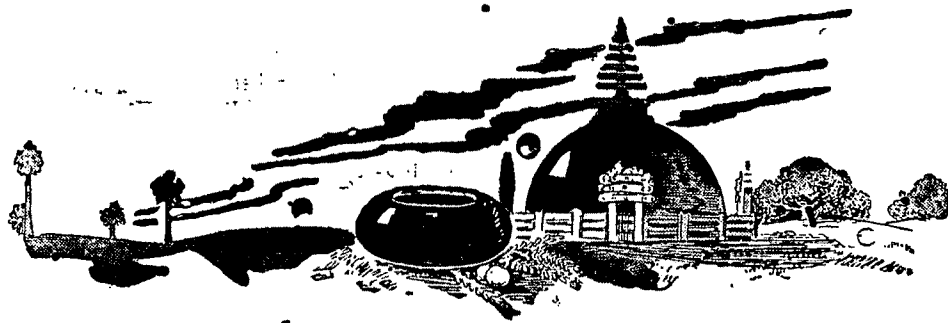
Years	Consumption of ammonium sulphate (in tons)
1953	276,000
1954	550,000
1955	650,000

At present India produces 340,222 tons of ammonium sulphate and the balance is made by imports. The installed capacity of the existing plants is 426,890 tons. The Second Five-Year Plan proposes to increase the producing capacity of the installed plants besides the establishment of 3 new plants. It has been estimated that about 900,000 tons of nitrogen will be required by 1961 and the Government of India and the Planning Commission are keenly aware of the situation. On the recommendation of the Fertilizer Production Committee, Bhakra-Nangal area has already been tentatively selected as the site of a new plant with a capacity of 200,000 annual tons.

Besides pure ammonium sulphate and superphosphate, certain manufacturers also deal with 'manure-mixture.' Some use machinery for the process of mixing while others do the same by hand. The mixture is generally composed of ammonium sulphate, superphosphate, oil-cakes, bone-meals and muriate of potash. Ammonium sulphate, however, forms the important ingredient of the mixture. Amongst themselves, these manufacturers produce about 200,000 tons annually.

Chemical fertilizers have come to stay. Indigenous production has much reduced our dependence on foreign imports and it also saves about Rs. 12 crores of foreign exchange. It has been estimated that the use of chemical fertilizers has increased our food production alone by about 1,800,000 tons valued at about Rs. 50 crores. Its contribution to commercial crops like jute and cotton and plantations like tea and cocoa is not insignificant. Let us hope that by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the country will be self-sufficient in this regard and increase the national prosperity by augmenting the agricultural production of all kinds.

- Rs. 315 per ton at any rail-head in India.

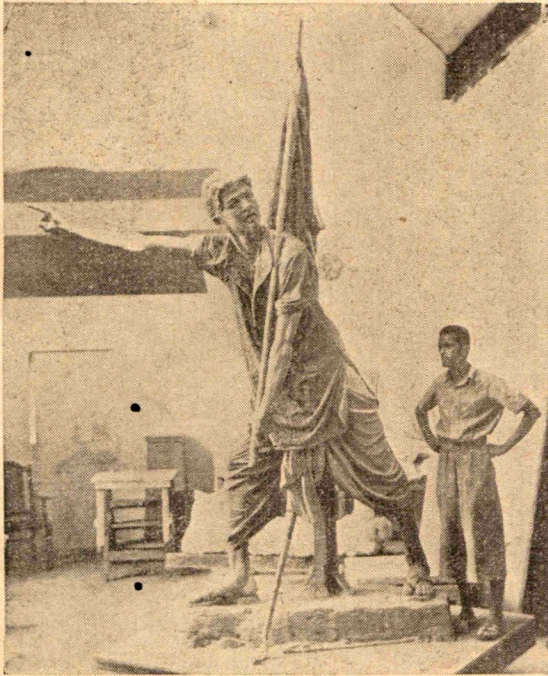


THE MARTYRS

By ARTHUR CARSON

TAKING time off from my work as an art-critic in Britain I have just concluded a two-year stay in South India. During this holiday whilst in Madras, on my friends there insisting that I should meet the Principal of the Madras School of Art and Crafts, with some misgivings I finally consented and have never regretted taking this decision.

I am of the opinion that it is strange that no patriotic Indian has come forward to supply the necessary financial backing, as, if he had done so he would have brought fame and renown to India.



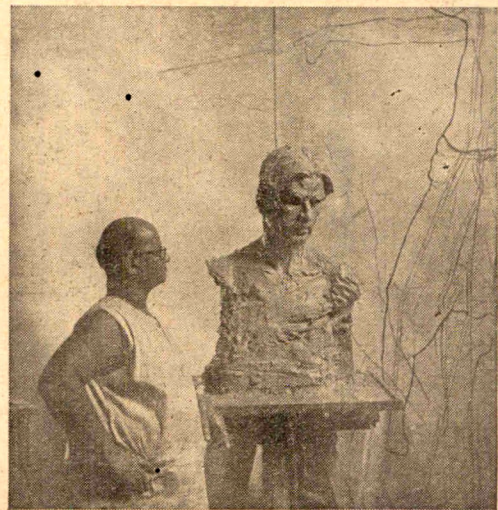
The leader carrying the banner

I found the Principal, Chowdhury, a burly, genial Bengali, who had spent over a decade at this school, was not only a painter and sculptor but a writer of novels in Bengali and at one time a keen *shikari*. His paintings were good, some even outstanding but it was on seeing his sculptures that I got the shock of my life as quite frankly I never expected to find in India such an outstanding sculptor. Looking at the head of his *Father*, his powerful *Thinker* and the *Triumph of Labour* I was reminded of the work of Rodin, especially Chowdhury's group of workers as here in another form was surely something which could be compared with Rodin's work, the *Burghers of Calais*.

By chance I had discovered a great genius about whom I had never previously heard a word and who if he had shown his sculpture in Europe would by now have been internationally famous. Chowdhury told me that his paintings had been shown in England and Europe but lack of finance had prevented him taking his sculpture there. This did not surprise me but I



One of the followers. Mark the determination in his face and also the forward steps



In the process of making

In the course of my first meeting with Chowdhury I was interested to learn that he has another genius in his family as his son is an expert in Indian classical



The details of the back muscle in movement in one of the figures of the composition



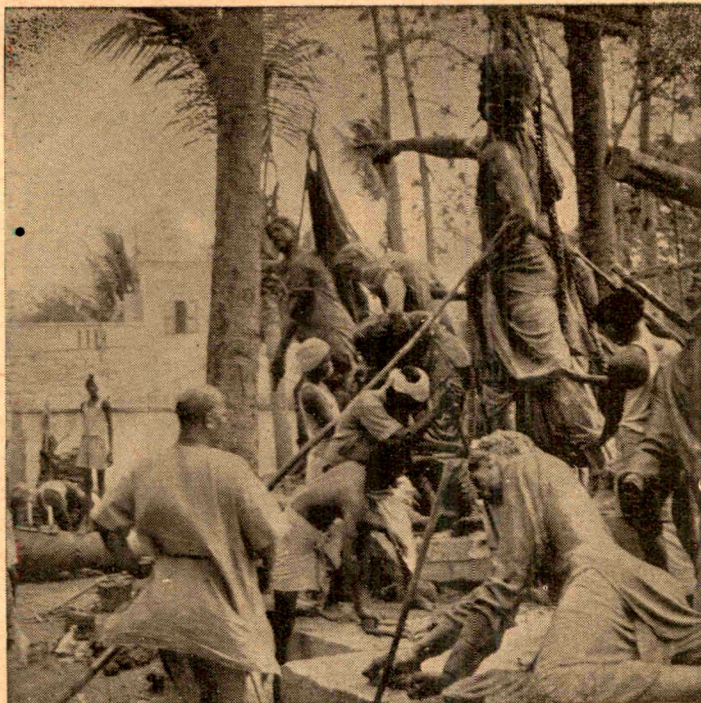
One of the figures of the composition



The dead falling boy



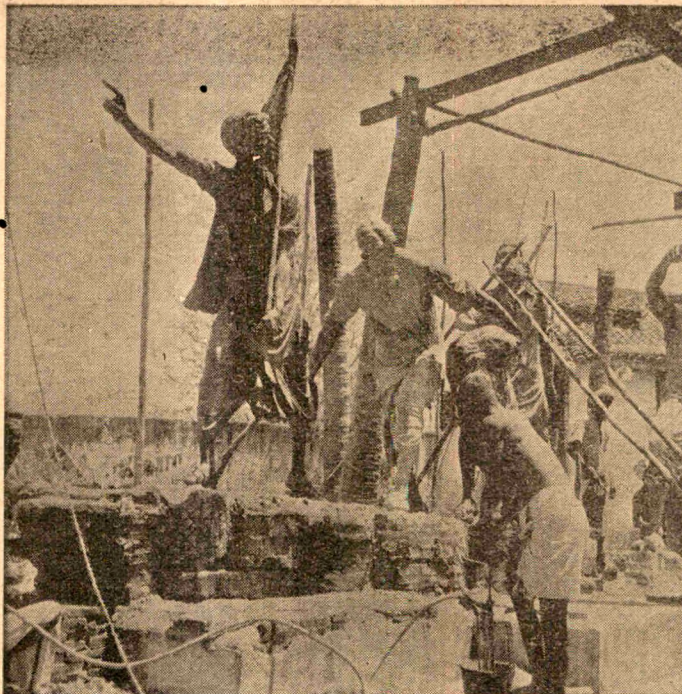
The artist—Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury



The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition



The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition



The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition



Full composition seen from a different angle

dancing but perhaps profiting from his father's experience of being 'a prophet without honour or reward in his own country' he had quit India's shores for the more profitable pastures of America.

I had many more meetings with Chowdhury and was privileged to see this master execute another great work, a memorial to the Bihar martyrs, seven Indian lads, who in 1942 attempted to replace the Union Jack, flying on the Patna Secretariat, with the Indian National Flag and were shot dead for their patriotism, in his studio which was far too small, lacking modern equipment and lighting arrangements. Despite this handicap month by month seven gigantic figures, ten to thirteen feet in height and weighing over a ton emerged, first in clay, then plaster and finally in wax.

Chowdhury worked like a man possessed from early morning till the light failed in the evening, putting his heart and soul into it whilst smoking time after time of cigarettes and drinking innumerable cups of tea. He was, however, never too busy to talk to me and surprisingly for a genius to listen with patience to my criticisms. Often after an absence of several days I returned to see with some surprise that no progress had been made, to learn that this was due to dissatisfaction with some aspect of his work, like a badly shaped hand or calf muscle which had meant ruthlessly scrapping it and starting again as Chowdhury was determined that only the best that he knew that he could produce was

good enough to show the world the patriotism of India's youth.

The greatest pains in every detail were taken and I was pleased to contribute my own small mite to this work as one evening for over an hour I demonstrated to Chowdhury the attitudes men took when shot dead in the last war.

Over a year passed before the whole was completed and then it was taken to be cast in bronze and even here Chowdhury had to spend long hours in the hot sun supervising this important work, until completed the masterpiece was packed and despatched to Patna.

By this time I had become a friend of Chowdhury but this fact did not influence my opinion of the Bihar Martyrs, the largest of its kind ever executed in the East. I think it is a real masterpiece which when it is unveiled should win the plaudits of not only Indians but also artists throughout the world. I have only two regrets. The first is that events have forced me to leave for U.K. before the unveiling ceremony next month and secondly that despite the arduous labour and great skill that Chowdhury has put into this work, his financial gain, as artists cannot live by just pride in their work, will be so small as the major part goes into the rapacious hands of the Income Tax Collector. I can therefore only express the hope that this work will be the fore-runner of many more which will not only bring financial gain but lasting renown to Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury.

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EGYPT—NASSER

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

IMPROVEMENT of the country is the aim of every patriot, while exploitation of the country is the aim of foreign domination. A gigantic scheme for improvement of Egypt is the building of the Assuan Dam, which will give speedy economic relief, provide for a source of livelihood and raise the standard of living of the population of 20 millions, which is increasing at the rate of half a million yearly. An efficient dam will make a kindly river do the work of a million people, like the miracle of the Atom. Such schemes require immense funds—the bigger the amount, the quicker the result. When a country cannot afford it, a loan is taken from rich countries, even with reasonable strings; naturally the country that advances funds would insist on seeing that the money is not wasted or mis-applied. An offer of a grant of 70 million dollars from America and England was welcome to Egypt for building the Assuan Dam. But it was suddenly withdrawn, it is said, at the suggestion of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, because this might reduce the aid they would themselves receive. The

withdrawal may also be meant as a lesson to Egypt for not joining the defensive pact in the Middle East, sponsored by the U.K. and the U.S.A. Or it may be due to the fact that arms were supplied by Russia, of the antagonistic world block, although their own supply was withdrawn. The World Bank withdrew the offer of 200 million dollars, as a matter of course. In any case the conditions imposed with the offer were not palatable to Nasser. Egypt could not approach Russia for financing the project, Russia having once declared that the Assuan Dam project would be uneconomic, when the U.K. and the U.S.A. were in the picture, perhaps from a sense of frustration—grapes beyond reach are always sour. However Russia is ready to give all economic help.

Nasser had therefore to look to his own resources. He nationalised the Suez Canal Company located at Port Said, to raise funds for the project. He stood on the ground that the Company has always been an Egyptian Joint Company, registered in Egypt.

Nasser contended that the Suez Canal was built by

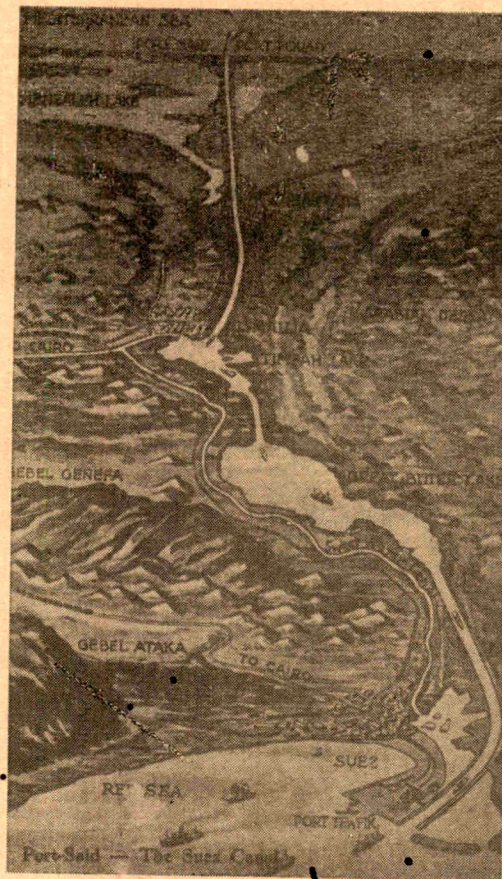
Egypt on Egyptian soil and the huge profit that foreign capital was making should be diverted for national purposes. This would touch the pockets of the present investors, mainly English and partly French, who are



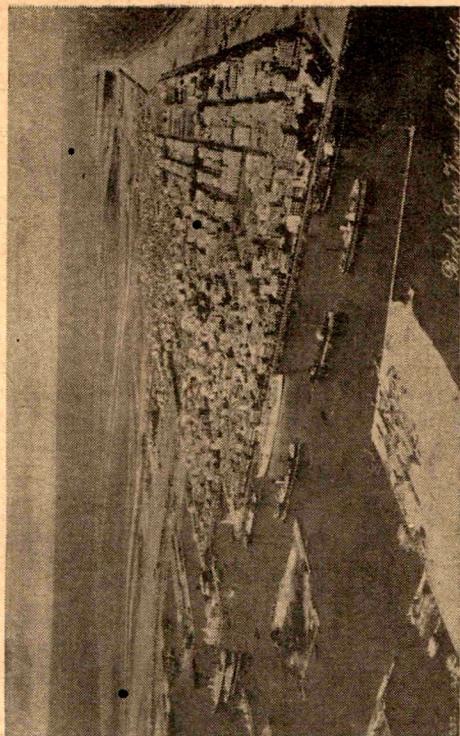
Aswan Dam on the Nile locating ancient relics representing the move. Egypt was getting only 1 million pounds as Royalty out of the easy income of 35 million pounds or 100 million dollars of total profit. This income from the Canal was a very poor return, Nasser asserted, where 120 thousand Egyptians constructed the Canal at the cost of their lives. Nasser expects that with 100 millions every year it would be possible to complete the Dam in 5 years. The dissuading argument is that this would fall far short of building the Dam, and the compensation proposed to be paid would take away all the profits, carries no weight, as they are advanced by the losing party. Let us stew in our own juice, the Egyptians would say, it is no concern of others.

The problem is whether there should be International Co-operation, subject to any sovereignty or an International Authority dictating to a subservient ruler. Opinions are sharply divided and in India, there are even people who are spitefully gloating over the West's discomfiture for our old scores, or Pakistan's disappointment for present difference with us. There is a general resentment from Colonial memories at the threats of violence.

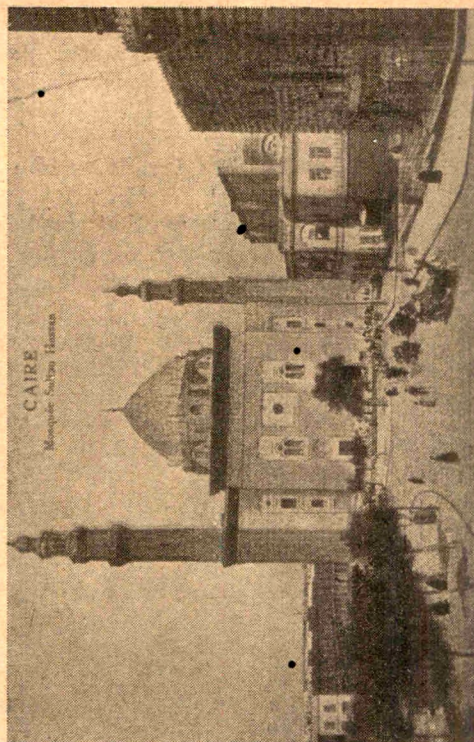
For a long while to come, it would be too much to expect that all water, land and air high-ways of International importance like Aden, Gibraltar, Singapur, Panama, etc., which are Imperial strongholds, would be internationalised. The main interested powers are individually at work, threatening Egypt by mobilisation and concentration, adoption of coercive economic measures like freezing Egyptian assets and evacuating their own nationals. They cannot wait to consult the U.N. The whole world will have to suffer economically if they have to use the Cape route. Nasser cannot be blamed if he has taken unusual measures threatening imprisonment (later modified) to prevent a deadlock in Canal navigation for the same reason. It is not like the question of a strike. Nasser has only anticipated the position by 13 years, because in 1938, the final transfer or reversion to the Khedives takes place according to the agreement for 99 years' concession grants to the Canal Company from the Khedives of Egypt. Britain as the largest shareholder would naturally disagree. Surely if Nasser failed to keep the International undertaking, the U.N. could take steps to force him,



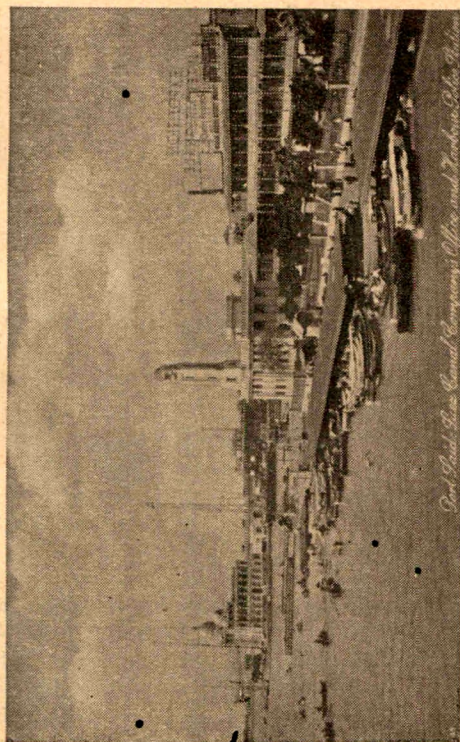
The Suez Canal



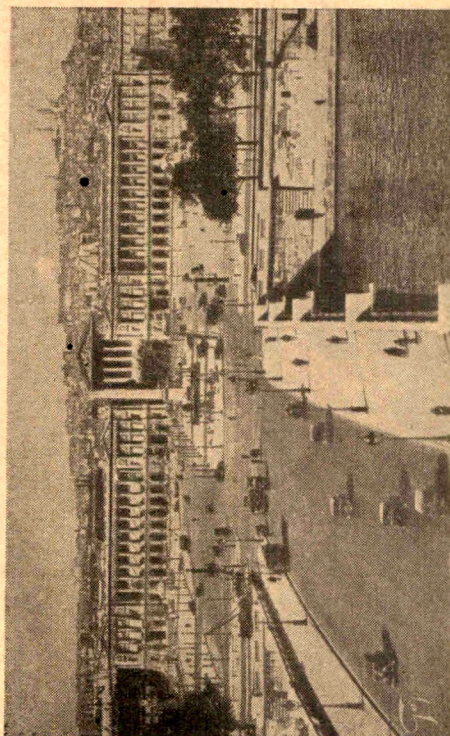
General view of Port Said



Sultan Hassan Mosque, Cairo

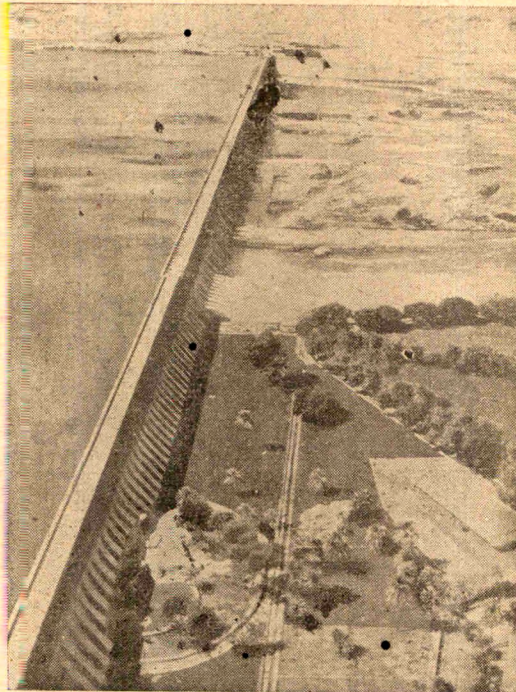


Suez Canal Company's office at Port Said



Cleopatra's needle at Paris

The move was perfectly legal so far as Egypt was concerned internally. We have plenty of examples in different countries of such nationalisation. To cite a few examples, England nationalised her Railways, coal and steel industries without reference to foreign investors; France nationalised her Banking and Insurance; America nationalised the Panama Canal; India nationalised land, Railways, Banking, etc. But the nationalisation of the Suez Canal is supposed to prejudice the International character of shipping through the Canal.



The present Aswan Dam

Nasser did not question the validity of the convention of 1858, which granted the freedom of navigation through the Canal, and he takes up all the present assets and liabilities of the Company, honouring all its obligations. The only plea that Nasser cannot be trusted, now appears to be the basis of the arguments of the present investors. Nasser had opposed the Baghdad Pact, supported the Algerians, accepted Soviet arms and has thus antagonised the U.K., France, and the U.S.A. Nasser had obstructed the Israeli passage through the canal. (So would England obstruct her future enemies.) What if he fails to carry on as at present? What if he raises the tools in spite of his assurance to the contrary? What if he levies a double tax by Government and the Canal Company? Surely the instability of Egypt is a point against the solidarity of England for keeping the passage secure. Anyhow peace-time assurance is not enough. Would the canal

be secure in war-time for which the British fought, during the last war for her allies? Who knows what will be the alignment in case of another war?

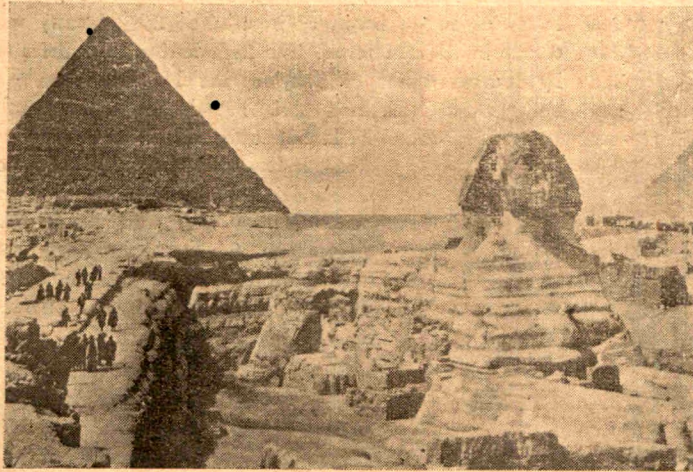
Against Nasser's claim to nationalise the Canal Company, other interested countries protested that the Company was international and was not Egypt's private property. The bones of contention are Suez and the Canal. It would be interesting to go into their past history. The idea of digging the Canal mooted from the time of the Pharaohs of Egypt over 3 thousand years ago and again in 600 B.C. Others including Darius of Persia, several Louises of France and Napoleon were interested in the scheme, when the land was under their respective sway. It was, however, during the middle of the last century after Waghorn, an intrepid Englishman of Eastern services had failed to create an interest in England (even after strenuous practical demonstrations) about the project, that Ferdinand De Lesseps, a Frenchman of Consular Services, took up the cue. But Egypt refused to grant him the concession at first but when the ruler Khedive changed, it was obtained for 99 years. Lesseps allotted shares of the Company to different countries for the enterprise. France was the biggest sharer of the 14 countries who joined. Britain had opposed the scheme, afraid that the French and Egyptian control will prejudice British interests in the East. When the 103 miles Canal (21 miles through Lakes) was dug, after 15 years of strenuous work and it was opened with great éclat in 1869, in presence of all the ruling princes of Europe, Britain kept aloof. It was not until 1876 that there was a dramatic change of mind from early apathy and with great political insight, Britain bought the shares of the needy Khedive, encouraged to be extravagant and of some others and ultimately obtained the controlling interest in the Canal.

Suez is the dividing line between the East and the West and the locality has been the trade route from very early times. The Canal now has become the high-way of trade, of immense benefit to the East and the West and a great factor in unifying them to the advantage of both. The economy of avoiding the Cape route is substantial. It proved strategically of great international importance during the devastating wars. The security, as already stated, is now in British hands.

For the place of the Dam in Egyptian history and the back-ground of the Canal Company one has got to go into the long past to study new the river Nile, controlled by dams and barrages affected the lives of people in their earlier civilisation. Nomads, who were wholly occupied in securing food, had come from arid Asia and settled in fertile Egypt, where the bounty of the Nile gave them leisure, when they took to farming, industries such as textiles and mining and trades to dispose of the products. They utilised the leisure for practical science in nature such as Astronomy, Mathematics, land and water measurements, systematic irrigation, etc. The art of writing (Hieroglyphics) was invented very early

and was the stepping stone to further progress in various directions. They have also left us grandiose tombs and temples for gods, where unique architecture shows unsurpassable artistic excellence both in quality and in

mobilisation of population, prove the development of a disciplined society, which was possible under a socialistic monarchy. To the animal divinities of the nomads were added the Nature gods of farmers—the Sun influencing seasons and crops; the Nile influencing vegetation; the Earth influencing fecundity and so on, with their respective names.



The Pyramid and the Sphinx

quantity. The vagaries of the Nile had to be controlled by making efficient dams, using the mud which fertilises the soil and the water which enlivens the crops. The winding Nile flows between two rows of hills in its fertile valley, varying in width from 2 to 120 miles with cataracts or water-falls at various points of its course and the people live on the produce of the valley and the sweet water of the river. During the floods, the river would rise 20 to 30 feet, equal to the height of a two-storied building. The rainfall being only 1½ ins. in the whole year, the valley would go dry, when there is no flood. Hence the necessity of control. Flood water is stored in lakes formed by dams and distributed in times of drought by opening gates in the dam through canals. Barrages or low dams without gates cause the flood-water to pass into canals on both sides by raising the level of the water, while the excess water passes over. The excellence of such control practised through ages testifies to the high standard to which this early civilisation reached. (The present

Dam at the first cataract at Assuan is 1½ miles long and 147 feet high, 46 feet being added since its opening in 1902. A higher and bigger Dam is in contemplation now). Great cities and huge pyramids were built. All these enormously ambitious public works, requiring

west of Cairo were built of big blocks of stones wonderfully carried across the river from the hills on the east side. They are one of the wonders of the world and date from 3,000 to 2,000 B.C. from the third dynasty. During the 6th dynasty expansion took place towards Asia but the capital was removed to Thebes

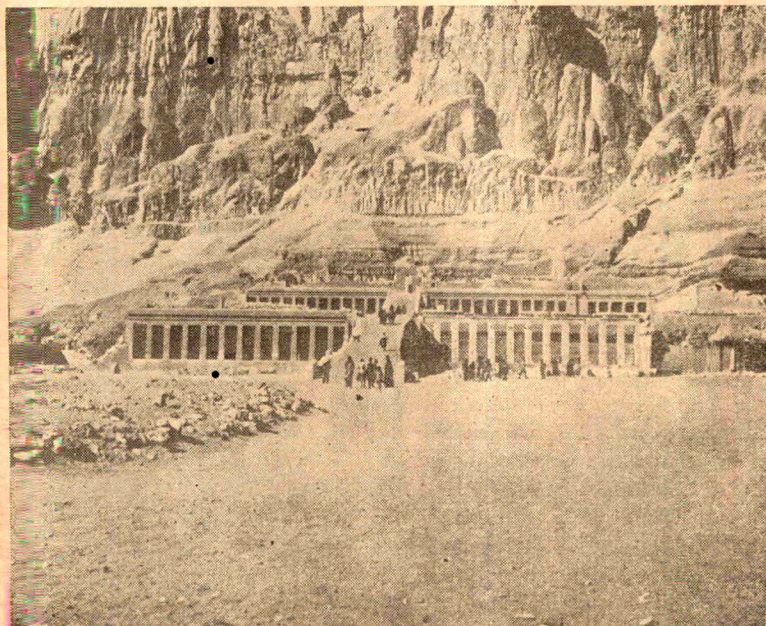


• General view of Alexandria

for the consolidation of the country. The Pharaohs of the 11th and 12th dynasties instead of wasting time on sepulchral glory, diverted their energy to agriculture and commerce, and the empire extended to Palestine and Syria. Usartson of the 12th dynasty (about 2,430 B.C.)

however built many temples at Heliopolis near Cairo and decorated them with red granite obelisks, later known as Cleopatra's needles, now beautifying London, Paris and New York. During the 15th to 17th dynasties, the Hyksos, a wandering tribe from Asia, drove the Pharaohs to the south and occupied the country (2,100 to 1,600 B.C.). During this period, the Israelites, due to famine or insecure conditions, migrated for 433 years to Egypt, where they were persecuted and confined to the country of Goshen, until Moses

and the empire extended far into Asia. The Capital was brought back to Neksis or Cairo, the present capital of majestic mosques and minarets. The bronze age of which many unique examples are extant was now followed by the iron age, and others got the better of Egypt, bereft of iron. The 25th dynasty was of the hated Ethiopians. The 26th having been defeated by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, the Pharaohs were not only pushed back from Asia but driven to the South. Later they came back but after Alexander's conquest (323 B.C.) and the foundation of Alexandria which has grown to a fine modern town and port, the Greeks drove them finally to the North and left the Ptolemies to rule up to 30 B.C. (Cleopatra). This was followed by the Roman rule.



Tombs of kings

miraculously crossed the Red Sea and after many tribulations conquered Canaan or Palestine about 1,300 B.C. Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty (1635 to 1390 B.C.) drove away the Hyksos and extended the kingdom to Asia and removed the capital to Thebes about 1,550 B.C. At Thebes there were rocks round about and numerous temples and tombs began to be built in place of Pyramids at Luxor and Karnak, east of the Nile and in the valley of the Tombs of Kings, opposite. Valuable furniture and precious metal articles and ornaments, all conveniences and house-hold effects (in the belief that the dead would return to life) used to be kept in tombs with the well-preserved dead bodies or mummies. These have been unearthed in recent times, giving the world, the history of ancient Egypt, despite the depredations of robbers through all the ages. About 1,500 B.C. Egypt grew very strong under the two Rameses of the 19th dynasty (1580 to 1150)

As a protectorate under the Turkish Sultan in 1902, Britain was paying a yearly tribute to Turkey against various rights according to the convention of 1883. This arrangement ended in 1914, when Turkey joined Germany and lost the War. The British took over Egypt as it was—a protectorate under its own Sultan, until Kamal Pasha dissolved the Khaliphate and Turkey became a republic, so Egypt became independent in 1922. In establishing King Faud's reign, Britain insisted upon her own right to guard the Suez Canal, to protect the interests of foreigners so as to prohibit intervention in Egypt by any other power. The Wafdist, or Nationalist party very strongly resisted this intervention, and in 1954 ten thousand British soldiers and 400 pilots had to leave the canal. In the meantime, Naguib, the leader was found wanting and the military commander Col. Nasser took up the reins as president of the Republic.

WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

REVIEW OF WORK DURING 1951-55

DURING the four years between 1951-52 and 1954-55, a sum of Rs. 20 crores was spent on the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled and Tribal Areas. Of this sum, about Rs. 10 crores were sanctioned by the Government of India as grants-in-aid to various State Governments. The Central grant for the First Five-Year Plan for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and development of these Areas was Rs. 15 crores, and it is hoped that the balance of Rs. 5 crores will be utilised during 1955-56.

This has been disclosed in the 1954 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Report also points out that in 1954, the Commissioner had visited the interior-most regions inhabited by Scheduled Tribes in the country, particularly in the States, among others, of Bihar, Bombay,

In addition, reservation has been made in the selection of students to public schools for children of the Scheduled Tribes.

A sum of Rs. 12.65 lakhs had also been provided for the grant of scholarships for students belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, while there was a scheme for sending advanced students to foreign countries for further studies.

PROBLEM OF SHIFTING CULTIVATION

The Report remarks that one of the most difficult problems of the Scheduled Tribes was of shifting cultivation. It is admitted that while it would not be possible to settle all the tribals who had been practising shifting cultivation on the plains, the Report emphasises the necessity of devising some alternative method to stop this wasteful form of cultivation.

In Rajasthan, the Scheduled Tribes, known as Kathodias, who had no houses and lands of their own, are, however, being settled. The most backward of Scheduled Areas (like Bastar and Surguja in Madhya Pradesh, Malkingri area of Koraput district in Orissa, Lahaul and Spiti in the Punjab, and Rajadara and Mahuadand of Latehar sub-division of Palamau district in Bihar), popularly known as merged areas, where semi-slavish conditions existed and which had so far been neglected, were also being developed in different States.

The Report has suggested various other welfare schemes for Scheduled Tribes. In Bombay, the Government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1.5 lakhs for Forest Labour Co-operative Societies which will improve economic conditions of tribals inhabiting the forests. Similar schemes in other Scheduled Areas for tribal people could be useful, says the Report.

TRIBES ADVISORY COUNCILS

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, Tribes Advisory Councils have been set up in all the States having Scheduled Areas, namely, Andhara, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, and in West Bengal which has Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas. District councils for this purpose have also been organised in all the autonomous districts of Assam, with the exception of the Naga Hills district. In the Pawi-Lakher region of the Mizo district, a regional council has been set up. These councils, the Report remarks, are working satisfactorily.



Girls of the Bhil tribe in the Dungrapur Community Project area in Rajasthan

Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

The Commissioner's suggestions for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas are thus based on the experience and data he had gathered during these tours.

EDUCATIONAL SCHEMES

The report says the impressive progress had been made in the field of education for the Scheduled Tribes. This is apparent from the fact that while in 1952, 911 applications were received from the Scheduled Tribes for scholarships for post-Matric students by the Government of India, the number of such applications in 1954 rose to 2,485. The ashram schools and boarding schools for tribal students have also proved popular.

TODAS OF NILGIRIS

The Report states that much progress had been made in the scheme for converting the Todas of Nilgiris into good agriculturists by giving them land and agricultural implements. Medical facilities provided for them under the scheme have also eliminated disease and resulted in checking the gradual decrease in their population.

CONFERENCES

It is also mentioned that two conferences were held in December 1954, to consider schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and other matters relating to it.

The first conference was attended, among others, by State Ministers and officials concerned with work relating to the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, Members of Parliament, and members of the Executive Committee of the Bharatiya Adinajati Sevak Sangh. This Conference was arranged by

the Party Standing Committee on Tribal Affairs, comprising tribal Members of both Houses of Parliament, and was presided over by Shri B. N. Datar, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs. The speeches made at, and the papers received in connection with, this conference have now been printed in the form of a brochure.

An official conference following it was held under the chairmanship of Shri L. M. Shrikant. The official conference considered priorities for the formulation of welfare schemes, submission of six-monthly progress reports, basis of making grants-in-aid by the Central Government, and collection of material for the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Report says that these conferences have proved useful, as such occasions provide opportunities to bring officials and non-officials together on one platform to discuss problems connected with the welfare schemes.

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FUTURE PROGRAMME FOR LAC DEVELOPMENT

• Second Plan Schemes for Improved Production and Research

By M. S. RANDHAWA, I.C.S.

President, Indian Lac Cess Committee

In order to draw up a clear programme of development, it appears necessary to recapitulate the problems facing lac cultivation and industry. These problems are inter-related and are not to be viewed in isolation. It has, therefore, to be ensured that co-ordinated and all-embracing measures are taken in a systematic manner.

For the sake of convenience these problems may be outlined and classified under the following main heads:

- (1) Problem of prices,
- (2) Production of lac,
- (3) Related problems of marketing from the field to the export stage,
- (4) Problem of demand and organisation of foreign markets,
- (5) Research in dealing with all the problems.

Research into scientific aspects of cultivation, manufacture and utilisation has to play an important role.

STABILIZATION OF PRICES

All Enquiry Committees which have been set up from time to time, right from the time of enquiry by Messrs Lindsay and Harlow to that of the recent Report on Lac by Dr. Jordan, have viewed with great concern the fluctuations in prices and increasing competition from Siamese lac as well as from synthetic materials. This instability in prices has been attributed to

speculation, elasticity of demand of shellac, its dependence on too many industries due to comparatively small quantities being used in most of the industries, too much dependence on foreign demand, and wide fluctuation in annual production levels.

Though different solutions have been suggested from time to time for this vexed and intericate problem of price fluctuations, all interests seem to hold the unanimous view that *fatha* or speculation should altogether be banned. It is gratifying to note that with effect from December 27, 1954, the Government of India prohibited all forward contracts in seedlac and shellac except those on non-transferable specific delivery basis. It appears necessary that this control over speculation should be rigidly exercised in future as well.

Recently the Bihar Shellac Enquiry Committee made the suggestion that maximum and minimum prices of both seedlac and shellac be fixed periodically at the export stage. It assumed that prices at manufacture and cultivation levels would adjust to the two sets of regulated prices at Calcutta, viz., the selling price for delivery to the shippers and the export price for shipments. In addition it was hoped that the co-operation of importers would be forthcoming as the fixation of maximum prices would be to their interest.

Against the above view of the Bihar Shellac Enquiry Committee, it has been held that when the demand of

seedlac and shellac is so elastic and when the market depends on the conditions in other industries in foreign countries, any attempt to regulate prices would not be successful, unless the Government were prepared to buy the reserve stock and release it as required in order to regulate the price level which may eventually take the form of State Trading.

PRODUCTION OF STICKLAC

Lindsay and Harlow in their report stressed the need for increasing the production of lac in the country. A similar view was expressed by the London Shellac Traders' Association. Thus, it has been held all the time that lac production should be stepped up as a pre-requisite to normal and sound trade in lac. Unfortunately, there has been a decline in the country's production of lac, particularly of the best variety, i.e., *kusmi* lac. It has, therefore, been decided that the future programme of work must include measures to increase the production of lac, including the better quality *kusmi* lac. As regards the current average annual production of 11½ lakh maunds, a target of 16 lakh maunds has been fixed for the Second Five-Year Plan period and is to be achieved by 1961.

In the realisation of the above target, some difficulties and limiting factors have to be kept in view and overcome. Production of lac is dependent on both the host plant and the insect and, therefore, a judicious exploitation of both, without detriment to either, is necessary and this can be achieved only by adopting improved and scientific methods of lac cultivation. Unlike other agricultural crops the production of lac is ordinarily only three to four times the broodlac (seed) used and this retards quick achievement of production targets.

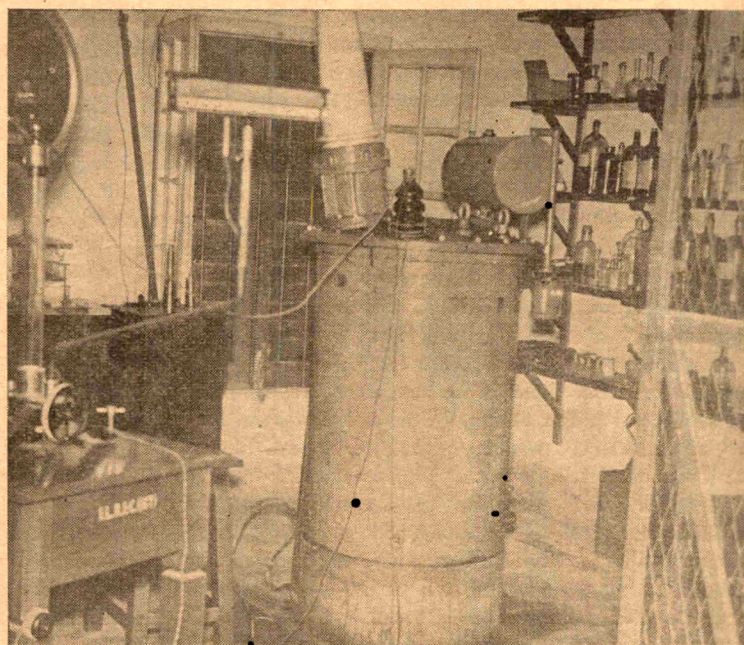
A serious menace that has to be faced is theft, because the lac hosts are found scattered over large areas. The solution of this problem seems to be in the organisation of co-operative societies of lac growers and also by empowering the village panchayats to deal with cases of thefts in a suitable deterrent manner, instead of following the lengthy course of police reports and trial in courts.

SCHEMES FOR SECOND PLAN PERIOD

Another important handicap in increasing lac production is the shortage of broodlac felt at the time of crop infections. This is due partly to climatic factors in some

localities where brood arrival is poor and partly to the lac crop being cut out of fear of theft. In order to overcome this difficulty, it has been proposed under the Second Five-Year Plan to set up a number of broodlac farms throughout the major lac-growing areas of the country. For the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, it has been proposed that 50 brood farms be established. These broodlac farms will consist of compact areas containing sufficient number of host plants in suitable localities and will be able to supplement the brood supply of the locality.

Emphasis will be laid on methods to preserve or produce broodlac in addition to the study of other aspects of lac cultivation. There are indications from work already under progress at the Lac Research Institute, that it is possible to produce more brood



The High Tension Transformer at the Indian Lac Research Institute, Ranchi

through cultivation on other important minor hosts known for better brood carrying capacity and also on certain hosts under crop and bush conditions, such as on *Albizia lucida* and *Cajanus Cajan* (*arhar*).

Further, necessary extension service for giving technical advice to cultivators is also being organised and strengthened under a special branch of the Indian Lac Cess Committee. It is proposed to make use of the services of the extension and village-level workers under the Community Projects and National Extension Service Administrations for lac work, and these workers in the important lac-growing areas will be given sufficient training for lac extension work.

Apart from the above, it is also necessary to secure for lac cultivators a fair and reasonable price, without which there may not be adequate incentive for increased production of lac.

IMPROVING MARKETING AND CREDIT FACILITIES

The cultivators of lac are mostly illiterate and economically backward. The primary producer of lac does not receive the full benefit of his labours. To improve his lot and to provide him with sufficient incentive, proposals under consideration are the formation of co-operative purchase and sales societies for each block under the National Extension Service Scheme known as "Vikas Mandals" which should undertake purchase and sale of sticklac in addition to other produce. At important marketing centres of sticklac, separate co-operative societies for dealing in this commodity and for providing suitable storage godowns are proposed to be set up. These co-operative societies and other measures would not only provide financial aid to lac growers but would also prevent, to a certain extent, the adulteration of sticklac, thereby improving the quality.

AIR-CONDITIONED GODOWNS PROPOSED

As regards manufacturers, factories in existence at present vary widely in their capacities. The smaller ones are naturally in difficulties as regards finance, storage facilities, etc. Added to this is the problem of transport of the produce from the production centres to the chief trade centre at Calcutta. As a measure of relief from these difficulties, it has been proposed to establish during the Second Five-Year Plan two air-conditioned godowns where seedlac and shellac can be conveniently stored.

Another relief that can be expected with the establishment of these air-conditioned godowns is with respect to finance. So far banks have not been coming forward to grant loans on the security of stores of seedlac and shellac presumably because of uncertainties about their qualities. Shellac and seedlac keep well under air-conditioned storage and quality can easily be ascertained by reference to any one of the seven regional testing laboratories, also proposed to be established under the Second Five-Year Plan. Amalgamation of smaller factories into an economic larger unit working on a co-operative basis also needs attention.

The only centre of export and trading is Calcutta. With the withdrawal of some of the important firms from the shellac market, the financial conditions of the shellac market have deteriorated and needs to be strengthened. It has also been suggested that for the ultimate stability of the commodity and benefit of the country, trade practices are to be watched and improved upon in co-operation with established trade associations, such as, the Calcutta Shellac Trade Association.

Although at Calcutta there is air-conditioned storage

available, there is none exclusively for lac. It has, therefore, been proposed that one air-conditioned godown should be set up at Calcutta which will meet a long-felt want there.

STATISTICS

Another handicap in arriving at policy decisions arises from the inadequacy and inaccuracy of statistics. Some statistics have hitherto been collected by the Indian Lac Cess Committee on a voluntary basis. Manufacturers as well as traders in Calcutta have not been sufficiently co-operative in this respect. The question of improvement in the matter of collection of statistics on lac is under consideration.

PROBLEM OF DEMAND

While it is essential that the foreign markets be preserved and exports of shellac be increased as far as possible, it is necessary that the internal consumption of shellac and seedlac is also increased and fresh markets are explored so that exports are diversified.

Suggested measures to stimulate exports or at least keep them at present levels are: improvement in the quality of goods, provision of technical services and intensified study of markets.

Progress of work relating to the formation of international standards has to be accelerated. It is also proposed by the Government of India that a laboratory for certifying quality of exports of seedlac and shellac be established in Calcutta.

Efforts would be made to induce the potential consumers of shellac in the country, in particular, Railways, transport organizations and Defence Service establishments, to use shellac in as many of their requirements as possible. The endeavour would be to stimulate interest amongst consumers and help them in their technical problems on the utilization of shellac through better liaison and wider publicity. It is proposed to bring out a non-technical publication for dealing with all aspects of lac consumption and marketing.

RESEARCH

Work has already commenced on preparation of a Monograph on Lac which would summarize the research work so far done. The research activities of the Indian Lac Research Institute are also proposed to be re-organized. On the cultivation (Entomological) side, the Second Reviewing Committee which is being appointed shortly will be required to draw up a programme of work. One proposal that has already been accepted is setting up of some field research stations in important lac-growing States for a study of the problems confronting lac cultivators in the locality and finding suitable solutions for the same.

On the manufacturing side, the Institute has proposed that investigations be carried out on the possibility of eliminating the drudgery involved in the indigenous method of shellac manufacture, thus relieving the distress of the workers there. Attention

is also to be directed towards more economic recovery and utilization of by-products.

Bleached lac is one form of lac which has not been manufactured in this country in any quantity due to some technical difficulties in its production. These have now been overcome and the Institute is now in a position to prepare bleached lac of satisfactory and exportable quality. A pilot plant is, therefore, proposed to be set up which, if successful, is expected to lead to the establishment of a full-scale manufacturing plant.

The above outline of the future programme of development relating to lac cultivation, industry and utilization would indicate that considerable effort is called for to rehabilitate this industry and save it from the severe competition that it is facing from synthetic materials. It appears that lac has a future, and will not be ousted by other materials if timely and co-ordinated action is taken by the various interests concerned.

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MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By SACHIN SEN GUPTA

In his *Letters from Russia* Poet Tagore wrote that his life's pilgrimage would have ended in the woods had he not visited the Soviet Union.

Tagore had travelled all over the world as a pilgrim athirst for a knowledge leading to the discovery of the secret of man's fulfilment. But although he had found, he said, several instances of remarkable progress achieved piecemeal, here and there, in every country he visited, nowhere, save in the Soviet Union, could he discover a system that envisaged the elevation of the entire people into a higher plane of existence sharing in common with every individual all the amenities of life, not as benevolent throw-outs but as fundamental human rights.

Tagore visited the Soviets as far back as 1930. But even in those earlier days of rehabilitation of a distressed Russia, he was amazed to find the tremendous progress the Soviet Union, including the Asian Republics, had achieved in the fields of education, agriculture and industry. He has described in details all the material and psychological changes that led to the re-birth of a group of nations under the Soviet system.

Theodore Draiser, an American writer of world-wide fame and a die-hard supporter of individualism as against communism, visited Russia earlier than Tagore did. He has in his monumental documentary *Draiser Looks at Russia*, predicted that the system Russia had adopted would, in spite of some of its inner contradictions and lop-sided lapses, enable her, in ten to twenty years, catch up, if not surpass, the United States of America.

The present President of the United States of America visited Moscow immediately after the collapse of the fascist powers in Europe when he had been working as the Supreme Commander of the allied forces. He wrote in his book *Crusade in Europe* :

"Everywhere we saw evidence of a simple, sincere and personal devotion to Russia—a patriotism that was usually expressed in the words, 'But this is Mother Russia and therefore it was not hard.' A

group of workers in the Stormovik factory told me that their work-week during the war was eighty-four hours, and they proudly stated that the factory's attendance record was something over ninety-four per cent. Many of the workers were women and children and it is difficult to see how, with their meagre rations and serious lack of transportation facilities, they could have maintained such a record. The same was true on farms."

The Supreme Commander had, obviously, a mixed feeling for the Russians. He both liked and disliked them. He could not but like them because of the victory they had carried to the doors of their comrades-in-war. And he disliked them because of their communism, and their practice of collectivism. He was impressed by the patriotism of the factory workers and farmers; by their collective will to win the war; and yet he hesitated to accept his own observations and the information he received from the workers themselves. He had written that he could not comprehend how patriots with meagre rations and lack of transportation facilities could maintain high attendance, although as a Supreme Commander he had witnessed how the patriotic Red Army had conquered hunger and craving for personal comforts when it had rolled back the fascist aggressors and had routed them. His son Lieutenant Eisenhower had hit the Bull's eye right through, as the Supreme Commander had himself confided to his readers, by proposing a toast reported to be as follows :

"I have been in Russia several days and have listened to many toasts. I have heard the virtues of every allied ruler, every prominent marshal, general, admiral and air-commander toasted. I have yet to hear a toast to the most important Russian in World War II. Gentlemen, will you please drink with me to the common soldier of the Great Red Army?"

Victory attained, the Supreme Commander came to realise that the United States and Russia emerged from the war as the two most powerful nations of the globe.

Draiser's prediction proved to be true indeed. Russia had caught up America if not in the economic sphere, but certainly in the sphere of military activity in defeating the common enemy to justify the remark quoted above. But at what cost had Russia emerged from the war as one of the two most powerful nations? The Supreme Commander gave an account of that also. He wrote:

"The experience of Russia in World War II was a harsh one. The year 1941 saw the entire Western portion of that country overrun by the Nazis. From the region of Volga westward, almost everything was destroyed. When we flew into Russia, in 1945, I did not see a house standing between the Western borders of the country and the area around Moscow. Through this overrun region, Marshal Zhukov told me, so many numbers of women and children and old men had been killed that the Russian Government would never be able to estimate the total. Some of their great cities had been laid waste and until November 1942 there seemed to be little hope that their desperate defense could hold off the enemy until their industries could be rehabilitated and the Western Allies could get into the War in force."

Russia had not only rehabilitated her industries and resisted the avalanche of aggression but drove the war demon back to his lair and destroyed it there, may be not without substantial assistance from the Supreme Commanders' Western armies. The irresistibility of the collective will of a people which Russia demonstrated by the liberation, not only of her own lost territories, but also the lands of her neighbouring states, was conspicuous by its absence in France and other Western countries whose systems were, in the opinion of the Supreme Commander, superior to what Russia had established. But the world knows that the social and political system of France, also said to be based on 'individual liberty and human dignity,' could not save her from the indignity of an abject surrender; nor could it put a stop to acts of individual cowardice and the spread of mass demoralisation and corruption, admitted and bewailed by no less a personality than Marshal Petain himself.

But history had a different tale to tell in regard to Russia. In spite of Russia's being what General Eisenhower described as "dedicated to the dictatorship of the proletariat seemed in Western eyes to be engulfed in a form of statism under the absolute direction of a few men" each individual man and woman and child of Soviet Russia during the war rose up to the occasion in dignity and stature to defend the mother-land as well as to keep the factories and farms producing what the war-needs demanded of them. The more the Nazis pressed hard on Russia, the more the strength did

Russia gather from her people, and the more dynamic grew her resistance and her determined will to achieve victory. France under similar pressure fell flat in a state of static collapse and utter disintegration. What her system failed to inculcate into her people was astoundingly aroused in the people of Russia by her system although 'Western eyes' as told by the Supreme Commander "found it to be engulfed in a form of statism under the absolute direction of a few men."

From the historical facts mentioned above one can reasonably conclude that either 'Western eyes' see things from a wrong angle, or their much-vaunted individual liberty and human dignity are of no real worth. Repeated social and political revolutions in western lands established that individual liberty must have had suffered suppression at the hands of a few grabbers of power, and human dignity very often lowered to the dust by their lust. Had the western democracies succeeded in giving entire satisfaction to their people, no revolution would have occurred anywhere in the west, and their systems would have, by now, made this world beautiful and bountiful a place for mankind to live in. Even the much-hated Nazism and Fascism were not born of any dictatorship of the proletariat, but of a gross injustice done, knowingly and willingly, by the upholders of 'individual liberty and human dignity', with a view to appropriating to themselves as much of the spoils of World War I as were possible to snatch away from the weakened and the defeated nations. Not was the Versailles Treaty a manipulation of any dictatorship of the proletariat. It was nothing more than a document of greed and vindictive perversity of Western Democracies that were found of swearing by individual liberty and human dignity, but were always found to be bent on crushing both in order to satisfy their lust for land and greed for gold and power.

Britain is said to be the cradle of western democracy. This democratic Britain denied individual liberty to millions of people of the world and deprived them of the slightest vestige of human dignity. Even at home, her ideal democracy could not save her from being hoodwinked into a danger that had almost brought her nearer to extinction by a few party-men, headed by Prime Minister Chamberlain. In his world-famous *History of the World* H. G. Wells wrote:

"In March 1938, Mr. Litvinov, the Russian Foreign Minister, proposed that the Governments of Britain, France, America and Soviet Russia should confer on the necessity of getting together for common action to prevent further aggression, particularly in central Europe. This was a plain and obvious suggestion, which might have averted the European struggle altogether or nipped it in the bud, but the anti-communist mania of the British conservative majority was much more powerful than its apprehension of the German danger up to the very eve of the declaration of war against Germany. This proposal

which was re-echoed by Stalin in March 1939 and by Molotov in May—with the added revelation that Britain and France had refused to guarantee the Baltic States in association with Russia against German aggression—remained the declared and consistently observed policy of Russia."

One feels tempted to question the powers: Which of the systems worked honourably and with human dignity? Were they the Western Democracies based on 'individual liberty and human dignity' or was it Russia, 'dedicated to the dictatorship of the proletariat's? Well, it is better to know what H.G. Wells had to say'. He continued his narrative as follows:

"There followed threats of war and some fantastic negotiations. Mr. Chamberlain went far in his efforts to propitiate the common enemy. His policy has since been repudiated by the British people, but at that time he certainly had them solidly behind him. He went to and fro to Munich, and let it never be forgotten that when he came back to the airport of Heston, after abandoning Dr. Benes, rejecting the plain necessity of a prompt collective suppression of Germany by Russia, France, Britain and Czechoslovakia, and surrendering every military advantage Czechoslovakia possessed, bringing in return a worthless scrap of paper signed by Hitler, and that when he announced to the crowd in Downing Street that 'It is peace in our time, my good friends. And now I recommend you to go home and sleep quietly in your beds,' he was received with rapturous applause. Let us never forget that. They went to sleep."

The anti-communist mania once again gained the upper hand in that ideal land of democracy based on 'individual liberty' and 'human dignity', and paved smooth the way for Nazi aggression in Eastern and Western Europe. H. G. Wells further commented;

"In the harsh regime of nature the penalties for folly and feebleness have always been as heavy as the penalties for folly and crime, and now Britain and all mankind are paying for this mean evasion of honour and duty."

We have the answer we had waited for. Were Wells alive to-day he would have given us his opinion on General Eisenhower's thesis on systems. But history has no death to die. It continues to tell mankind that France and Britain, two leaders of Western Democracy, based on 'individual liberty and human dignity' evaded honour and duty to appease Germany while she was preparing herself to inflict death-blows against all democracies; and that Russia consistently and persistently appealed to them to take a united stand against the fascist powers that had endangered world-peace and human liberty, both individual and collective.

I refer to these historical facts and take recourse to profuse quotations from the writings of thought-leaders to emphasise that systems of nations should be

only judged by the historic roles they play to advance the cause of human progress, and not by phrases used to describe them by their framers and founders. Every nation has the right to found its own system consistent with the growth of its own people without any interference from another. Every nation has also the right to propagate the principles on which its system stands.

The world had witnessed many an 'ism' known as 'systems' in the process of its progress forward. All religious, political and social 'isms' came to be guiding principles due to man's constant anxiety to go ahead. Any 'ism' that had assured man of this single objective, had been welcomed by man with great enthusiasm. As basically every 'ism' took its form out of man's desire, man had been, more or less, in stages of his onward move, benefited by each of them. But in God's own creation, as well as in man's, designing self-seekers had never been scarce. They had always taken advantage of systems. It is through those self-seekers that mankind had suffered terrible hardships and privations. Man, therefore, longed for communal systems. They came to him, in successive ages as political republics; as religious sects, fraternities, faiths and institutions; as business guilds, companies, co-operatives; as democracies, which today claim the closest attention and the loudest acclamation. But never could any of those communal organisations keep itself free from devices of designing persons who claimed special privileges, propagated dogmatic theses to split the community into irreconcilable groups, and adopted various other disruptive methods. It is due to them that republics and democracies waged wars of conquests, encouraged traffic in slaves, perpetuated serfdom; that religious bodies grew into fanatic factions; that kings claimed divine rights; that the church amassed wealth and corruption; that sons of revolutions usurped sovereignty that were taken back by its original owners from the kings and emperors. For centuries in succession mankind suffered but sought to gain victory over the evil forces of selfish individuals and grabbers of powers working through political, social, religious and industrial institutions.

The first note of man's protest, in many years, was sounded amidst rumblings of howlers, buzzings of bombers, and wailings of the losers of crowns and kingdoms. This protest came from the Russians, who refused to be pulled by their noses for slaughter on the altars of war-gods. Be it remembered that this righteous revolt against thoughtless submission to war-maniacs was effected by a people who were never blessed by a system based on 'individual liberty and human dignity,' and who were, for generations, treated as beasts of burden denied of every human right. Nevertheless, it was definitely a glorious beginning of man's march on the victory. Russia walked out of World War I and concluded a separate peace with Germany with this faith glowing in her bosom that a secured peace on

on the western front would lend her strength to secure peace and happiness for her people, not through passivist inaction, but through an active revolution. With peace on her lips Russia started a revolution. And she could have succeeded to work out the revolution peacefully had not some of the Western Powers fomented rebellions within her territories and organised actual acts of aggressions from without. H.G. Wells gave the world this picture of powers whose systems were said to be based on individual liberty and human dignity:

"The Western European and American Governments were themselves much too ill-informed and incapable to guide or help this extraordinary experiment, and the press set itself to discredit and the ruling classes to wreck these usurpers upon any terms and at any cost to themselves or to Russia. A propaganda of abominable and disgusting inventions went on unchecked in the press of the world. The Bolshevik leaders were represented as incredible monsters glutted with blood and plunder and living lives of sensuality before which the realities of the Tsarist court during the Rasputin's regime paled to a white purity. Expeditions were launched at the exhausted country, insurgents and raiders were encouraged, armed, and subsidized; and no method of attack was too mean or too monstrous for the frightened enemies of the Bolshevik regime. In 1919 the Russian Bolsheviks ruling a country already exhausted and disorganised by five years of intensive warfare were fighting a British Expedition at Archangel, Japanese invaders at East Siberia, Rumanians with French and Greek contingents in the south, the Russian Admiral Kolchak in Siberia and General Denikin, supported by the French fleet, in the Crimea. In the July of that year an Estonian army under General Yudenich, almost got to Petersburg. In 1920 the Poles, incited by the French, made a new attack on Russia, and a new reactionary raider, General Wrangel, took over the task of General Denikin in invading and devastating his own country. In March 1921, the sailors at Kronstadt revolted. The Russian Government under its president, Lenin, survived all these various attacks. It showed an amazing tenacity, and the common people of Russia sustained it unswervingly under conditions of extreme hardship."

History has no parallel to the above; neither in the abominability of such a conspiracy to crush a nation and its new-born spirit, nor in the intensity and the universality among an entire people of that invincible spirit. This is the new spirit that has led the Russian people to work wonders. It has passed beyond her borders to inspire people with the hope of the re-birth of all the peoples of the globe. It is greater than the system Russia has founded. It is greater than communism itself. It is much too greater to be kept as a national acquisition within the bounds of a state

as Buddhism or Christianity or Islam could not be kept confined in the lands of their births, and as philosophies and arts and letters and scientific discoveries could not be made monopoly commodities of nations initially achieving them. One has to realise this, keeping himself free from traditional proclivities, free from any bias for any particular pattern of system, free from any ideological inhibition.

Tagore, more than anyone else we know, was free from all obsessions and shackles of all 'isms.' Hence, from what he saw in Russia, he could imagine the dawning of a day when man would no longer unman man by his own social and political systems but would create by his own efforts congenial conditions to be blossomed forth petal by petal into all the glories of man's fulfilment. This hope he expressed in his *Letters from Russia* as also he did it in his "Crisis in Civilization," his last thought on the wickedness of Western Powers. He had discovered a new type of man growing all over Russia.

Draiser had also noticed this magnificent transformation as did General Eisenhower when he had been still thinking and working as the Supreme Commander. But unlike Tagore, both of the latter two personalities were seemingly obsessed by an idea that Russia had been fast growing into a competitor against the United States by working out the communist system. The system alone so much engaged their attention, that they could give very little thought to the growing man in Russia.

And yet General Eisenhower had no little tribute to offer to Russia when on the conclusion of World War II he found that she had emerged from the war as one of the two greatest powers of the globe. The other one was of course, U.S.A. On Russia he wrote:

"In the past relations of America and Russia there was no cause to regard the future with pessimism. Historically, the two peoples had maintained an unbroken friendship that dated back to the birth of United States as an independent republic. Except for a short period, their diplomatic relations had been continuous. Both were free from the stigma of colonial empire building by force. The transfer between them of the rich Alaskan territory was an unmatched international episode, devoid of threat at the time and of any recrimination after the exchange. Twice they had been allies in war. Since 1941 they had been dependent on each other for ultimate victory over the European Axis."

Never before had any defender of democracy nor any one of the Imperial Majesties paid so flattering a compliment to Tsarist Russia. Even Napoleon, the emperor-general, would have congratulated himself if he were able to improvise such virtues in Tsarist Russia when he had to seek alliance of the Tsar Alexander on a raft in Tilsit, and once again, two years later, in Erfurt.

We will not raise the question if the statement of the Supreme Commander is historically correct. All world knows that the 'stigma of colonial empire-building by force' was not a myth, but an appraisal of a cancer that ate into the Tsarist system to cause its complete collapse. No posthumous platitudes may ever restore it to life again. But we must try to get at the thought that the Supreme Commander had in his mind back, when he referred to that friendly relationship which existed between the Tsarist Russia and the United States of America.

The system which the mighty Tsars had founded and nourished was not certainly based on 'individual liberty' and 'human dignity.' But the American system was. In spite of that wide gulf of difference a relationship of thick and sweet friendship was established between the two. Why could not it be established now was the thought that worried the Supreme Commander. He made no secret of it. Wrote he:

"Should the gulf, however, be bridged practically by effective methods of co-operation, the peace and unity of the world would be assured. No other division among the nations could be considered as a menace to world unity and peace, provided mutual confidence and trust could be developed between America and the Soviets."

These are noble thoughts nobly expressed. But it seems that the Supreme Commander did not delve deep into his mind to find an answer to the question why the gulf of difference may not be bridged now and friendship founded between those two who had twice been allies in war, and had worked together depending one on the other, lending mutual co-operation in all cordiality to win the war which made them the two topmost Powers of the globe? Has one to believe that the United States of America, the Standard Bearer of the Western Democracy, may be friendly to autocratic Powers like the late Tsarist Russia only, and never to the Peoples' Democracies based on the dictatorship of the proletariat? Is it to be taken for granted that alliance of two Powers following two different systems may only be made to win war and not to preserve peace? Logic does not lead one to the acceptance of any of those. It may, therefore, be presumed that the systems are, after all, secondary subjects for consideration with the Western Powers; the primary consideration is competitive worth of the socialist economy against capitalist economy, hinted at by Draiser, three decades ago. The shadow of the phantom of competition in the fields of both the war-industry and the welfare-industry is the cause of growing uneasiness among the western democracies, who had so long been overlording the world as industrialists and as colonialists.

We Indians have never looked at Russia or any other power from this angle of vision because the phantom of competition and the idea of extra-territorial expansion, politically or economically, had never seized us. We

had been giving every respect for every experiment made by man to ameliorate man as a social being and also as an image of God on earth. Even in the days we suffered domination, we nourished ourselves with all the liberal ideas that came to us from the West. An Abraham Lincoln, an Emerson, a Thoreau, or a Whitman, an Eugene O'neil was as dear to us, as was a Pushkin, a Tolstoi, a Turgenev, a Dostoevsky, a Chekov, a Maxim Gorky, a Lenin, and a host of other European thought-leaders and high-priests giving out to the world the message of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

After we had achieved our political freedom, we adopted as much of the Western social and political systems as would help our national development. But we did not keep ourselves confined within the limits of those systems alone. We introduced patterns from our past as well as patterns the people's Democracies had been giving shape to lead man onward to his fulfilment. We had fought with the British Imperialist and Colonialists, tooth and nail, for over half a century; but no sooner were we relieved of the burden of their unjust domination, we found that we had no hatred against the British nation. We felt we could love some of them, some of their ideas, as we could love some of our own leaders and their ideas.

Woodrow Wilson commanded our respect for the League of Nations although his own countymen had disowned it. In Roosevelt we imagined a real people's friend when he had partially adopted the New Economic Plan from the leaves of the history of the Soviet Social system. His Four Freedoms gave us as much encouragement as did give Mao Tse-Tung's noble expression—Let every flower blossom full. The United Nations organisation had been no less important to us than the World Peace Council although we found the former had unjustly kept its doors closed against the People's Republic of China, and had kept tied to its apron-string some of the enemies of the people, and had been encouraging them to preserve certain cinder-pits all over the world which might set ablaze another world-conflagration.

Most of our nation-builders like Tagore, the Mahatma, Sri Aurobinda were in their early days believers in British justice and the British pattern of Democracy. But each of them received a rude shock of disappointment when they engaged themselves in the movement for national freedom. But even then they did not lose faith in democracy. All of them had taught their followers to judge a system by the service it lends to advance the cause of the common man. We have in us that lesson as a legacy. And however unworthy may we be, we find it extremely difficult to disregard any human endeavour, in any quarter, to raise mankind in status and stature. We had read a lot about a new community growth of man in the Soviet lands. We had also read much about a new slavery of

man under the Dictatorship of the proletariat. We wanted to see things for ourselves and had been anxiously waiting for an opportunity. We had it during the sittings of the World Assembly for Peace held in Helsinki in the last week of June 1955, when ninety-two of us, Indians, from every State of the Union had assembled there.

The Soviet Peace committee invited the entire delegation to visit the Soviet Republics. Sixty-two of us men and women, speaking different languages belonging to different walks of life, believing in different ideologies, accepted the invitation with enthusiasm and enjoyed the ever-generous and fabulous hospitality of the Soviet Peace Committee which spared no pains, nor money, to show us all we wanted to see. Fraternal assistance from young interpreters of both the sexes, artists, writers, trade union organisers, directors of cultural institutes, ministries for culture, young pioneers, directors and workers of collective farms, hospitals, creches, kindergartens, libraries and universities enabled us to get an X-ray view of the Soviet Republics during our short stay for three weeks only. Luxurious international railway trains, fleet of aeroplanes, automobiles and autobuses were engaged to carry us cross-country from one republic to another. Every moment of our life there, from morning till midnight, we had wholesome feasts for our eyes and brains. No civil enterprise was kept a secret from us. Even experiments on the civil use of atomic energy were not denied to those of our delegates who were initiated to that particular branch of physical science. Iron curtains we found exclusively in opera houses maintained to protect an emission of accidental out-break of fire from the stage to the auditorium. Nowhere else could our sixty-two pair of eyes discover any existence of them. We saw, we questioned, we learned and we were convinced that a new civilization had dawned over there to assure every individual of employment, shelter, health, education, culture and wisdom to grow greater and greater. From the moment of birth till death every individual member of the society gets the closest attention of the system based on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Work is found for every able-bodied adult, and the disabled are looked after, the sick ones are sent to hospitals, and physically deficient workers in rest-houses when they are off duty. Employment, education, cultural pursuits, amenities of modern life, are denied to none on consideration of birth or the station of life. A shoe-black or a parlour maid or a worker in a collective farm finds ample opportunity to improve his or her status and income by acquiring knowledge and skill while off duty. Several prize-winners for literary and scientific contributions, skillful industrial and agricultural advancements, are found to have come from the workers in the fields and the factories. It shows that although different income-groups do exist, no bar is anywhere raised to limit the progress of any individual to transcend a group by

skillful and useful social service. Not only with a view to increasing productions, but also to promote feelings in favour of community life, farms are collectivised, factories are made massive and apartment houses to shelter several families with community kitchens are being built in ever-increasing numbers. Pioneer camps, Youth Leagues, the Unions, Cultural Palaces, Gymnasias, Swimming Baths, Open Air Theatres, Grand Operas, Outdoor Sports, Collective songs and dances, are all sponsored and conducted to increase individual efficiency as well as to inculcate into every individual the spirit of mutual help and collective progress. Individual attainments are given due recognition; but stress is always laid on endeavours leading to the upliftment of the community as a whole. Relieved from day-to-day worries and anxieties, provided with facilities for unlimited growth, insured against accidental misfortunes, the citizens of the Soviet States find congenial ground and air and light to grow efficient physically and mentally and to fulfil the duties they owe to the community and to the humanity.

We saw all those and scrutinised, as far as we could, the working of each of the institutions we visited. We felt, each one of us, that we were on a pilgrimage. Never before in the past, I imagine, had any pilgrim found a land where man enjoyed life while he worked, and danced and sang while he prepared himself and his fellow workers for a better existence. Looking at Russia and her peoples, both European and Asian, I wondered if a piece of the paradise described in our Puranas had been brought down on the earth by sheer human endeavours or if this muddy earth said to be the source of human sorrows and sufferings and strifes and discontents were actually passing through a process of transformation into an abode of heavenly peace and bliss for every living soul to enjoy. Needless to mention that the last was the conclusion I had reached.

This amazing transformation is due to an absolute thoroughness in the National Planning. It is a wonder by itself. Every sector of the social organisation has been brought under its purview to develop the entire community with every provision for individual growth. The interlinking of the plan with the sector is an interesting study. And more interesting is the fact that the administrative machinery has hardly any part to play in the successful working of it. Every sector is being put into proper gear and guided by the workers themselves through their unions. Neither theories emanated from high-brow bureaucrats, nor official red tapism may disturb its smooth working. The more I saw things for myself, and the more enlightenments I received from private conversations with personalities of diverse walks of life, the more was I inclined to believe that the Russians have been gathering a spiritual force too. Man's superhuman effort to raise mankind to a state of equality and blissful co-existence needs and grows such a force. No selfish ambition and mate-

rial prosperity, however lofty and bounteous may they be, have in them any drive to lead man on to the realization that self gets glorified in selflessness, and that total efflorescence of individual self is only effected by the efflorescence of the entire community, the whole of mankind. This realization yields a force which knows no defeat, the force of the spirit known as spiritualism. It may come to man through religion or without it, but never through sectarian religiosity. It may certainly come through selfless devotion to work for the betterment of the humanity. Ancient Hindus knew of it.

Russia has freed her people from the evil spell of religiosity. She has uprooted churchianity but has not, I believe, been able to discard spiritualism and the spirit of Christianity. There are churches in Russia and mosques too. There are men and women in Russia who congregate in those places whenever they feel inclined to do so. But churchianity and factional and irrational religiosity which undermined Christ's creation, fostered corruption, oppression, expropriation, colonial expansion under the false cry of liberation through religious conversions, above all, fanatic fights to extermination between Christ's followers and adherents to churchianity have no place anywhere in People's Democracies any more. But a spiritual edification may be discovered by those who know what spiritualism is. In China, which I visited in 1953, I observed a spiritual force working behind every nation-building scheme. In Czechoslovakia I had the honour to have for one whole day the constant company of the Bishop of the Czechoslovak Progressive Church from 9 a.m. in the morning till 7 p.m. in the evening. I came to learn from him how the Progressive Church in Czechoslovakia has been working to remove the dross in religion due to religiosity practised in the past by blind adherents to churchianity. The old church still continue to exist in Czechoslovakia but progressive men and women are daily increasing the number of believers in Progressive Christianity which, as I could gather, is spiritualism minus formalistic religiosity.

In one of his speeches of Metropolitan Nicholas, member of the Sacred Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, I found what this Progressive Christianity stands for. The Metropolitan had pointed out :

"The Church does not engage in politics, but it cannot remain isolated within the framework of the religious life. Its very purpose, the service of man, has always thrust it into the thick of human history. Throughout history, the life of mankind has been a seething ocean of antagonisms. But through the unceasing din of strife, above the groans, above the smoke of conflagrations, the voice of church has summoned men and nations to pacification, has urged them towards brotherly love and peace. The church must do likewise today, for

it embodies the religious conscience of mankind. Religions conscience cannot be silent."

We know of 'good Christians' who cry, "We were yet sinners while Christ died for us." Yes, they are sinners yet. But do they repent of their sins? Not at all. We find these very same Christians with the very same cry still on their lips, in their search after profitable markets, raw materials, virgin colonies, and strategic positions, carrying death and destruction and slavery to millions of Christ's brothers. The rise of the Christian Powers in the East and their obstinacy to keep the conquests still in their possession prove that they have not only been sinning still, but have also been glorifying their sins.

The Russians on the other hand, have succeeded to bring into the fraternity of the Soviet Union some of the peoples who were antagonistic to them, who spoke different languages, practised different religions, and carried different traditions. This the Russians accomplished not by sword and fire but by carrying the cross on their own shoulders. They have founded peace within, peace in their neighbouring states, and have devoted themselves to the service of man although they do not swear by Christ. Writes Wang Kuang-wai, Secretary-General of the State Planning Commission, under the caption "A Great Plan" in People's China:

"This great Five-Year Plan is inseparably bound up with the aid given us by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, especially the former. The 156 enterprises built with Soviet help are the very heart of the plan. The Soviet Union is lending its aid at every stage of construction, with the surveying and selection of sites, assembling data for design, the design itself, supply of equipment, direction of the work as it proceeds, the installation and starting up, the supply of technical information of new types of product, and actually giving advice on the manufacture itself."

This is the new spirit that has born out of Russian System. It does not take cognizance of the so-called competitive intuition in man. It believes that a prosperous and efficient neighbour is a joy for them who want mankind to march on to victory against all exploitations and dominations. It is said that the People's China has been made a satellite to Russia. Those who say this are undoubtedly purposive. China is a nation of six hundred millions of people. China has proved her strength by successfully resisting many a combined aggression of the Western Powers and of her formidable neighbour Japan. China has a legacy of one of the earliest civilizations of the world. And China has a spirit to move with the times. Russia knows it. And yet she wants to see China stronger and more prosperous. She does not apprehend for a moment that this China may one day use the very materials against her for the expansion of China or for the foundation of a mighty Chinese Empire.

History does not give us any instance of a nation having strengthened her neighbours, particularly a neighbouring nation of six hundred millions with a potential strength of resistance. On the contrary, we find that political treaties have been always made to keep potential opponents suppressed and weakened. Numerous such treaties may be cited. But we will only refer to the treaty of Vienna after the fall of Napoleon and the treaty of Westphalia after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the notorious Versailles Treaty, the recent treaty with Japan to which Russia and India refused to be parties.

There are politicians and propagandists in every non-communist country who propagate that Russia contributes these extra-territorial aids with a view to spreading communism and strengthening her own position. But even then the birth of a new spirit in Russia cannot be ruled out.

Russia must have known from world history that political alliances are as brittle as glass containers are. She has herself many bitter experiences of broken and betrayed alliances. If she has now come to believe that an alliance through communism is bound to resist all selfish desires in man and his lust for conquest, then it cannot but be admitted that on seeing her own image reflected on the mirror of communism she has been assured that communists will never fight communists. Communism, she has come to know, does not grow in greed for land and lust for conquests, but in community welfare and service to the humanity.

I am not sure if I had ever happened to meet in the Soviet Republics and in Czechoslovakia any person who was nothing but a communist. But I am sure from the talks I had with writers, artists, teachers, directors of cultural institutes, directors of collective farms, farm-workers and dwellers in villages, that they had been warmed up by a spirit that inspired them to found fraternal relationships with the people of different lands irrespective of political ideologies. The recent Bulganin-Nehru joint statement in support of the Chou-Nehru five principles was only possible because the people of Russia came to believe, like the people of India and China, that on the basis of these five principles of peaceful co-existence a better world could be built up. Because these three Prime Ministers of the world's three largest Republics had the wisdom to catch the spirit of their people and had the fairness to reflect the wishes born of that spirit, their principles were acclaimed with enthusiasm by more than a thousand millions of people.

Russia's love for Peace, her political move and her cultural pursuit in favour of world peace and peaceful co-existence of nations with different systems, have made her dear to all peace-loving people of the world including many who do not admire her social system based on communism and even some of those who hate

to see further spread of the system of Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The world today thinks more of War and Peace than of political and social systems of nations.

It would be grossly unfair not to mention that the possibility of co-existence of nations was given a serious thought by Lenin himself before anybody else had conceived of it. The good Christian Powers of those days scoffed the idea off and raised an alarm warning their lambs to be on alert against what they took to be a camouflage to keep the communist lion in hiding till it finds its time to fall on its little preys. If the powers had not imagined a lion in every bush and had boldly come forward to give the proposition a feasible shape, the world would have been today much nearer to peace and prosperity. Sadder though, the world has been wiser now. The success of socialism has led some of the good Christians to regain Christianity by bidding good-bye to irrational religiosity. They have discovered the precious heritage that Christ had left in the coffer of Christianity—the belief in man's goodness and man's fulfilment through service to man. To this belief the Russians have infused the new spirit of one for all and all for each one. This is what we Indians call spiritual vision. The Russians have given this vision a material shape, a social system that works to guide man to attain fulfilment. This is the spirit which I found imbued every man and woman I had opportunities to talk to during our stay in the Soviet Republics and also in Czechoslovakia. This is the spirit that has extended beyond the political boundaries of the Soviet Union to other lands and to other peoples, far and near, to raise a hope that some day as Chekhov had beautifully put:

"In two or three hundred years' time life on this earth will be unimaginably beautiful and wonderful. Mankind needs such a life, and if it is not ours today then we must look ahead for it, wait, think, prepare for it. We must know more than our fathers and grandfathers saw and knew."

The land of Chekhov's birth has already been unimaginably beautiful and wonderful in much shorter a space of time than Chekhov himself imagined. And now many a Masha all over the world who thought that they knew too much about this world and her people are of the opinion that they must know more than their fathers and grandfathers saw and knew. These Mashas are anxious to find life unimaginably beautiful and wonderful as the Russians have found. I had experienced it out at Helsinki before I visited the Soviet Republics. I would like to tell of it in retrospect before I pick up the thread of my thoughts on Russia.

HELSINKI

Our pilgrimage on to Russia was preceded by our immersion in the holy streams of human thoughts confluenced at Helsinki in the last week of June, 1955.

It was a rare occasion of meeting in an Assembly representatives of the peoples of sixty-eight countries of the world numbering altogether one thousand six hundred and forty delegates, one hundred and nine observers, and ninety-two guests. The gathering was virtually a cross-section of the world-population. Every profession, pursuit and interest, was represented in it. A classified list issued by the Assembly Secretariat shows that peasants, technicians and engineers, businessmen, lawyers and jurists, artists, actors and film-workers, teachers, scientists and doctors, poets and writers, dramatists, journalists, office workers and trade unionists, and also two hundred and seventy-two persons pursuing several other occupations attended as delegates. Seventy-two religious figures of various denominations and one hundred and forty-six members of parliaments from different countries also participated. Never before any world assembly had gathered together such a vast concourse of persons and personalities of so many shades of opinion and social occupation.

The Helsinki Assembly for Peace was no governmental venture. It was a people's affair all through. And delegates had to find for themselves money needed for their travels bothways and their stay in Helsinki for more than a week. Sixty-eight countries could easily find participants willing to stand the cost which was by no means negligible. It may be said without risking contradiction that the majority came from middle and lower income-groups. India was represented by ninety-two persons of both the sexes. And I have no doubt that at least eighty of them had to face considerable difficulty to collect such money as was the absolute minimum. And yet they looked extremely happy; every one of them.

The Assembly Hall and its lobby presented the picture of a multicoloured floating garden of human-flowers in full blossom. Every face had a sweet smile for every one else, every eye had a glow of faith in fraternal relationship between man and man, and every voice had a note of promise for mutual aid. It was indeed a sight for the gods above and the warlords below to see how wonderfully the people of the world have come closer to one another in their endeavour to determine their own destiny.

They did not come there as rulers, legislators, administrators, diplomats and pedagogues although a pretty large number of them belonged, to the very same dignitaries in their respective countries. But at the Assembly they considered themselves as commoners, sat and discussed with those who were proud to be called as commoners and worked hard day and night for a week to reach the greatest common measure of agreement to give the world such a shape that man might safely enjoy the famous Four Freedoms which was once boomed only to be buried later under the radio-active dusts and ashes. Nothing else, whatsoever, did they seek to establish; least of all communism.

Of course, there were many communist among the delegates. But non-communists were no less conspicuous by their numbers. Neither were they gagged or terrorised into silence who spoke against the 'communist way of life. Every delegation was given the utmost liberty to tell the Assembly what it considered to be the best method of mobilising public opinion against war, and to suggest how best problems leading to war might be resolved. The Assembly sitting at ten plenary sessions listened to the speeches and splitted itself into seven commissions to discuss the world-problems and to reach concrete resolutions. Commissions relating to technical and scientific matters were again splitted into sub-commissions to facilitate thorough discussions.

The commissions discussed (1) Disarmament and Atomic Weapons; (2) Military Blocks and Social Problems; (3) National Sovereignty and Peace; (4) Economic and Social Problems; (5) Cultural Exchanges; (6) Education and Youth; (7) Co-operation and Action of the Peace Forces. These who attended the meetings of these commissions would attest how lively the discussions were, and how sincerely was every contradiction made a moot point and discussed threadbare. Difference in opinions were at times found to be so deep and wide that it was apprehended that no agreed resolution was likely to emerge out. But not a commission broke up in disagreement. Repeated sittings and resumed discussions brought participants closer to one another, hearts leapt out to meet hearts, and agreements could no longer escape attainment.

In the plenary session the speeches of the outstanding personalities of the world were listened to with as much attention as were the speeches of persons having no world-wide fame. The Assembly was more eager to find 'what' was said than 'who it was' that said. It does not mean that personalities were not given the respect they deserved; it means that the lesser personalities and less known people were given equal respect and attention. Not unoften the Assembly rose to its feet to great speakers who were not previously known to it as it rose on its feet to applaud the speeches of its Chairman, Professor Frederic Joliot Currie, Vice-President Kuo Mojo, Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg and other world-figures.

It is not possible to discuss the most excellent speeches in this space. But an attempt must be made to show how candid were most of them. In closing his address Prof. Joliot Currie said:

"As was made clear in the course of the preparations, it is for the World Assembly itself to fix the themes for discussion and its procedure. We shall have to put forward with complete faith and in all sincerity our points of view on these problems with the prime concern of seeking effective solutions acceptable to all in spite of everything which may create difference between us elsewhere. We shall find solutions which

will unite us and which, tomorrow, will bring to a more articulate and better-informed public opinion, the strength needed to overcome the obstacles and impose the ways of peace."

I have chosen the above lines to show the spirit with which the Assembly was sponsored. Now I will put below a few lines which will prove how frankly opinions were expressed. An observer from the Church Peace Mission, Toronto, Rev. D. C. Candy spoke:

"The most urgent commission in my mind and I am sure in the minds of most Canadians just to what extent is the World Peace Council linked up with the Communist Movement. Countless numbers in Canada take it for granted that it is a political arms of communism and therefore keep away from it. A further question, however, ignores this first one and recognises that whether the World Peace Council is dictated to by Moscow or not it is heavily weighted by communists. Perhaps we will not disagree on this point. Perhaps there will be honest regret that this is so. Nevertheless it does pose difficulties for the non-communist which the communist must recognise and in facing which he must be tolerant and charitable. There are many Christians who seem to be able to accept communism without compromising their Christian faith. But there are many who find they cannot . . ."

Rev. Candy closed his speech by some suggestions which he believed all his listeners would be able to accept. They were: (i) Cut out hate propaganda. (ii) We must seek out the good to commend and not pinpoint the evil to condemn. (iii) We could all do with a little dose of humility and self-criticism.

Queen's Counsel from Great Britain, Mr. D. N. Pritt said:

"In the light of the legal position which I have thus stated, I must stigmatise as wholly unlawful three recent policy decisions of certain powers, viz., (a) To equip the forces of the N.A.T.O. with nuclear weapons, and that, too, on a scale which amounts to organising them to wage war primarily with nuclear weapons, (b) to equip the forces of a re-armed Western Germany, with the rest of the N.A.T.O. with nuclear weapons, and, most serious of all, (c) to use nuclear weapons, not merely by way of reprisal after other belligerents will have resorted to their use, but from the start of the army war, without waiting to see what any other combatant might do the very decision to use those weapons, and the preparation to implement the decision, may well of themselves amount, moreover, to a 'crime against peace' under the Nuremberg charter."

Bertrand Russel in his message expressed his hope for a fruitful outcome of the deliberations of the Assembly. He proposed some measures to avoid atomic war which he apprehended would lead to the annihilation of the human race. Wrote he:

"It follows that the only possibilities before mankind are: peace by agreement or the peace of universal death. The first step should be a statement by a small number of men of the highest eminence as to be expected from nuclear war. This statement would undoubtedly make clear that a nuclear war would not bring victory to either side and would not create the sort of world desired by communists or the sort of world desired by their opponents or the sort of world that uncommitted nations desire."

Bertrand Russel had doubts and hopes. His message was discussed at length in the commissions as well as in the plenary sessions by a number of competent critics. M. Jean-Paul Sartre said:

"We all heard with joy the message which Bertrand Russel so kindly sent to the Congress, and we have all been appreciative of the valuable suggestion it makes. If, however, I allow myself to criticise it, it is because Bertrand Russel has come to a stop somewhere between London and Helsinki, and that his message enables us to realize how much more meaningful is the simple fact of being here, in Finland, than the letter of a great philosopher. It seems to me indeed that Bertrand Russel takes into consideration only the elite of specialists, known as scientists, and that other political elite known as members of governments . . . on the contrary, all the groups who have sent delegates to Helsinki have stressed one essential aspect of the Peace which we are trying to create, it is a Peace desired by the people. Not in the first instance by elites, but foremost by the masses."

In his wonderfully brilliant speech Ilya Ehrenburg more pointedly discussed:

"There are two groups of powers in the world today. It is not my intention to weigh them in the balance. It is clear to everyone that these two groups represent two forces. Neither of them has been vanquished, and to use the language of imagined victors means to strive not for negotiations but the abandoning of negotiations . . . some political leaders assert that a Western military alliance is inevitable because 'Communists are convinced of the final victory of Communism.' This assertion is repeated so often that it is worth answering. We Soviet people believe that the future belongs to a society where there is no longer private ownership of the means of production. This belief is based on our understanding of the laws of development of society. Does this mean that our world outlook threatens any state? When I was in America I often heard from fairly responsible people that the future belonged to private enterprise, and this did not seem a threat either to me or to my fellow-countrymen."

When we speak of the danger of war we point to the net-work of military bases, to the accumulation of arms, to attempts at interference in the affairs of sovereign states, but not to the philosophy of capitalism."

The above excerpts illustrate how frank and candid were the participants and how the problems were reviewed from all possible angles. Differences in opinion were bridged and concrete proposals on every problem were possible to be formulated. All the resolutions were accepted by the Assembly with enthusiasm and were crystallized into what is now known as the Helsinki Appeal. The modesty, the serenity, the universality of the Appeal have made it a profound document of the people's will to win peace. It was unanimously accepted by the Assembly; only one delegate abstained from voting, either for or against.

My language fails to describe the mass-drama that was spontaneously enacted immediately on the announcement of the verdict of the ballot. Delegates, guests, visitors, workers, members of the presidium, two thousand men and women representing sixty-eight nations jumped upon their feet and raised in one voice a mighty cheer that must have reached the heavens carrying the message of man's resurrection. Cheers followed cheers amidst thunderous claps. All on a sudden the entire concourse of men and women, old and young, white and coloured, communists and non-communists, chained themselves into a human train and started moving around the seats shouting and dancing. Some did cry, some did laugh, and some did laugh and cry at the same breath. For about half an hour continued this unbridled expression of extreme exuberance.

But what was the jubilation for? Had they won a war? No, they thought they had achieved a greater victory than that; they have discovered how peace may be won and preserved. How so? The Helsinki Appeal elucidates:

"The World Assembly for Peace has established with certainty that, in spite of deep differences,

in spite of diversity of opinion agreement can be reached on important points and many problems can be solved immediately through negotiation."

Participants to the Assembly have discovered how to agree, when to agree, and on what to agree. They asked themselves when they had found a method to resolve their differences, why the powers should not? The Helsinki Appeal elaborates:

"The work of peace can at last be done if forces, whose aims are similar particularly peace movements and big political organisations of Christian or Socialist tendencies, unite their efforts to dispel mistrust and win peace. Step by step, the contradictions in the world can be resolved and the hopes of all people fulfilled."

The agreement the delegates were able to arrive at was no casual conciliation. It was, indeed, the discovery of an arsenal in man from which peace-weapons could be inexhaustibly drawn by man. A week's honest searching of hearts and sustaining patience to conciliate contradictory claims had led the delegates to its discovery. That was the reason why all those delegates, politicians and parliamentarians, scientists and teachers, professors and prelates, workers and peasants, fathers, sons, brothers, mothers, daughters, sisters, husbands and wives, coming from all nationalities, felt the thrill of joy unbound when they came to know that they were, irrespective of their many differences, united on the issue of Peace, a peace for all times to come, a peace that will make this world unimaginably beautiful and bountiful. This faith in peaceful efflorescence of mankind is a new spiritual realization. And although the delegates to the Helsinki Assembly for Peace realized it by discussion and negotiation, it aroused in them a spirit similar to what I have described as the spirit of New Russia, the spirit I found manifest in all the endeavours of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

(To be continued)



BOOKS FOR TEACHING BENGALI TO NON-BENGALIS

BY PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

GENERALLY we in India do not take sufficient interest in disseminating the knowledge of the provincial languages and literatures outside the provinces in which they are normally known and understood by the people at large who speak them as their mother-tongues. It is, therefore, rather difficult for a person of one province to learn the language of another province, as help-books, and really good ones, are rare except for Hindi, for which books usually meant for beginners only, have been written in different languages of India, since its recognition as the national language. Under these circumstances, we extend our hearty welcome to the few attempts made to render the language of Bengal intelligible to non-Bengali people. Of books compiled in this connection special mention needs be made of two in Hindi by Sri Gopalchandra Chakravarti Shastri who had already made his name through his books in Bengali for helping people of Bengal in learning Hindi. It is to be noted that his books in Hindi for helping Hindi-speaking people in learning Bengali have also earned well-deserved popularity having run through several editions. *Saral Bangla Siksha*¹ which is in its fourth edition gives in five parts an elaborate account of the Bengali language. Part I gives specimens of Bengali expressions with corresponding Hindi versions arranged in accordance with different grammatical topics. Part II is a collection of important Bengali words with Hindi equivalents classified into various sections. Part III explains the grammatical structure of the language. Part IV deals with the peculiarities of the colloquial form of the language. The last part contains examples of idiomatic expressions, proverbs and a selected vocabulary. *Bangla Pahlī Pustak*² of which we have the eighth edition is an elementary work³ which in 25 lessons collects illustrative examples of various modes of expressions with an indication of their pronunciation in the Hindi script and their translation in Hindi. We have reference to another Hindi book on the subject by Sri Bidhubhusan Das Gupta who has contributed a book in English entitled *Learn Bengali*. The latter⁴ has 20 lessons including one giving specimens of Bengali prose and poetry selected from the writings of standard authors and another on letter-writing. There are two appendices containing lists of commonly used Bengali words and renowned books in Bengali. The grammar portion is occasionally defective and the transliteration of Bengali words into the Roman script is usually faulty appar-

ently without any system. Though not quite up to the mark it will yet be of some help to beginners.

Somewhat better, though not entirely free from defects of the type mentioned above, is the *Bengali for Foreigners*⁵ by Mrs. S. Nandy who has practical experience of teaching the language to non-Bengali students. She begins her lessons with texts on the basis of which the characteristics of the language are explained. There are several lessons on the letters of the alphabet and their combinations in different ways. There is sufficient reading matter including a few selected portions from the writings of Rabindranath and Abanindranath either with full Bengali translations or with translations of important words and expressions. Mention may be made in this connection of the *Bengali Self-Taught* written years back on a scientific basis by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and published in Mailborough's Self-Taught Series (London, 1927).

We must in this connection put on record the valuable work being done by the Nikhil Bharat Bangabhashaprasarini Sabha in making Bengali popular among the people of different provinces as well as foreigners. It has centres in various parts of the country where regular classes are held and lessons given on the Bengali language. It also intends to publish books for the purpose. It has already brought out a Bengali-Nepali Primer. Another infant institution with wider objectives is the Bharatiya Bhasha-samgama of Banaras which aims at providing facilities for the teaching of all Indian languages and creating a common platform for people speaking different languages. More organised attempts are required to be made on a larger scale for the propagation of the languages and literatures of the country and solution of many attending problems including the one of scripts. The question of the possibility of evolving a common script will naturally arise and the feasibility of the alternate use of the Devanagari or Roman script along with the local scripts will demand sympathetic consideration in view of the extensive popularity of the former.

1. Svayambhati Pustakalaya, 11, Sadananda Bazar, Banaras. Price Rs. 2.
2. Svayambhati Pustakalaya, 11, Sadananda Bazar, Banaras, Price 12 annas.
3. This, I understand, is followed by *Bangla Dusri Pustak*.
4. Das Gupta Prakashan, 3, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta-9. Price Re. 1-14.
5. Popular Library, 15-B, Lake Road, Calcutta-29. Price Rs. 2-4.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. II, Arts, History and Culture: *Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 256. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is the second volume of the series published under the above title, of which the other two volumes have been noticed by us in previous issues of the *Modern Review*. The present work is a collection of 20 extracts selected from the writings of sixteen authors, Indian and foreign, on certain aspects of Indian culture. They have been arranged under two heads, namely, (1) 'Arts' and (2) 'Culture and History'. Among papers presenting illuminating studies on their respective subjects may be mentioned those bearing the titles *Indian Dance: The Background* (Rukmini Devi), *Art and Architecture and Indian Painting* (E. B. Havell), *The Fundamental Unity of India* (Radha Kumud Mookerji), *The Continuity of Indian Culture* (Jawaharlal Nehru), *Hindu Renaissance in Middle Ages* (K. M. Panikkar), and above all, *The Unity of Indian Religion* (Sri Aurobindo). The other papers which are mostly of an informative character include *Indian Music* (Rev. H. A. Popley), *Indian Dance: Theory and Practice* (A. K. Majumdar), *The Sultanate of Delhi and The Mughal Empire* (Baini Prashad), and lastly, *India and the World and Indian Colonies in the Far East* (R. C. Majumdar). One misses in this list such outstanding contributions as that of Rabindranath Tagore on the significance of Indian history as a continuous record of the mingling of different races and cultures and that of Sri Aurobindo on the strengthening or weakening of India's ancient spirit as the key to the rise and decline of her civilisation. Instances of contradictions are not wanting as e.g., the dates c. 1st century A.D. and 3rd century A.D. for Bharata's *Natyashastra* (pp. 22, 34), while the antiquated dating of the Buddhist monuments (p. 42f) remains uncorrected. These defects could have been avoided by the selection of an editor for the volume. The division of the work under the two heads 'Arts' and 'Culture and History' is not above criticism, since all the papers included under the first heading belong to Fine Art, while the latter heading is sufficiently comprehensive to have formed the title of the whole volume. On p. 248 last line 'B. C. Law Memorial Volume' is an unfortunate slip. On the whole, the book gives much useful information about our culture for a remarkably cheap price.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE STORY OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN STATES: *By V. P. Menon. Orient Longmans, Ltd., 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-18. Pp. 511. Price Rs. 25.*

This is a timely publication. The Indian States stood as a solid rock against the solution of our pro-

blems, political and otherwise. After the transfer of power in August, 1947, the problem remained as such, and needed immediate disposal. It was due to the stern determination of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the first Home Minister of Free India that the problem was solved within two years after the attainment of independence. This thrilling story is told in this book by one who was in the thick of the struggle, he was also a righthand man of the leader in this matter. It has, therefore, an additional value of the record of personal experience too. The book has been divided into twenty-six chapters with a few appendices, illustrations, cartoons and maps, namely, 1. Setting the Stage, 2. Spokes in the Wheel, 3. The Parting Gift, 4. Prelude to Chaos, 5. Stopping the Gap, 6. Junagadh, 7. The Orissa and Chattisgarh States, 8. Saurashtra, 9. The Deccan and Gujarat States, 10. Vindhya Pradesh, 11. Madhya Bharat, 12. Patiala and East Punjab States Union, 13. Rajasthan, 14. Travancore-Cochin, 15. Mysore, 16. A Miscellany of States, 17. Hyderabad I, 18. Hyderabad II, 19. Hyderabad III, 20. Jammu and Kashmir State, 21. Baroda, 22. I Administrative Consolidation, II Incorporation of the States' Forces into the Indian Army, 23. Financial Integration, 24. Organic Unification, 25. The Cost of Integration and 26. Retrospect and Prospect.

Captions of these chapters are suggestive and tempting. The story has been narrated here objectively. The author gives a short description of the narrative chapter-wise, which will tell us at once the subjects discussed. According to him:

"The first four chapters provide the background to the problem of the Indian States. There I have described how the British built up the framework of princely India. I trace the events right up to the announcement of the June 3rd plan declaring the lapse of paramountcy, whereby the Indian States comprising two-fifths of the country would return to a state of political isolation. Chapter V describes how this was circumvented by the accession of the States on three subjects. The next chapter deals with Junagadh State which had acceded to Pakistan. The ten subsequent chapters deal with the consolidation of the States on a regional basis. Hyderabad, which had remained aloof, has been dealt with at length in three chapters. Kashmir follows and the Baroda interlude comes next. Then four chapters are devoted to a survey of the administrative, financial and constitutional changes and to the cost of integration. In the last chapter, entitled 'Retrospect and Prospect', I have summed up the policy of integration and expressed my personal views on some aspects of the problem."

We commend the book to our readers.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN INDIA (A comparative study): By Ratan Lal Khanna, B.A. (Hons.), M.A., D.P. in Journalism. Published by the English Book Shop, Chandigarh. 1956. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 5-8.

The book is an exhaustive study of Panchayat Administration in India. The author has lucidly discussed all aspects of Village Panchayats: their foundation, aims, organs, functions, staff, finance, relationship with other local authorities and the State Government. A critical and constructive mind has been brought to bear upon a description and analytical survey. Appendices rich in factual material and comparative data and stimulating passages quoted from learned authorities on Government have added immensely to the usefulness of the monograph. The writer ends on a note of enlightened optimism which many will appreciate. "The nascent Panchayat Raj," concludes he, "bids fair to become the school of democracy and recapture the glory of village republics in Ancient India. Only we must pursue the objectives of Panchayat Raj with a steady stride, realistic outlook and in a creative spirit of community so that each to-morrow takes us farther than today."

Village Panchayats are now in the limelight. Almost all the States have enacted legislation for setting up Village Panchayats. The West Bengal Panchayat Bill is on the way to become an Act. To quote the Taxation Enquiry Commission, "The momentum gathered by the movement for establishment of new Panchayats is one of the most significant developments of recent years." A knowledge of Village Panchayats seems thus to be an essential equipment of creative citizenship in New India. Against this background the utility of Sri Khanna's book is to be assessed. It will serve as a valuable book of reference to those who are interested in perhaps the most vital branch of public administration in our country. We notice errors in printing here and there. These should not steal into the second edition.

NIRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

ON PATHS OF LIFE: By Puran Singh. With a foreword of Sri M. S. Randhawa. Published by Uttar Chand Kapur & Sons, Delhi. Pp. 156. Price not mentioned.

Sri Puran Singh was a distinguished literary luminary of the modern Punjab and the well-known author of several thoughtful volumes, such as, *Sisters of the Spinning Wheel*, *Spirit of Oriental Poetry*, *Life of Swami Ramatirtha*, etc. Born in a Pathan village of a Frontier district in 1881 A.D., he succumbed to tuberculosis in March 1931 at a premature age of hardly fifty years. He spent some years in Japan from 1900-1903 as a student of technology and there met Okakura, Swami Ramatirtha and Miss McLeod, an American disciple of Swami Vivekananda among others. Out and out he remained a poet, though he carried the career of a scientist for about three decades.

The book under review is the autobiography of the author completed and prefaced in 1927 about four years before his death. It was left unpublished till 1953, when his son S. Madan Mohan Singh handed it over to Sri Randhawa, the writer of the foreword, who arranged for its publication in November of 1954. The entire autobiography written in a poetic language is throughout readable and interesting. The Japanese reminiscences, however, occupy a very large portion of the book, which is nicely printed and got-up. A long index and the informative foreword have definitely

increased the worth and importance of the book. A portrait, a list of works and a life-sketch of Puran Singh are badly wanting in the book.

There is no doubt that Puran Singh occupies an important place in the band of those composers of modern India, who have written poems in English, still our *de facto lingua franca*. Puran Singh shines as a bright star in the literary firmament of Modern India not only as a poet but also as a translator and biographer. His biography of Swami Ramtirtha, that great monk of New India, is perhaps the only one of its kind. His rendering of Jai Dev's *Geeta-Gobinda* is quite original. He is in his best elements when he describes the divine amours of the Gopis and Sri Krishna, "Whose body is the colour of the purple cloud, adorned with the rainbow in the sky, whose tresses are embellished with peacock feathers that ripple with a hundred crescents."

Puran Singh returned home from Japan as a shaven-headed monk and continued so till marriage. He was by birth a Sikh and believed till death in a formless Father as testified in his words, "I am with my Father. I sleep and wake in him. He encompasseth me when I stumble. Wonder! Oh wonder! I fall in his lap."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

L'OPIMUM DES INTELLECTUELS BY RAYMOND ARON: Calmann-Lévy, Editeurs. Paris. October 1955. Pp. 334. Price 750 frs.

"British education less ideological than French, less optimistic than American does not estrange the intellectual to the same extent. It forms habits rather than builds up doctrines; it produces the desire to imitate practices rather than reproduce dialectic. The admirer of Great Britain would wish that the Parliament of New Delhi resembles that of Westminster. I do not believe that a single intellectual in Indo-China or Morocco would dream of adopting an Assembly like that of the Palais-Bourbon." So says Monsieur Aron, a leading French writer who has to his credit numerous books and essays on the philosophy of history and on political ideas, some of which have been translated into English.

There is in France a long tradition of intellectualism which the ferment of ideas contributing to and springing from the French Revolution invigorated still further. In France to-day the intellectuals enjoy an influential position as nowhere else. Much of the leadership of France fell to the intelligentsia as the direct consequence of the disruption of the Ancient Regime and the emasculation of the Church. The respect for the individual, fervently fostered since the French Revolution provided a starting point for many cults advocating far-reaching social changes. Yet in France, the condition of the ordinary people is less satisfactory than in Britain and the United States of America where social and economic changes have been brought about by practical reforms rather than by ideologies.

Who are the intellectuals in France? According to Monsieur Aron they are those whose "principal profession is writing, teaching, preaching, acting or practising arts and letters"—they have the common characteristic of reflecting on their existence—they are responsible in many cases for transforming opinions and interests into theories; they are by habit inclined to be critical and disposed to challenge reality with ideas. They show a distaste for the servitude imposed by

industrial civilisation (in this, the influence of Rousseau may be seen at work), the brutalization of human relations and the vulgarization of culture. The extremists among the Existentialists go so far as to denounce life and history. On the other hand, many of them are obsessed by the notion of the mission of the masses. The intellectuals have no difficulty in elaborating the more profound of their theories with the help of the brilliant apparatus of thought which tradition has left to posterity, in the writings of philosophers from Plato to Rousseau, from Hegel to Karl Marx. The march of material progress has created a spiritual vacuum which man may not neglect except at his peril.

The intellectual leadership, relying as it does on a flight from reality would have been discredited long ago but for the fact that the inspiration which gives it its élan vital is never far from faith. The search for a millenium provides the essential urge and like all ideals which are never lacking in attraction for youth and in firing their imagination the search is self-renewing. Here is the opium.

With the technical knowledge at its command betterment of conditions is a duty which humanity owes to itself. "The cult of the Revolution, the predilection for sublime abstraction, the taste for ideology and the indifference towards intractable realities which determine the fate of communities are contagious virtues . . . our culture excites the impatience which is born from the contrast between that which is and that which should be, between the upsurge of ambitions and the conservatism of custom; it is prepared even to submit to a strict discipline in the name of extreme liberty." Nevertheless, if amelioration of the condition of the masses is the objective, the successful methods of Scandinavia, Britain and other countries should provide more fruitful guidance. Ideas have an intoxicating quality and in preoccupation with them the danger lies in the means becoming mistaken for the ends. The advice that Monsieur Aron gives is that it is better to be sceptical than fanatical; if toleration comes from doubt let us elect doubt.

The author has given an excellent analysis of the philosophy of history and readers will be grateful for the biography of ideas. The book is written by an intellectual for intellectuals but even to the ordinary reader it provides a monumental aid to straight thinking.

MARGARET BASU

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE PATANJALA YOGASUTRA (with the commentary of Vyasa): *Translated from Sanskrit into English by Bengali Baba. Published by Sham Sundar Mukraj Puri. B.A., LL.B. Shree Maharaja Steel Mills. Ltd., Kapurthala. Price Rs. 5.*

Here is a volume containing the Sanskrit text of the *Yogasutras* and the *Vyasabhasya* together with an English translation of both followed by exegetical notes by the learned translator who is a practical *yogi* himself. Hence, it contains something more than is expected from a similar work by an ordinary scholar. Unfortunately the reader is embarrassed by the numerous misprints which have been sought to be corrected in a long errata. Nevertheless this is a welcome edition to the Yoga literature.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

RAMKAMAL SEN, KRISHNAMOHAN BANDO-PADHYA (Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala Series 72): *By Jogesh Chandra Banal. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad. Price Re. 1.*

The book under review is a neat presentation of the lives and works of two eminent sons of Bengal of the last century. Their life-history has been narrated against a vast canvas—the canvas that presents Bengal's economic, political and cultural distress and her aspirations. The resurgent force of Hinduism reared its head once again under the impact of Christianity. Reform was the order of the day. The illiterate had to be educated, the poor fed, the distressed helped and the homeless rehabilitated. That was the urgent task of all sections of the enlightened gentry. Ramkamal and Krishnamohan took upon themselves this great task of reconstruction of their contemporary society. A devout Hindu, as Ramkamal was, did his very best not only to alleviate the distress of his brothers in faith but the suffering people of all communities. A devout Christian, as Krishnamohan was, was no less eager and enthusiastic to help to build the contemporary society with all the resources at his command, both financial and intellectual. Sri Bagal, the author of the book, is successful in his mission to portray the life-story of these two worthy sons of Bengal and to present them in a style and manner of abiding interest to the Bengali-reading public. We must know of the resurgent Bengal, her renaissance in the last century. The book would go a long way in helping us appreciate the great work done by our ancestors in bringing about this renaissance.

Both Ramkamal and Krishnamohan laboured hard for the improvement of their mother-tongue—Bengali. They wrote Bengali books on different subjects for the enlightenment of their countrymen. The author has aptly given especial emphasis on this aspect of their work in two separate chapters. Accurate information regarding their Bengali works will be of much use to those scholars who are engaged in research work in different aspects of the Bengali literature of the nineteenth century.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

HINDI

US PAR KE PAROSI: *By Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri Ramanarain Chaudhury of the author's *Travel-Diary* in Gujarati. Of the visit he paid sometime back to East Africa where for decades our fellow-countrymen have settled down. He brought to them something of the vision, wisdom and wonder that is India, while to the people of his own country they have sent through him, something of their perpetual wistfulness for the Mother, their problems, their pattern of living, overshadowed, on the one hand, by the beauty and grandeur of Nature and on the other, by the life and culture of the sons of the soil. Kaka Sahib, through his inborn love for the spacious and the sublime, wherever these are discovered, has, however, built a bridge between the two. For, he is a welcome fellow-traveller everywhere.

G. M.

GUJARATI

YOGADIPAK i.e., YOGASAMADHI: *By Shri-mam, Buddhi Sagar Sureshwarji. Published by Shri Adhyatma Jnan Prasarak Mandal, Bombay. Printed at the Mahodaya Press, Bhavnagar. 1960. Cloth bound. Illustrated jacket. Illustrated Second Edition. Pp. 447. Price Rs. 3.*

The author is a very well-known Jaina, Suteshwar, who from being born as a peasant, by sheer intelligence, close study and application to Letters and Philosophy rose to a high level of scholarship and authorship. He has published 103 volumes all bearing on Jaina life and philosophy. The book under notice is a valuable guide to *yoga samadhi*. He has, in Sanskrit verse and its translation into Gujarati, pointed out in great detail how *yoga* is to be practised and attained. He can do it so ably because of first-hand knowledge and practice. It is an admirable text-book on the subject.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

See India—Guide to Agra: Illustrated cover. Printed on ivory finish paper. Illustrated with fine photos, with a map, and full of information of everything about Agra. Pp. 36. Price As. 8.

See India—Guide to Orissa: Same as the first. Pp. 44. As. 8.

Kashmir—Guide to Kashmir: Illustrated cover and illustrated with excellent photographs, some covering full pages. Brief description about places and sights worth seeing and full of information and detailed accounts about the Tourist Paradise—Kashmir. Pp. 52. Price Re. 1.

Indian Air Force: Intended for Careers for Officers and Airmen. It tells in brief about The National Defence Academy, Air Force College, Ground-duties branches; non-technical and technical, Ground Training School, and the Trades for Airmen to learn. Illustrated. Pp. 59. Price Re. 1.

University Education in India: It deals with the foundation and development of Universities since Independence and an enumeration of all the existing Universities in India. Pp. 36. Price As. 8.

With Gun and Rod in India: An ideal book about the games in India for hunters, anglers and sportsmen. It deals with an exhaustive account of the wild life in India, all the varieties of beasts and birds and fishes to shoot and catch for hunters and to explore and observe for sportsmen and observers. Games in the Himalayas, the Indo-Gangetic plain and in the Deccan and where to find which kind of game are described with details. Numerous photographs of indigenous wild beasts and birds and fishes are given and the brochure is printed on good ivory finish paper. Campers and sportsmen will find the book delightful as an excellent guide-book. Cover with coloured illustration. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 3.

Folk Dances in India: Illustrated with pictures of folk dances of the indigenous tribes of all the Provinces of India, six of which are printed in many colours. Thanks are due to Kumari Nirmala Joshi for supplying most of the materials of the brochure. The Introduction dwells on the significance the value and the importance of folk-dance in general. Price Re. 1-8.

Cave Temples of Western India: It describes in brief the history and architectural details, with copious illustrations, of all the famous Cave Temples to be found in Western India: Elephanta, Kanheri, Jogeshwari, Montpezir (Mandapeshwar) Caves, the Karla, Bhaja and Bedsa Caves, Ellora and Ajanta Caves, Badami, Pattacol and Aihole Caves, Nasik Caves and Junagadh Caves. After the contents there is given a map of Western India with railways and roads to Caves. Price Rs. 2.

All the above books are published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8.

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Whither Modern Humanity ?

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri writes in *The Aryan Path* a suggestive essay on the dilemma of our civilization and its remedy :

Ever since Bacon held before the eyes of the world the supreme importance of the method of science, viz., doubt, enquiry, observation, experiment, hypothesis prediction and test, science came to occupy the foremost place in the thoughts of men. The West has progressed beyond all expectations in the pursuit of science, especially in the realm of the physical sciences. Various inventions of high value and utility followed in the wake of man's increasing mastery of science: the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, the automobile, the aeroplane, the jet plane, the gramophone, the radio and television—to name but a few of the useful achievements which have exalted the glory of science. But gun powder, the explosive bomb, the bomber, the atom bomb, the cobalt bomb, the hydrogen bomb, etc., show how science can also destroy man.

These last inventions were possible because science outstripped philosophy and religion. Philosophy broke away from religion, and science in its turn broke away from both. Western philosophy became entangled in the quagmire of barren conjecture and speculation. Religion, deprived of its alliance with philosophy, became untenable sectarian dogma and degenerated into mere creed which appealed less and less to the progressive intellect of man. Science became contemptuous and defiant in its attitude towards philosophy and religion and led humanity by invisible steps to rank materialism. Mind was held to be a product of matter and the soul was held to be a mere assumption and hypothesis. Philosophy retorted by saying that matter is a mere mental concept and nothing more. Religion felt bewildered and became prone to repeat mere creedal formulae and deny the causal nexus altogether.

But recent science has smashed the atom. It has found that there are breaks in the law of scientific determinism.

We thus see that the modern age is one of vast confusion because of the discord among science, philosophy and religion. Einstein once said that the malady of modern thought was due to science having outstripped ethics and philosophy. He said also:

"Religion without science is blind; and science without religion is lame The most beautiful emotion we can experience is the mystical. He to whom this emotion is a stranger and who can no longer wonder and stand in awe is as good as dead."

He said further that the world is in need of scientists who recognize mysticism as the source of all true art and science, and also of religious leaders who will face with open eyes the results of science. We must not halt science but we must quicken philosophy, ethics and religion.

Science means knowledge. Knowledge is a mental state. The soul whose instrument is mind is a unity.

What right have we to split science into sciences and set them one against another? And yet the modern man has done this and has split knowledge into warring camps and thus done himself incalculable harm. Today the physical sciences, the social sciences and the spiritual sciences go their diverse ways and even attack one another.

In ancient times religion dominated society and the physical sciences were in an undeveloped state. In mediaeval times the social sciences grew up to some extent but the physical sciences had not made much progress. But in modern times the physical sciences have made astonishing progress and are dominant. The social sciences are stagnant, Religion has definitely retreated.

Now that the physical sciences have armed man with terribly destructive nuclear weapons, it behoves man to develop the social and the spiritual sciences to a greater extent. No bombs can harm humanity if man does not throw them at his brother man. Social institutions must control primitive urges. But the social sciences will save humanity only if they heed the voice of religion upon the real nature and destiny of man. Only then can disintegrated "sciences" be re-integrated, harmonized and unified as that Science which can save humanity.

Religion should no longer be disfigured with ecclesiastical promises of heaven and threats of hell. We need a new vision of the Immanence and Transcendence of God and of the Divinity of Man. We need also a new philosophy of man. Man was formerly prone to overvalue himself as the pinnacle of creation. He was also puzzled by the wide-spread prevalence of evil and misery. He must learn to find the roots of his present position in the cosmos, in himself, whether we call this law, the law of Karma, or by some other name.

Scientific determinism and pessimism must be eradicated by a new philosophic vision and a new religious hope and ecstasy. Till now man has been looking out through the window of the mind. He must learn to throw open the window of intuition and mystic vision. Dostoevsky describes a rare experience of his as being "like a flash of light in the brain, relieving all doubts and anxieties, merging them in a lofty calm, full of serene harmonious joy and hope." Let us hope that modern humanity will move hereafter in that direction.

Problems of Education in India

Dr. K. L. Shrimali writes in *The Indian Review* :

The most important and urgent problem in the field of education in India is to provide free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 as laid down in the Constitution. Apart from the constitutional provision, a democratic society is morally committed to a system of free and compulsory education.

The aim of democracy is the development of the

individual. A democratic society cannot function effectively as long as it allows millions of its children to remain without schooling and majority of people illiterate. Freedoms of speech, assembly and worship as also the power to vote and to determine the policies of a country which are considered basic in a democratic society become meaningless when people fail to understand the conditions under which they live and the problems which confront them.

In order that people in a democratic society may be able to make use of the fundamental rights, they must be able to communicate with each other, to think and to decide things together. Literacy is a prior and indispensable tool for the functioning of a democratic society and India like other Western countries must go through the first phase of the educational revolution by building up a system of free and compulsory education.

As far as education is concerned, the Second Three-Year Plan does not present a very bright and promising picture. The target laid down in the Constitution is receding further and as the rate at which we are progressing, it seems doubtful whether the Directive of the Constitution can be fulfilled even by the end of the Five-Year Plan. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan we shall have facilities of schooling only for 62.7 per cent children of the age group 6-11 and only 22.5 per cent for the age group 11-14.

This slow growth of elementary education should be a matter of great concern to the State on whom the Constitution places the responsibility for the fulfilment of the Directive of the Constitution. The local community effort is desirable and our people should be closely associated with the programmes of educational development but the ultimate responsibility for elementary education will have to be borne by the State which includes the Central as well as the State Governments. They must jointly mobilise all their financial resources to implement the Directive of the Constitution.

Educational expansion at the elementary stage cannot be left entirely to the resources of the local bodies or of the State Governments. Some of the States are already incurring more than 20 per cent of their total Budget on education and they may have genuine difficulties in finding additional funds through taxation for opening new schools. Moreover, some of the States are economically backward and do not possess adequate natural resources for further development in the near future.

As far as elementary education is concerned, the nation cannot allow differences in educational standards to be perpetuated between one State and another on account of differences in economic resources.

The Central Government will, therefore, have to take its due responsibility for the implementation of the Directive of the Constitution and for equalising educational opportunities all over the country.

Another complicated problem which confronts the Government is with regard to the place of languages in our educational institutions. The solution lies in making a rational approach to the problem. It has now been generally accepted that mother tongue or a regional language should be the medium of instruction. There may be a few isolated schools which still retain English as the medium of instruction at the elementary or secondary stage but all the States have introduced mother tongue or regional language as the medium of instruction. There is no difference of opinion on this subject as mother tongue or regional language has been universally recognised as the most suitable medium of instruction at the elementary and secondary stage.

There is not the same unanimity with regard to the position of Hindi and English. Hindi has been accepted as the official language of India not because it is older or richer than other Indian languages but because it is spoken by a majority and understood by a vast majority of the Indian people. We have to choose one language which may serve not only official purposes but which may also serve as a means of inter-communication between people of different linguistic groups.

Education has so far been confined in this country only to classes. With the expansion of mass education there is bound to be greater need for inter-communication between different linguistic groups. While we recognise linguistic groups and do everything that is possible to develop regional languages, we should not forget that the linguistic groups are only parts of the whole. The strength of a democratic society is dependent in a great measure to the extent that it allows free intercourse between different groups. Free social intercourse is most essential for the growth of a democratic culture. The different linguistic groups cannot live in isolation from each other. They must have one common language which all people in the North, South, East and West can understand.

We cannot obviously have English as the language for inter-communication between people of different regions. It could serve the purpose when the Government could be run with a small number of people and culture was confined only to the classes. A democratic society requires greater and greater participation on the part of the people in the affairs of the Government and in the healthy development of culture. We cannot escape the conclusion that Hindi should be taught to all the children in India. It will be a great cementing factor for national unity and help us in reintegrating our culture.

With regard to English, there was some opposition to it in the past which was partly due to the fact that it was a language of a foreign power which ruled our country. This reaction was natural when Indian nationalism began to assert itself. Even at that time, there were patriotic leaders in our public life who realised the importance of English in our educational system.



After independence we can take a more dispassionate and objective attitude towards the whole problem. There are two weighty reasons for the retention of English in our secondary schools. (1) English is no more a language of one country only. It is now becoming an international language. India is destined to play an important role in international affairs because of her rich cultural heritage and traditions. We can make our contribution to the growth of world society and human civilisation only through English language. (2) English is also a language of science and technology. India has decided to make use of science and technology for its national progress and for raising the living standards of its people. The original literature in science and technology in Hindi or other regional languages is almost negligible.

In order that our students may have access to original sources, it will be essential to have proper understanding of English language.

By the time a student leaves the High School, he should, therefore, acquire knowledge of three languages—regional language, Hindi and English. The students whose mother-tongue is Hindi should learn another Indian language and in this way parity may be established between the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking regions. There is sometimes an apprehension that the study of three languages in addition to other subjects will make the curriculum too heavy for the child. The fear is baseless since we have before us example of several countries where children have to learn three languages at the secondary stage. In any case, the study of three languages is essential in a society like ours which stands for cultural freedom, national unity and international understanding.

Another difficult and yet the most urgent problem is to establish greater co-ordination between the Centre and States so that we may develop a national system of education which may reflect the beliefs and values which we have accepted for our society. While the States may maintain their autonomy in the sphere of education as provided for in the Constitution, every effort will have to be made by the Centre as well as the States to develop common national policies and programmes of education.

With this end in view, the Central Government has set up various agencies, such as the Central Advisory Board of Education, University Grants Commission, All-India Council for Technical Education, All-India Council for Secondary Education, National Council of Rural Education, etc. The Government is already considering to set up an All-India Council of Basic Education.

In order that these Boards and Councils may be effective in bringing about the necessary reforms and changes in our educational system, greatest co-operation and understanding between the Centre and the States will have to be established. If the individual States and the Centre do not act in unison in implementing national programmes of education, national unity will be weakened.

Education has always been a powerful instrument in the development of national outlook and for building up national unity. If the Central Government takes greater and greater responsibility for financing educational schemes, it should not be misconstrued as interference in the sphere which constitutionally belongs to the States but a realisation of the fact that different parts of the Indian Union are inter-dependent. If the national character of our problems, such as removal of

gross inequalities in educational standards between the rural and urban areas and between backward and industrially advanced States and between various communities in the same State requires Central assistance or direction, it should be welcomed by the States.

We must develop a greater and clearer understanding of the values of centralisation and decentralisation and strike a proper balance between these two conflicting tendencies, which have certain advantages as well as disadvantages. This is a stupendous task which has to be accomplished through a spirit of tolerance, intelligent understanding and wise statesmanship.

Struggle for Freedom of Goa

T. B. Cunha, Chairman of the Goa Action Committee, writes in *Careers and Courses* :

The present struggle for the liberation of Goa was started ten years ago in June 1946. It was the first Goan revolt against the Portuguese based on popular support and with a definite political demand for civil liberties and the right of self-determination. It was an exclusively Goan movement, launched without any outside support, whatever may say the Portuguese official propagandists and those who unconsciously play their game on the Indian side.

The casual presence of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia at the right moment served to the Portuguese as an argument to say that the whole affair was the work of Indian socialists and not of Goans. But the socialist leader himself was the first to admit that his participation in the first day of the civil resistance was merely accidental and due to the coincidence of his visit to his friend Dr. Julian Merces. And in fact he was immediately expelled from Goa and prevented from leading the movement. The agitation was purely Goan, and received no support or aid from the Indian side where everybody was busy at the time with the independence struggle and other succeeding events as the partition troubles, the organisation of the new political life and other problems of the consolidation of the independence.

To give a true idea of the intensity of our struggle to those who have been misled by the Portuguese propaganda, we can mention the fact that during the whole struggle more than five hundred Goans were sentenced by the Military Tribunal of Goa and other smaller courts for participating in movement. We do

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not include in this number those who have been arrested, beaten or tortured by the police and kept in their lock-ups for days, weeks and even months without being sent to courts. They are counted in thousands. Proportionally to the small Goan population of six hundred thousands, the number of persons sentenced for political offences in Goa constitutes a record of which hardly any other country can boast. For some of our companions the sentences of imprisonment were of 28 years, fifteen being deported to Portugal and Africa. Yet there are people who prefer to believe the Portuguese and say that Goans live satisfied under their rule, which they do not resist and that their whole struggle is run by outsiders. Strangely enough the very people who accuse our countrymen of remaining passive are themselves in different or even hostile towards our struggle.

In reality, for months and years the burden of the struggle was supported by Goans in Goa. It was precisely because our movement was left, as if the fight for India's unity and its territorial integrity was the concern of Goans alone, and isolated in India that it weakened and dragged on for years without reaching its object. It was only in 1954 that Goans in Bombay joined the revolt and took the lead of the movement inside and outside Goa. In 1955 the Indian people made their historic contribution to our cause on the memorable date of August 15.

Meanwhile, the long delay of ten years served the Portuguese to consolidate their position. In 1946, the revolt had taken the fascist rulers by surprise. They were unprepared to put it down. For nearly one month they did not react and they made no arrests and imprisonment in spite of the open defiance of fascist laws by Goan nationalist.

The conditions existing in 1946 were unfavourable for the Portuguese and were very different from those prevailing at present. To understand this difference it is necessary to take stock of the changes brought in Goa during this long interval.

It is amazing to see how the position has reversed, comparing the conditions in the beginning of the movement with the present state in Goa. In 1946, there was practically no army of occupation. The European and African forces were then two to three hundred people strong while at present they number several thousands.

They are at present posted even in the remotest Goan villages. To show how disarmed were these forces at that time, it suffices to say that the amount spent for arms and ammunitions in 1948 was about Rs. 42,000 while the amount spent for the same in 1951 was raised to Rs. 2,934,522.

In 1946 the police force was unprepared to suppress the popular revolt. For nearly one month no arrest was made in the beginning despite the daily unauthorised meetings, and processions taken in defiance of fascist laws in the towns and villages. And when a few arrests were made the civil resistance, instead of subsiding, gained momentum and took a more organised shape. Those imprisoned were immediately replaced by new resisters and their number increased. But slowly reinforcements were brought from Portugal without meeting any opposition or protest.

At present, the police forces have not only increased in number and perfected their organisation but are working in close co-operation with the European military forces. The PIDE, the fascist political police which was unknown in Goa has introduced the Nazi methods of investigation using torture and murder in the progress of extracting confessions. Arrests of people, made under the slightest suspicion, as were made in those last days, are now daily occurrences. The entire population is living in terror.

In other aspects also the position of the Portuguese in Goa is far stronger than it was years ago. The Government income which was Rs. 12,714,629 in 1948 has been raised to Rs. 30,207,338 in 1954. This rise in the State income is due to two main factors; the intensification of the smuggling trade, going freely between Goa and India since the independence and the new exploitation of iron and manganese mines carried in Goa with the help of Indian capital and management. Thanks to this help the Goan general exports which amounted to Rs. 6,959,174 in 1947 reached the sum of Rs. 52,891,000 in 1954. These are the new resources which help the Portuguese to maintain a disproportionate and well-equipped army of several thousands of European and African troops meant to be used against India.

There is no doubt that the fight for the liberation has become far more difficult than it was ten years back. The hope for a peaceful settlement of our problem has been rendered more remote than before. Violence although still sporadic has already cropped up

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in a very ugly shape. Salazar invites trouble in order to save his face in his own country, where the prestige of the authoritarian regime is at stake. Fascist colonialism is not prepared to willingly lay down arms before contemptible orientals and pagans and prefers a military defeat. The heavy armaments accumulated in Goa are certainly not meant to suppress an internal revolt but are meant to deal with a regular army. Ten years of dictatorial obstinacy must now convince people that peaceful and non-violent methods are not effective against the ruthless ways of a fascist power.

In ten years the problem of the liberation of Goa has lost its local character and has been transformed into an international issue, to be settled far away from Goa or its neighbourhood. Goans, who were left for

years with the sole responsibility of ending the foreign occupation, have now hardly any voice in the new approach to our problem. Portugal denies them the right of self-determination treating them as dumb cattle.

These ten years, freedom-loving Goans have endured sufferings and untold hardships, all for the righteous cause of winning freedom and have, therefore, the right to be taken into confidence in the settlement of this issue, since none is more competent to decide about the right way to put an end to the much-delayed and unfinished struggle. Only an open understanding between Goans and India can break the present stalemate.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Story of Suez Canal

The idea of constructing a canal to join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea is not a new one. Ancient Egyptians had thought of it and actually they had joined the Nile with the Red Sea by a canal, but that canal used to be blocked by the natural forces which led the Egyptians to renew its construction. It was renewed after Arab conquest of Egypt. Ancient Egyptians had thought of constructing the Suez Canal long ago, before Napoleon Bonaparte, but they did not attempt to construct it because they thought that this Canal might endanger the sovereignty of Egypt and lead to foreign intervention. This idea can be proved by the archaeological facts in Egypt. On one of the ancient monuments one can find a statement which indicates that the construction of Suez Canal is dangerous to the country.

When Napoleon was in Egypt he decided to dig the canal in order to take his way to India and defeat British troops in the East but the Egyptians did not allow him to avail this opportunity and he was obliged to evacuate Egypt and return to France. In the year 1851 during the rule of Mohammed Said, De Lesseps, a French engineer who was in good relations with the Egyptian ruler asked to have the privilege of constructing the canal. The ruler accepted the offer. The British Government objected to it very bitterly at that time, Lord Clarendon, the Under Secretary of the States in Great Britain gave an idea of the British attitude. He said, "The traditions of the cabinet of St. James were always against digging the Suez Canal." The British press, specially the *Times* were against the French and the Egyptians and tried to influence Egypt and the Ottoman Empire "to prevent the construction of the canal." The Viceroy of Egypt was under the influence of his French friends so he signed the agreement on January 5, 1856. The agreement was sent to Constantinople for sanction. So French Government with the help and advice of Napoleon III asked the British Government to help, but Britain still protested against this idea. Lord Palmerstone on January 7, 1856, said, "Her Majesty's Government could not use its influence to make Turkey accept the agreement for digging the canal." At another place he said, "The construction of this canal is dangerous not only to the British Empire but to the entire Middle East." However after a great controversy a company for the Suez Canal was established. There were four lakhs of shares. The value of each share was only 500 francs. Egypt purchased 44% of these shares and they gave the Ottoman Caliph 181506 gratiude. British people did not buy any share and used to call the company "The Association of Young Boys."

It is necessary to state here some of the terms of the company.

(1) The Company has the privilege of the canal benefit for 99 years after which it will be handed over to the Egyptian Government.

(2) The Egyptian Government is to provide 415 of the labourers for the construction of the canal.

(3) No duties will be imposed on anything imported for the company.

(4) The company has the right to exploit all the mines and natural resources in Egypt useful to the company.

(5) The company's dividend profit will be fifteen per cent for the Egyptian Government, 10% for the establishers of the company and 75% for the share holders and the board of employees.

(6) The company is subduced to the Egyptian law. The measurement of the canal was to be 56 meters width, 6 me'ers depth and 130 kilometers length. On April 25, 1859 they began to dig the canal but the two houses of English Parliament began severe attack and Lord Woodhouse confirmed that the policy of the British Government is not changed towards Suez Canal. Lord Ellenbrough said to his colleagues that it will be another Bosphore in the hands of the French company, that a French fleet can occupy India very easily through Suez in a shorter time than an English fleet through the Cape. All the manifestations against the scheme made the Egyptian Governor hesitate, but two me'ers depth was actually constructed. In 1863 the new ruler of Egypt, Ismail, who was extravagant and somewhat idiot was under the pressure of the British Empire. He asked to change the items of the Suez Canal Company. The company complained against him to Napoleon III who declared that all the terms of the Egyptian ruler were to be accepted but he must pay a compensation of three million francs. The ruler accepted it in spite of the bad financial situations of the Egyptian Government during his rule. The British Government interfered officially in his financial questions and sent supervisors to control the financial policy of Egypt and seized this opportunity and ordered him to sell the Egyptian shares of the Suez Canal. The British Government purchased these shares for one-third of its actual price. Since then and by the tricks of imperialism, Egyptians were away from the company and were not allowed, by force, to interfere in the matters of the company. Through Suez Canal British troops entered Egypt after their defeat in three battles in North Egypt, but only by the trick of the company board they colonized Egypt.

Suez Canal Company registered itself from the very beginning as an Egyptian Company under Egyptian law. The issue of concession granted by the Ruler Said, to the French engineer De Lesseps, laid down that the Director of the company shall always be appointed by Egyptian Government.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 recognised the Suez Canal as an integral part of Egypt.

But during the last great war there was an order to the British army in the year 1940 to destroy the canal if the allies were defeated. On June 30, 1940 a message came to General Marshal saying, "An effective blocking of the Canal is essential." So the Second World War had been a very revealing factor as to the attitude of the three great powers towards the Canal although the convention of 1888 guaranteed freedom of navigation and stated that Canal shall never be subject to the exercise of the right of blockade. Article 10 of the Firman concession of the company stated, "At the expiry of the concession, the Egyptian Government

will take the place of the company and enjoy all its rights without reservation, the Said Government will enter into full possessions of the Canal of the two seas and all the establishments connected therewith."

President Nasser announced on July 26, 1956 the nationalization of this Egyptian company. He declared the freedom of navigation and fair payment of compensation to the share-holders.

It is only now, after 87 years that the canal company was set up as an Egyptian company under Egyptian sovereignty. The British Prime Minister and French Prime Minister have refused to accept in any circumstances Egyptian rights of the Canal.

The canal is an Egyptian canal passing through the Egyptian land and subdued to the Egyptian sovereignty and it will be so for ever.—*Culture of Egypt.*

Technology and the Liberal Arts

Henry B. du Pont writes in the *Christian Science Monitor* :

The truly educated man today must have an understanding of the impact and meaning of technology as well as a background in the humanities.

Two great revolutions have taken place in the field of education in the past half century, one cultural and one social. Each has resulted from the impact of expanding technology and industrial advancement.

The first great change has been the transformation of the American college from a liberal arts sanctuary to one in which technical training in engineering and the physical sciences have come to have so important a place. In 1900, out of an enrolment of approximately 225,000 college students, something less than 11,000 were being trained in technical fields, or about five percent. Today, more than 15 percent of college students are in engineering alone, with a very large number additionally in the various basic sciences. This upswing is reflected further in substantial expenditures in the interest of providing technical training by American universities in the past 50 years.

The second great change to be observed concerns the greatly enlarged percentage of the population which attends college. In 1900, about one boy in 30 went to college. Today, it is one boy or girl out of three, the greatest mass educational programme in history. We had as many college students in 1950 as we had high school students in 1920. I think it is safe to say that we are now reaching the point where no boy or girl of adequate intelligence who is willing to spend the time and effort need lack for a college education.

As we study the first of the two great changes in education we see that the effect of technology on the curricula and the character of our institutions of higher learning has been enormous and far-reaching. I think it is probably true that, in recent years, this change resulted in an apparent overemphasis on technical education. There was a time, perhaps it is still with us, when those in the field of the liberal arts and the humanities saw perils in the rapid development of technical schools. They were somewhat awed by the large funds which were poured into the universities for physical plant, scholarship, and budget requirements of the engineering and scientific facilities, particularly when it appeared that this was done at the expense of the liberal arts side of the campus. This was quite a natural feeling, but I think we have, by now, come to realise that there is actually no basis for conflict; that each branch of education—technical

and cultural—depends in an important way upon the other.

It is, of course, ridiculous to assume that there should be any real incompatibility between technology or industrial development and the scholarly pursuit of learning. The growth of the American university system has paralleled our industrial growth. In addition, much of our cultural development, particularly that which brought opportunities to millions of people, has come through endowments by men who shared the rewards of industrial enterprise with the general public. Art galleries, libraries, museums, historic restorations, public parks and gardens, and many other such institutions offer testimony today to the benefactions of men who were successful in the business and industrial field.

If the arts, the social sciences, and the humanities were ever in danger of being de-emphasised, the critical period has passed. In my opinion, the liberal arts are on the threshold of their most useful period of expression, for our need today is for education in its broadest sense. That is the area in which it should become clear that the liberal arts, which forms the basis of all education, have lost none of their former lustre.

Historically, it is to the universities that we look for the training of succeeding generations. The task before all of us today in planning for the future is particularly difficult, and the university's part is especially important at this time. Our society demands that the universities supply us not only the trained technicians and the gifted specialists as such, but those with a potential for broad leadership. The greatest need, now more than ever before, is for leaders—leaders with intellectual honesty, with objectivity, and with purpose.

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Leadership is never an easy role, of course, but the kind we need today is vastly different from that required in earlier days. The new leadership calls, it seems to me, more than anything else for perspective. The greater degree of specialisation we achieve, the greater the need for a perspective that can balance and equate the diverse elements in terms of the broader purpose.

The technical student of 50 years ago could hardly have seen, in his simple experiments, the kind of social and political forces which now exert pressures upon our society, many, if not all of them, arising from the changes brought about by advancing technology. The technical student of today, in contrast, must recognise and understand these forces exerted by labour, by government, by the courts, or by public opinion just as he must understand the stresses and strains of physical phenomena. Otherwise, his capacity for leadership will be severely limited.

The liberal arts curricula of fifty years ago, with the emphasis directed properly on the classics, scarcely could have anticipated that our technology in a few years would sever all previous estimates of human progress. They hardly could have foreseen that old and well-accepted doctrines like the Iron Law of Wages, or the Limited Market, would collapse under our great outburst of productivity and invention. The liberal arts courses of today, if they are to be described either as liberal or as arts, must include a thorough analysis of the impact and the meaning of technology. Students should come to recognise not only the vital part technology has had in human improvement, but the conditions essential to its survival—the capital requirements, the incentives, and the

environment in which it can best operate.

The role of leadership in tomorrow's world will be assumed neither by those who know a great deal about a very little or a very little about a great deal. It will be discharged only by those whose thinking is broad and uninhibited, those with grasp and understanding—leaders, in short, whose horizons are wide enough to comprehend the world in which we live.

This, of course, is the basic objective of the liberal arts as it is the basic objective of all education. Here we have the truly educated man, well equipped to comprehend fully the world he lives in. This is the prime goal of all education, just as it is the prime criterion of all leadership.—*USIS*.

In the Native Town of the "Leica"

Dk We'zlar.—There is hardly any friend of the art of photography in the world who has not yet heard of the "Leica," a miniature camera which has found innumerable imitations of all kind. The quality of the original, however, has never been reached. There are many who masterly handle the Leica, among them the great French photographer Mr. Cartier-Bresson, whose pictures—unique documents of human life in our times—we've exhibited in the Louvre in Paris, an honour which no photographer before him could be proud of. He worked with the Leica only. An exhibition of his pictures will be shown in some German towns this year. The importance of the Leica is however, not confined to its being an excellent camera. There are many excellent cameras in the world. When it was first put on the market 33 years ago, the Leica opened up completely new territories to photography and gave the

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starting signal for the lively miniature picture. Its victorious conquest of all markets of the world in the past few decades has still other important reasons. It is not only a camera for the amateur and press reporter but also represents a valuable instrument in the hands of scholars, scientists, doctors and industrialists, made complete by accessories and necessary lens systems it can cope with all the tasks which modern photography has to face.

The Leica was born in the small old Reichs-town Wetzlar between the Lahn and the Wetz. Despite its middle-age center still in existence today with steep and narrow lanes and colourful half-timbered buildings Goethe did not like it, when in 1772 he had to study the files of the former Reichs-court. He preferred to complete his "Gotz von Berlichingen" instead and devoted all his attention to the charming Charlotte Buff, the daughter of his landlord in the "Schmiedsgasse." He praised only the "heavenly beauty of nature" around the town.

IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE MICROSCOPE

That this "dead and rotten hole" of Wetzlar would once come to world fame as the centre of optometry Goethe naturally could not guess at that time. 33 years after his death, Ernst Leitz the Elder founded his optical institute there. And Wetzlar as the first town in Germany took up the production of microscopes on an industrial scale. The microscope then stimulated the hunting after the microbes. The instrument with which Robert Koch discovered the germs of tuberculosis and cholera had been manufactured in the workshop of Ernst Leitz. With an instrument of the same kind Löffler discovered the diphtheria bacillus. In the hands of medical doctors, occupied with valuable research work, the microscope began to save mankind from diseases which had formerly depopulated towns and countries. When Leitz began to build the microscopes in Germany, the optical market was dominated by Paris. The War of 1870-71 inflicted a severe blow on the Wetzlar Works. It is impossible to speak here in all detail of all improvements and perfections which were achieved through indefatigable work of the founders of the Leitz firm as it exists today. When in 1889 Ernst Leitz the Younger entered the works of his father, it already comprised 200 workers and employees.

The firm of Ernst Leitz also overcame the First World War. After the death of the founder his son took over. Ernst Leitz the Younger as enterpriser left a free hand to his employees. In 1913 one of them, the foreman Oscar Barnack constructed the first Leica. But nobody thought that this small camera, this toy, would become an article of mass production later on. As late as in the inflation years of 1922/23 when because of time conditions, the firm got into an unfavourable situation and had to decide whether to dismiss numerous merited expert-workers, Ernst Leitz made up his mind to build the miniature camera. This was a hard decision and included a great risk. The outcome of which nobody could forecast at that time.

THE FATHER OF HIS NATIVE TOWN

Today this miniature camera is the foundation stone of the Leitz-Works. Till 1925 it comprised less than 1000 employees, in 1955 there were 2450 men and women and today the figure has risen to more than 6000. Ernst Leitz the Younger died recently at the age of 85 years. Not only the members of the enterprise, but the whole town of Wetzlar felt a deep sorrow for the passing away of its honorary citizen "the father of his native town"

as it was sometimes said. During his long life time, many and high honours were extended to him. But more than these the social achievements which he introduced in his firm, were the source of his satisfaction. Never has there been a strike in the firm or a dissatisfied voice been heard. The reason for this may be that the firm relies on workers and technicians whose families have been associated with the Works since many decades and who can look back on generations of precision mechanics and opticians. After the father the son enters the Leitz Works. The mechanics and opticians of Wetzlar have a tradition of their own and are determined to maintain it.

Naturally along with the production of the Leica the Leitz concern also continues to build the world-famous optical and mechanical precision tools. Again there is a son continuing the work in the spirit of his father who during all his life has promoted science and culture and never ceased to be a simple and social man.—*Deutsche Korrespondenz*, August 11, 1956.

Songs as Bridges Between the Nations

An International Singing Circle in Hamburg

Dk Hamburg.—When the Indian Prime Minister Nehru was recently given a reception by the Hamburg Senate, it was one of the main attractions of welcome offered by the Hanse town to the high guest to have an Indian song by Tagore recited to him in its original setting by a German ladies' choir. Two Indians belong-

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(বিশুদ্ধ দ্বৈতান্ত পঞ্জিকার জ্যোতিষী)

ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চার ইতিহাস এবং কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সুত্রাবলীসহ গবেষণার ভিত্তিতে ২১ অধ্যায় ১৫মাই ৫০০ পৃষ্ঠায় সমাপ্ত।

মূল্য বাধান ১০ টাকা। রেজিন বাধান ১২ টাকা।

জ্যোতিষ শিক্ষার্থী, গবেষক, ঐতিহাসিক সর্বেশ্বরীয় পাঠকগণের উপযোগীতে বঙ্গভাষায় রচিত। গুরুমুখী লুপ্ত জ্ঞানের সূত্র প্রবর্ত হইয়াছে। মর্ডার রিভিউ, অমৃতবাজার, প্রবাসী দৈনিক বহুমতী এবং যুগান্তরের সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্যে গ্রন্থখানি প্রশংসনীয় সমাদর লাভ করিয়াছে।

প্রকাশক—ইন্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ

৯৩নং হারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

ing to the international singing circle of the German lady singer Ina Graffius were in charge of this performance and had rehearsed it with them.

"In our circle we are encouraging the interpretation of songs of all nations. We want to be a bridge between the peoples and offer our hands across all borders through the medium of songs." This is said by the lady singer Ina Graffius who started two years ago in Hamburg to assemble around her men and women of all classes and ages who find pleasure and relaxation in singing and who also take an interest in the life of other nations. "The experience of spring or love, of summer or death is, after all, touching men and women everywhere," declares Mrs. Graffius. "Only the forms of expression in each country are different. A mother singing her child to sleep, whether German or Polish, French or Icelandic, is moved by the same feeling everywhere. And the folk songs of the nations have given expression especially to the atmosphere of events occurring at all times and places. That is why we have pledged ourselves to them."

The desire to be able to convey the folk songs of all countries equally to every receptive human being had moved Ina Graffius at a time already when she undertook to sing also Polish songs with her countrymen in the refugee camps where she lived for a long time as an East Prussian refugee. Later on, in Hamburg, she gave concerts specially with Finnish folk songs, which she recited in German and Finnish and explained to her audience in a most vivid manner. And it was with Finnish songs that she finally began, after a visit to Finland's world-famous composer Sibelius, to found her international folk circle. To understand the nations and their songs she had learned the Finnish language, started taking lessons in Icelandic, and is today even gaining ground in her knowledge of the Indian languages.

FAMOUS IN CANADA

More and more, by words passing from one to another, it became known that a German lady singer assembled men and women of different nations around her at fortnightly intervals to sing folk songs with them. The first four members soon grew into a community of more than fifty, and in the meantime the singing circle of Ina Graffius has already held its hundredth evening session. The shelves of the singing educationist are piled up with folk songs and sketches from all countries—more than ever brought out by any publishing house in Germany so far. The Israel folk song is filed next to the French one, scores from Japan and South America reveal the connection with all continents. And from her study and lecture tours, for which the German singer received the most generous support from foreign consulates, she always brought home new treasures of folk lore. She has received letters from all over the world, and a nursing sister even wrote to her from a military hospital in Canada about the success she achieved in treating and calming down her severely wounded patients when she started singing to them folk songs in English, German and French, just as they came to her and as she knew them. "I had to communicate this to you," writes the nurse, "because formerly I only had a quiet smile for your efforts and did not take them very seriously. But out here I learned from practical experience what they are worth."

Meanwhile, the circle of Mrs. Graffius in Hamburg

consists of men and women, boys and girls not only from Germany and Finland, but also from Sweden, Iceland, the Balkan countries and lately even India. At the hundredth evening session of the international singing circle, which by now can hardly be accommodated in the private rooms and around the grand piano of the singer, two new dark-skinned guests from India joined the group. They too had heard about it by way of conversation. And in the meantime Sri Sibabrata Roy has become one of its most active members. He will at a later date be in charge of an important power plant in India and has come to Germany, so to say, to absolve his "practical year" and to collect new experience.

MUSIC AND RELIGION

As the Indians, however, contrary to the Central Europeans who are steadily growing more and more one-sided, do not feel satisfied with merely concentrating on the study of their special subjects, but each of them pursues an intellectual spare-time study, Mr. Roy has chosen Music and Religion. In reality, these two subjects are belonging together, since singing and the breathing exercises required for that purpose are, to an Indian, prayer exercises as well. He told the Germans who listened to him with astonished eyes that the Indian tradition of singing dates back to 3,000 years before Christ, and he sang to them Indian songs, the words of which were written by the famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore and whose swaying charms no one can escape. India's Prime Minister Nehru was greeted by the German ladies' choir with such a song which made him take notice and suddenly find a piece of his own country up in the high North: Songs are bridges between the nations.—*Deutsche Korrespondent*, August 18, 1956.

Survey Reveals Interesting Facts

More than 5,000 million copies of books of one sort or another are produced throughout the world each year. About three-quarters of all books published come from only 10 countries, and half the books published in the world are for use in schools.

In *Books for All*, Mr. R. E. Barker, Deputy Secretary of Britain's Publishers Association, who was commissioned by Unesco to survey problems confronting the international book trade, gives interesting facts about the book trade.

A dearth of printing and publishing facilities in large areas of the world, coupled with a maze of obstacles at national frontiers, seriously impedes the production and free circulation of books, says Mr. Barker. Difficulties range from tariff and currency restrictions to inadequate copyright protection; from a paucity of translating services to high transport costs.

The survey reveals that only a very few countries publish more than 10,000 book titles a year.

The United Kingdom has about 8,500 retail book-selling businesses—the same number as the United States.

Between 2,500 and 3,000 languages—excluding hundreds of minor dialects—are in use throughout the world. Yet nine-tenths of the world's literature originates in only 20 or 30 tongues, the survey reveals.—*British Information Services*.



A woman labourer



A peasant

Photos : Ramkinkar Sinha



AN INDIAN FAIR
By Prabhatendusekhar Majumdar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World in Travail

At the time of going to the press there was still pandemonium raging in the sphere of World Politics. Sanity seems to be dawning, with the threat of Armageddon, but colonialism—and likewise, it seems, Stalinism—dies hard. What about our rosy dreams of a world guided by Panchshila?

It is too early as yet to draw definite conclusions about the happenings in Hungary and Egypt. But what has already transpired gives us enough light to gauge the forces that are in play. It is clear, therefore, that the predatory and totally unmoral urges of brute force, still rule some of the so-called civilized nations of the West. Amongst the Great Powers only the U.S., under guidance of a great soldier-statesman, has kept the name of democracy unsullied.

The Soviets have justified their intervention in Hungary on the grounds that the government there had called for the aid of Soviets' forces. The Budapest radio did say, on October 24, that the Hungarian Government had asked for help, in putting down the revolt, from the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary. Whether the call from a *de jure* government, for outside aid and intervention, would justify action on the pattern now seen is another matter. Besides the intervention could hardly be said to be on the side of the party that called for aid. On the contrary.

But the French and the British did not have even that much of a justification. Indeed, it is clear to all reasonable persons that the three aggressors, Israel, Britain and France, have planned and acted in concert. There has been no attempt, on the part of Britain and

France, even to restrain the Israelis. They have not hesitated, on the other hand, to bomb open Egyptian towns and to bombard from naval guns the civil installations of Port Said. Colonialism, in its vilest form, is apparent in every move of the British and the French.

Egypt has faced the storm with undaunted spirit, meeting superior armament and numbers with a valour that has raised admiration all over the Eastern world. Hungary is ringed in, helpless, but the fighting goes on.

What is the lesson? The world is still a jungle, inhabited by predatory powers. Woe betide the country or the nation that slumbers with rosy dreams of Peace!

We have to think, therefore, in the terms of preparedness, preparations in the terms of matching brute force with force, if and when aggression comes. It is patent now that we have to be self-sufficient to a very large extent, not only in the terms of numbers, but also in armament. And, above all, there should be that awareness and realization about what Liberty means, otherwise internal dissensions and lack of civic morale would bring about the same catastrophic results as happened during the past seven hundred years. We should take stock, immediately, of how and where we stand in those terms.

The mainstay of any country in times of travail and stress is its intelligentsia of the middle strata. Here in India they are being ruthlessly ground down, by harassment by the bureaucracy and the rising of costs all round. Have Pandit Nehru's ministers the brains to realise the effect? The main causes of the weakening of the roots of the Congress and the total perversion of moral values lie therein.

Imperialism in Action Again

The Arab nations' charge that Israel was an imperialist provocation in Middle East designed to hit the Arab countries below the belt at the instance of the Western masters have come true dispelling all skepticism. When the tension created (again by Britain and France) over the perfectly legal nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company appeared to be subsiding and the broader question of free international passage through the Canal was also nearing a solution, Israel created a new provocation by invading Egyptian territory on October 29. As if, by pre-arrangement, Britain and France sent an ultimatum to the governments of Egypt and Israel to stop fighting immediately and threatened Anglo-French intervention in Egypt. Compliance was demanded in 'twelve hours' time. The British-French demands did not end there and thereby showed their real colour. "Further, in order to separate the belligerents and to guarantee freedom of transit through the Canal by the ships of all nations," Sir Anthony Eden told the British Parliament on October 30, "we have asked the Egyptian Government to agree that Anglo-French forces should move temporarily into key positions at Port Said, Ismailia and Suez." In reply to Mr. Gaitskell's question, the Prime Minister said: "I am sorry it will not be possible for me to give this undertaking" that no physical action would be taken by British troops before the Security Council got a chance to discuss the matter. Every move was carefully designed to make it wholly unacceptable to Egypt, short of unconditional surrender—thus reminding one of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Lest Egypt should be accommodating reply was demanded in twelve hours. Lest Egypt should agree even to that, demand was made for stationing Anglo-French troops on Egyptian soil. No country could accept such humiliating terms. Egypt naturally rejected them. Reports at the time of writing speak of Anglo-French bombardment of Cairo and other Egyptian cities.

Britain used her first veto in the Security Council on October 31 to kill a Russian backed United States proposal urging all nations to refrain from the use of force or the threat of force in Egypt. France also vetoed the resolution—thus confirming what acute observers always believed that no Big Power would ever

hesitate to use the power of veto should that be necessary for their own power-interests and the use of veto was no Soviet peculiarity.

The U.S. resolution expressed concern over the violation of armistice agreement by Israel and appealed to all members of the United Nations to assist in the maintenance of the armistice agreements and called on all members "to refrain from giving any military, economic, or financial assistance to Israel so long as it has not complied with this resolution." The voting was seven in favour, two against (Britain and France) and two abstentions (Australia and Belgium).

A Soviet proposal calling upon Israel to withdraw her troops behind the armistice was similarly vetoed by Britain and France. The voting was seven in favour, two against (Britain and France) and two abstentions (U.S.A. and Belgium).

In both the cases the resolutions had the required majority to become effective decisions of the Security Council, had there not been any veto.

To sum up, an international war was thus raging in the Middle East and the clear character of the aggression and of the aggressors was nowhere in doubt. Even in such a situation the United Nations Security Council failed to be effective—laying bare the utter inadequacy of the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining world peace. If, even in a situation where the aggression and the aggressors were universally recognized an attacked country failed to receive any protection of the United Nations and if ultimately the nations were left to themselves to ensure their own safety and territorial integrity it became difficult to see the justification for maintaining such a world organization at such cost in money and time to the various countries.

There were, however, some other very important aspects requiring consideration. In Korea, where the aggression was not confirmed (at least at the time of action had been taken by the U.S.A.), the U.S.A. intervened unilaterally without waiting for U.N. authorisation. On the present occasion when Anglo-French aggression was clear as day-light and when the slightest pressure from the U.S.A. would have desisted the European powers from taking such rash action she had done her duty

by introducing a mild resolution in the Security Council. The mere raising of the issue in the Security Council by the U.S.A. was not of much importance when it was recalled that the recent internal disturbances in Hungary were also sought to be made an issue of international concern—contrary to all international peace. The question was, would she have remained content with such diluted action if instead of Britain and France, say, the U.S.S.R. or Egypt were the aggressors? If past events were any indication the reply would be an emphatic 'no.' The peaceful professions of West Powers were on trial and the world would be eagerly watching how such professions looked in practice.

Meanwhile, the views of the people throughout the world were expressed unmistakably denouncing the neo-imperialist adventure of the decaying Anglo-French Entente. The Government of India's attitude was made known on October 31 in New Delhi. A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry said: "The Government of India has learnt with profound concern of the Israeli aggression on Egyptian territory and the subsequent ultimatum delivered by the U.K. and France to the Egyptian Government, which was to be followed by an Anglo-French invasion of Egyptian territory."

"It considers this a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and opposed to all the principles laid down by the Bandung Conference."

"This aggression is bound to have far-reaching consequences in Asia and Africa and may even lead to war on an extended scale."

"The Government of India is conveying its views to the Governments concerned and earnestly trusts that at this late hour this aggression will be halted and foreign troops withdrawn from Egyptian territory."

Trust in the imperialist Westerners' good sense, events have taught, is wholly misplaced. The wholly unjustified and unprovoked Western aggression against Egypt, the seizure of the yacht Athos, the piratical arrest of the Algerian nationalist leaders,—the suspension by the French Government of talks with Moroccan Government—all these are ominous signs of a renewed imperialist effort to reassert their colonialism. The newly independent nations of

Asia and Africa must take lessons from these events.

Events in Eastern Europe

Eastern Europe—the land of "People's Democracies"—is in ferment. This in itself might not appear remarkable at all—especially as at no time since World War I the area was free from political unrest. The revolutionary upsurge of the second decade of this century was followed by a period of fascist subversion of the national states. The Second World War ended with the emergence of the so-called "People's Democracies" with promises of political stability and economic prosperity. Disillusion was not long to come. A new period of subversion and treachery—this time the Communist variety—marked the post-war era. The period began with Communist *coup d'état* in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and reached its climax after the expulsion of Tito from the newly-organised European Communist Information Bureau. The death of Stalin saw the unique spectacle of armoured tanks of workers' state crushing the "ruling" working class in East Germany. In the typical Communist way the events in Eastern Germany were presented before the world as a piece of imperialist sabotage.

Then followed a period of apparent lull which was rudely broken by the Polish crisis and Hungarian desertion of the Communist bloc (the appeal of Communist Imre Nagy to the United Nations to protect its newly-proclaimed 'neutrality' is nothing short of that). To a world constantly fed on the propaganda of popular rule, democracy, socialist upsurge, economic prosperity and Communist selfless fraternity—the recent events have appeared not a little bewildering. The full implications (details also) of the events are yet to be known. But some generalizations may safely be offered.

Immediately after the establishment of the Communist rule in the Eastern European countries Communism failed to pass an important test: "Socialist internationalism" between socialist countries on an equal basis proved to be impossible—all communist theorisations notwithstanding. The world—disgusted with imperialists' gunboat diplomacy—eagerly watched how the Communist States would organize their mutual relationships. It found nothing better.

For no lack of Communist convictions or practice Yugoslavia was pressurized by the surrounding Communist States in the classical imperialist manner—only because the Yugoslavs did not agree to be dictated by the Russians on the details. Some of the East European Communist leaders, while retaining their full loyalty to Moscow, also appeared to take a like view of their countries' relationships with Moscow. In a manner—that would shame the worst imperialist tactics—to the background—the saviour, guide, leader, teacher and friend of humanity and the exponent of peaceful co-existence, the Soviet Communist Party and State, capitalizing on the idealism (and sometimes opportunism too) of the local Communist leaders effected a clever subjugation of the economic and military apparatuses of those countries to Russian national interests.

People—quite innocent and no less sincere in Communist convictions—were murdered in thousands after “fair and impartial” trials—hailed throughout the Communist world as the highest examples of socialist justice but now proved, no less than on Communist authority itself, to have been entirely concocted and faked (but for all that no less stoutly acclaimed by the Communists as examples of the superior self-correcting processes of Communism). The national Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, were all liquidated and were replaced by secondary leaders. Kostov, the Bulgarian Party Secretary and Prime Minister; Rajk, the Hungarian Party leader and Foreign Minister; Dr. Klementis, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Rudolf Slansky, the Czechoslovak Party leader and Prime Minister, to name a few, were all liquidated as imperialist agents after full and thorough-going “investigation” and “trial.” By some queer accident in each of these and thousands of other cases the “investigations and trials” had all been wrong. Gomulka, the Polish Party and Government leader, had been sacked as a deviationist. Through sheer good luck he had been saved from the gallows. Tito being leader of a party where Russian infiltration had been the least could not be touched, luckily. But evidence was pouring in torrents that he had been acting on the staff of British, French and American intelligence service.

The decimation of the national leadership

of the parties of Eastern Europe was accompanied with a violent campaign of secret police terror and forced collectivisation. The natural result was immense economic hardship engendering great popular discontent. Many intellectuals were fleeing from their countries. In such a situation everything needed for “revolution” was there waiting to strike at the first sign of any weakening of the ruling junta. The de-Stalinisation of Soviet Russia and the consequent confusion among the world Communist movement offered that opportunity. But it would be substantially incorrect to explain the whole thing by de-Stalinisation, as has been done by many analysts. The revolutionary upsurge of the Hungarian people signifies a great force—which could not be generated by de-Stalinisation alone.

Communism in mid-twentieth century seems wholly illogical and dishonest. The dishonesty is marked by the liquidation of the East European Communist leaders on completely trumped-up charges manufactured by the Kremlin. The illogical character of Communism is marked by the ludicrous position in which Communism places its inherents. Even such a brilliant band of leaders as the Chinese Communists (who by the way have departed a long way from the Russian or Eastern European models) have to behave like political infants only because of the compulsion to follow Communist logic. Thus Liu Shao-chi, China's leading theoretician wrote even a book on the *Bourgeois-nationalist* deviation of Tito (while Indian Communists were charging the Chinese leaders themselves of “bourgeois-nationalism”) only to make the Chinese party appear as “truly Communist.” Tito has not changed a bit since 1949 but he is no longer a “bourgeois-nationalist” but an upholder of the “independent development” of Communist nations. Such is the way of Communist logic.

In developing the technique of devious propaganda, the Communists have surpassed everyone. MacCarthy and Goebbels could master only a part of the art so that they were exposed so soon. But the Communist propaganda machinery was able to control its inner contradictions until it violently burst in the beginning of 1956.

Marking recent examples of Communist truthfulness, the Poznan riots in Poland this

year were decried as imperialist manoeuvres. Thousands were arrested and charged on that account. Now all of them have been freed as wholly innocent of any conspiracy against the State. The events in Hungary have likewise been equally decried.

The Communist Press in Soviet Russia suppressed the news of Polish and Hungarian unrest for quite a number of days. *Pravda*, the Soviet Party paper went one step further and charged Polish press of slandering the Soviet Union socialism (perhaps, for the first time *Pravda* had to eat its own words, for within two or three days of making that wild charge they had to withdraw it). The Communist press in India (speaking of its central weekly organ, the *New Age*) has likewise maintained complete silence over such momentous events.

An account of the events in Eastern Europe would be materially distorted without any reference to the role of the U.S.A., U.K. and, (to a less degree) France. Immediately on close of the Second World War, the British forces intervened to crush the Greek national movement. Efforts were abortively made to instal anti-Soviet regimes in other countries of the area also. All this coupled with the United States policy of "liberating the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe from the chains of Communism" engendered and fostered a genuine fear of aggression and subversion in the minds of the Communist leaders. Millions of U.S. dollars were budgeted every year to subvert the national governments of the area for the credit of which boasts were made in public. This was not a mean factor in engendering iron discipline, dictatorship and consequent repression in the European East. Even now the Soviet Union has been offered a pretext for military intervention in Hungary by the joint Anglo-French-American move to raise the Hungarian disturbances for discussion in the United Nations Security Council. So long as Hungarians themselves are the belligerents on either side there seems to be little justification for outside intervention on this side or that.

The latest news from Budapest show that the mechanics of Stalinism are still being used actively. In a democracy worth its name, either by the Western standards or by those of Communism, no party can call for outside armed forces to crush its opposition. That is

just what Moscow is proclaiming as the reason for sending its forces to dragoon the liberty-loving Hungarian into abject submission. The phraseology, too, of the Moscow broadcasts, is the same stereotyped jargon.

It is too early to analyse the trend of events in either Hungary or Poland. But the shadows of World conflict have ominously gathered.

French Provocation in Africa

On October 23 France took an unprecedented step in arresting the leaders of the Algerian nationalist leaders. An airliner was carrying the Algerian leaders from Rabat, capital of Morocco to Tunis, capital of Tunisia, when six French jet fighters intercepted it off the Algerian coast and forced the plane to land at Algiers at the point of guns. Thus were arrested the leaders of the national liberation movement of Algeria. Ahmed Ben Bella, Mohammed Khidai, Mustafa Lachref, Mohammed Boudiaf and Hocine Ait Ahmed. The deliberate provocation behind this act of the French Government became clear when it was remembered that—to quote *Reuter*—"The arrested leaders were to have played a part in talks (at Tunis) about a settlement of the conflict in Algeria and possibly the establishment of a bloc of North African countries maintaining links with France."

Earlier the French Government had announced the suspension of talks with newly independent Morocco on future relations between France and Morocco on the ground that the Moroccan Government had allegedly been helping the Algerian insurgents fighting against the French.

The arrest of the Algerian leaders was followed by a French complaint before the U. N. Security Council against Egypt and strike on October 25 of French civil servants and workers in public service in Morocco as a protest against "anti-French rioting in Meknes." The Moroccan Government resigned the following day protesting against French military occupation of the police headquarters at Meknes. On October 26, M. Habib Bourguiba, Prime Minister of Tunisia, also reported of clashes between French and Tunisian troops on the Algerian border but this was denied in Paris by

the Secretary of State for the French Army, M. Lejeune. France also lodged a protest against Egypt with the Security Council.

As a natural corollary there was widespread strife throughout the Arab world. Mr. Bey Yahmid, Tunisian Secretary of State for Information, said on October 27 that the Tunisian Premier's efforts for peace in North Africa had failed because of French intransigence. Mr. Yahmid expressed the Tunisian Government's hope that France would "undo the error" of arresting the five Algerian nationalist leaders and transferring them to France. Earlier the Afro-Asian group of States also called upon the United Nations Organization to ask France to free the Algerian leaders. The French attitude remained unrelenting at the time of writing.

Referring to the arrest of the Algerian leaders and the seizure of a Yacht named "Athos" by the French the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial article on October 29 :

"The spectacle of the Prime Minister of France perilously progressing from one vote of confidence to another, actively encouraging the merciless decimation of Algerians, spouting venom at the Egyptian President, busy with piratical and kidnapping activities, angering the Moroccans and Tunisians and then talking of 'lasting ties' with them, is one of the odder highlights of this decade's bizarre world politics. The perfidious manner in which five Algerian leaders were seized and the lawless interception of a gun-laden yacht in the Mediterranean have made the North African situation a hundred times worse. It is doubtful if France can ever hope for friendly relations with any Arab nation in the future. And it is the agitated government of this puzzled pseudo-Socialist Mallet which has, on an amazingly puerile pretext, appealed to the U.N. Security Council for discussion of military aid given by Cairo to the Algerians. The audacity of the appellant action coupled with its naked bellicosity is sufficient to put to shame all who continue to look hopefully at the United Nations."

The *Chronicle* adds :

"What is the French case? The *Athos* carrying small arms and ammunition to a Moroccan port was challenged by ships of the French Navy off the Algerian coast and seized.

M. Mollet himself has admitted in the French National Assembly that in seizing the yacht the French 'were acting, I recognize, a little outside of territorial waters.' This is a damnable understatement. What they have done is an act of open piracy. And it is such a case that they have taken to the U.N.! It may be that supply of arms to the Algerians, however indirectly, is unpleasant to the French; it may even be construed as an unfriendly act. But two wrongs (if indeed the first is a wrong in the strictest sense of the term) do not make a right. And for France to assume the role of the injured innocent is a slap in the U.N.'s face, nothing less. Gun-running is no new thing; ever since Israel was born, guns and heavier military equipment have flowed into that country. But seizing a ship on the high seas under cover of the several disputes agitating North Africa remains a flagrantly illegal act which has yet to be condemned by all the world, especially France's worried collaborators."

Industrial Finance

The eighth annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India reveals a steady progress in the activities of the Corporation. Indian industry is seeking the assistance of the Industrial Finance Corporation in an ever-increasing measure and the amounts of loans sanctioned by the Corporation has also been increasing. During the year ended 30th June, 1956, the Corporation received 86 loan applications, aggregating Rs. 27.70 crores, as against 46 applications for total credit of Rs. 11.27 crores in the preceding year. In the year 1955-56, it sanctioned Rs. 15.13 crores covered by 44 applications, as against Rs. 7.34 crores and 27 applications in 1954-55. The total amount of loans sanctioned by the Corporation up to June 30, 1956 is Rs. 43.21 crores. The amount actually disbursed stands at Rs. 16.73 crores, while loans declined or not made available was Rs. 6.23 crores. The Corporation's outstanding net commitments stand at Rs. 20.25 crores.

All sections of Indian industries have become the recipients of loans from the Corporation, the leading borrowers being the food, textiles and paper industries. The loans sanctioned up to June 30, 1956, are as follows :

Food manufacturing industries (except beverage industries)	Rs. 11.69 crores
Textiles (spinning, weaving and finishing of textiles)	" 6.60 "
Paper and paper products	" 4.21 "
Artificial fibres	" 1.10 "
Rubber products	" 15.50 lakhs
Basic industrial chemicals, including fertiliser	" 5.36 crores
Vegetable, animal oil and fats	" 6.50 lakhs
Miscellaneous chemical products	" 41.25 lakhs
Glass and glass products	" 1.10 crores
Pottery, china and earthenware	" 39.50 lakhs
Cement	" 3.40 crores
Non-ferrous metals industry	" 1.17 "
Metal products except machinery	" 1.68 "
Machinery except electrical machinery	" 1.08 "
Electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances & supplies	" 1.56 "
Rail-road equipment	" 50.00 lakhs
Motor vehicles and ancillaries	" 1.37 crores
Bicycles	" 50.50 lakhs
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	" 42.80 "
Electrical light and power	" 42.75 "
	Rs. 43.21 crores

During 1955-56, sugar and textile industries received the largest amount of loans. A notable feature in this respect is that loans were advanced to co-operative sugar industries in Bombay, Mysore, Assam and the Punjab. The total loans sanctioned to sugar co-operatives in 1955-56 aggregated Rs. 5.50 crores and three other applications covering Rs. 1.30 crores are under consideration. In pursuance of the declared policy of the Government of India to encourage the establishment of co-operative sugar industry, the Central and State Governments have guaranteed the loans granted to the sugar co-operative during the year 1955-56.

The working of the Corporation for the year ended the 30th June, 1956, has resulted in a profit of Rs. 32.68 lakhs which shows an increase of Rs. 8 lakhs over that of the previous year. After setting aside a sum of Rs. 10.18 lakhs as provision for taxation, the Corporation is left with a net profit of Rs. 22.50 lakhs. The whole of this amount has, however, been transferred to the reserve for bad and doubtful debts, in view of the anticipated loss in the account of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. The Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. was sold last

year to a Japanese firm, the Asahi Glass Company Ltd., at a price of Rs. 70.36 lakhs. This entire amount was advanced to the purchaser firm as a loan by the Industrial Finance Corporation. Prior to this disposal, the Corporation had to incur an expenditure of Rs. 40.31 lakhs for the management of the concern. Under the terms of the agreement, the Asahi Glass Works has set up an Indian Company in the name of the Indo-Asahi Glass Company to run the concern.

The Corporation has, therefore, to call upon the Central Government this year to pay it a subvention to enable it to pay the entire guaranteed dividend amounting to Rs. 11,25,500. During the year under review, conditions for loans were liberalised by the Corporation. A measure of great significance is the institution of a separate legal branch of its own, manned by full-time officers under the control of the Corporation in the head office as well as in two of its branch offices. This measure, which has been introduced as an experiment for the present, will be extended to all the branches later on. The measure is designed to quicken the pace of work at various stages in connection with the examination of title deeds and the execution and registration of mortgage documents. This will also cut down to a very considerable extent, the legal charges now incurred by the Corporation and passed on to the borrowers. The terms and conditions incorporated in the mortgage deeds of the Corporation are now considerably simplified and standardised. The previous practice of sending the client's representative all the way to the head office in Delhi to discuss and finalise the terms and conditions of loans has been discontinued. The branch managers have now been authorised to deal with clients on the spot on behalf of the Corporation. The Corporation has also liberalised to an appreciable extent the conditions under which interim loans are granted, particularly in cases where, pending the finalisation of the legal formalities concerned with the execution and registration of the formal mortgage deeds, machinery, etc., ordered by the clients has to be paid for or documents relating to which have to be retired.

When the Corporation was set up in 1948 much hopes were raised that it would undertake large-scale expansion in the field of industrial

finance. The activities of the Corporation did belie that hope as during all these years the achievement of the Corporation is none too gratifying. The main problem of industrial finance in this country is the lack of underwriting facilities for new industrial concerns. Mainly for the purpose of underwriting so as to promote new industrial enterprises, the Corporation was set up. But by a queer argument, the previous Chairman, Lala Shri Ram, maintained that it was not the business of the Corporation to undertake underwriting business and as a result the scope of operations of the Corporation was much limited. It failed to rise up to the occasion for which it was designed because of a narrow outlook regarding its functions. To remedy the shortcomings of the Corporation, several other institutions have been set up meanwhile, namely, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation, and the State Finance Corporations. The activities of these new institutions to a certain extent overlap those of the Corporation.

At the eighth annual meeting of the Corporation, the Chairman has pointed out that both these new institutions have a greater measure of freedom in the matter of financial operations and they enjoy certain special facilities which the Industrial Finance Corporation does not possess. Though the Central Government have so far implemented the policy of utilising the Corporation as the main channel for processing their own industrial loans, it now seems that by setting up the National Industrial Development Corporation, the Central Government intends to make greater use of the latter in the development of new industrial undertakings in the public sector. The NIDC has also been given greater importance in the rehabilitation of some of the old industries in the private sector, as for example, the jute and textile industries.

The programme of overall development envisaged in the private sector during the second Plan period is estimated to involve an outlay of Rs. 720 crores, comprising Rs. 570 crores of new investments and Rs. 150 crores on replacements and modernisation. Of this total estimate of Rs. 720 crores, a provision has been made by the Planning Commission for Rs. 55 crores for the activities of the National Indus-

trial Development Corporation and Rs. 15 crores for the Industrial Finance Corporation. The balance of Rs. 650 crores is to be raised from other sources. The Chairman has stated that certain State Government have sanctioned loans directly to certain industrial concerns, and according to a statement contained in the annual report of one of the State Financial Corporations, the State Government concerned have been offering loans at rates of interest which are only about half of those charged by the Industrial Finance Corporation and on the basis of security which are also very much easier than those observed by the Corporation. This is rather a step to bypass the Corporation. To impart greater flexibility in the working of the Corporation the Industrial Finance Corporation Act needs to be amended. Otherwise there will be little expansion in the activities of the Corporation. The Chairman has rightly sounded a note of warning as regards the dwindling resources of the Corporation. The most important factor which is likely to come in the way of expanding the operations of the Corporation to the fullest extent otherwise possible, is the fact that, if it succeeds in inviting business at the present rate and dealing with applications for loans at the pace that it has achieved last year, its own monetary resources will soon be tapering off, thereby forcing the Corporation to borrow under conditions which may leave a little margin of profit after meeting tax obligations and its own working expenses. But this is also certain that its own resources, however expanded, are bound to be inadequate to the growing needs of the industries. Sooner or later, it will be compelled to borrow in the market and that is the only way to augment its resources. Alternatively, the Government of India may give interest-free loans to the Corporation for specified period as has been given to Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

India's Foreign Exchange Resources

A great deal of controversy has been made over the recent letter of the World Bank President, Mr. Eugene Black on India's second Plan. A cool and dispassionate thinking, however, will reveal that what Mr. Black said was said in good faith and that is admitted by Pandit Nehru. When the World Bank Commis-

sion visited India, it pointed out several drawbacks in the Government of India's economic policy. Mr. Black's letter to the Union Finance Minister is on the basis of the recommendations of the World Bank Commission. After all, the World Bank is a Bank designed to render financial assistance to the member-countries for industrial development and Black's letter should be treated as a banker's advice to his client. Of course, some of the suggestions of Mr. Black are uncalled for and they better need not have been at all made and to them we shall turn later on. But other suggestions will be admitted as reflecting a correct diagnosis of the Government policy which has been subjected to much criticism even in this country.

On the subject of transport in the Second Plan, Mr. Black has stated: "We are struck by the extent to which the lack of adequate transportation facilities threaten to constitute a bottleneck in the country's economic development. We recognise that substantial resources are already allocated for investment in the railways under the Second Five-Year Plan, and we are not necessarily suggesting for an increase in this allocation. Indeed, in view of the acute shortage of capital for development and the very high import content of railway investment, attention should be given first to the possibilities of improving the operational efficiency of the railways and encouraging road transport and coastal shipping." He suggests that transportation could be regarded as a top priority for any Bank financing that might be devoted to the Second Plan. It would be useful if the general problem of transport in India could first be discussed by the Government of India and the Bank.

It may be pointed out here that in 1949, the World Bank granted a loan of \$34 million for the purchase of locomotives. Since then the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works has been set up, still there has been shortage both of locomotives as well as wagons. It is also an admitted fact that since the division of the railways on zonal basis, the operational efficiency of the railways has been impaired. The glaring instance of such inefficiency is evident in the allotment and movement of wagons in the matter of coal dispatches, the result being that there have been persistent accumulations at the pitheads with shortage of supply in the retail

markets. So, what Mr. Black suggests is that the operational efficiency of the railways can be improved under the existing railway resources and in the immediate future there need be no borrowing from the World Bank.

In its issue of October 19, the London *Economist*, in an article on the World Bank President's letter to the Indian Finance Minister said that if the World Bank "had tried to dictate economic policy to India it would deserve sharp criticism. It would also be acting out of character." It further observes: "An institution founded by Governments and launched with tax-payers' money could not be very easily propagate doctrinaire opposition to all socialist measures; and the Bank which has lent money to Communist Yugoslavia would look silly if it strained at the gnat of India's mild 'socialist pattern' after swallowing Marshal Tito's camel." It must be admitted that the World Bank has no right to call in question the economic policy of any of its member-countries. The determination of the economic policy is the inherent sovereign right of the country concerned and the World Bank would do a foolish act in interfering with the internal policy of a member-Government. But undoubtedly it can suggest ways and means for economic betterment of its member-country and it can also criticise a member-country's plan for which loan has been asked. But it would transgress its jurisdiction if it makes a general criticism of the Government policy on a doctrinaire basis.

Mr. Black in his letter expressed the view that India's interest lay in giving private enterprise, both Indian and foreign, every encouragement to make its maximum contribution to the development of the economy, particularly in the industrial field. The potentialities of private enterprise, he had stated, were commonly underestimated in India and its operations were subjected to unnecessary restrictions. In a country, short of capital with limited resources of managerial and administrative talent, "it is important that the respective roles of public and private enterprise should be fixed entirely on a basis which will ensure the most effective contribution of each to the economic development, and not on any theoretical concept of the role that each should play," Mr. Black said, adding that the Industrial Policy Resolution of

India of April last, reserved to the State exclusive responsibility for new undertakings in a large number of industries, including oil, coal and other minerals. He further adds: "It seems to me that this policy if rigidly applied, could only result in imposing heavy additional burdens on the already overstrained financial and administrative resources of the public sector and in restricting the rate of public development in these vitally important fields."

As regards the role and importance of the private capital in the development of India's industrial enterprises, we are afraid Mr. Black has made an overestimation of their resources. Ever since the attainment of independence, the role of the private capital has not been up to the mark; it has failed to rise up to the occasion to raise India's industrial potentialities. The indigenous capital has been more bent upon earning windfall profits on speculative deals rather than undertaking risk capital in new ventures. Even the established industries were not being run on a sound basis. The notable example being that of the ship-building yard of the Scindia's at Vizagapatnam. The Scindia were hard pressed in running the ship-building business as the vessels built at their shipyard did not have a proper market. Ultimately the Government of India had to come to their rescue and this private shipbuilding enterprise had to be nationalised. The performance of the private capital in setting up new industrial enterprises is none too encouraging. In 1948, there were 22,675 joint-stock companies in this country with a paid up capital of Rs. 569.6 crores. In December, 1955, their number swelled to 29,948 with a paid up capital of Rs. 1,013.3 crores. That is, in a period of 3 years, the total paid up capital of Indian joint-stock companies increased by only Rs. 443.7 crores, the annual increment in the capital stock of industrial enterprises being Rs. 55.4 crores on an average. This is, of course, a very poor performance and had it been known to Mr. Black, he would not have held a brief for the development of private capitalistic enterprises in this country. Of this amount of Rs. 443 crores, it should be pointed out that nearly Rs. 100 crores are accounted for by State industrial enterprises and another amount of about Rs. 50 crores are accounted for by private foreign capital. Between 1947

to 1955, consent for Issue of Capital was granted for a total sum of Rs. 125.4 crores, of which the industrial issues comprised Rs. 97.5 crores and the non-industrial issues Rs. 27.9 crores.

According to a Reserve Bank study, between 1948 to June 1956, issues of fresh capital amount to Rs. 134.6 crores, of which bonus issues amount to Rs. 53 crores or 28 per cent. The Second Five-Year Plan roughly estimates that new industrial issues during the First Five-Year Plan period, excluding bonus issues, amounted to Rs. 40 crores in the industries covered in the Plan, as against Rs. 150 crores of internal resources, giving annual averages of Rs. 8 crores and Rs. 30 crores, respectively. These figures will speak for themselves and the role of the private capital in the fields of industrial enterprises in this country has been very disappointing. That is why the Government of India has to step deeper into industrial undertakings hitherto run by private enterprise which has failed palpably to expand their activities. The new industrial policy of the Government of India is, therefore, a step in the right direction and it has been more than imperative that in view of the failure of the private capital to step up industrial production, the State should undertake upon itself the task of developing new industries with a view to creating new employment opportunities and also to augment the industrial resources of the country. Mr. Black's appreciation of the role of the private capital in the field of industrial enterprises in this country has been evidently mistaken and misinformed.

Mr. Black has also referred to the importance for securing technical co-operation and financial support of foreign private enterprise in carrying out development programme. While welcoming the arrangements made in the Second Five-Year Plan for the purpose, he states: "The Bank hopes that more positive measures will be taken to facilitate foreign investment and that consideration will be given to the suggestions made by the mission (the World Bank Mission which visited India earlier this year at the invitation of the Government of India) in its memorandum." The Bank feels that greater emphasis should be laid in the Second Five-Year Plan on measures to develop overseas earnings. While expressing the belief

that Indian economy has the capacity to develop the basic strength which would justify a considerable increase in overseas borrowings during the next five years, Mr. Black says that the IBRD hopes to play an important role in providing external finance for India's development efforts. He has, however, stated that the Bank's assistance would have to depend on the extent and character of the impact of external debt contracted from other sources on India's balance of payments as well as on the external financial assistance which India could obtain without incurring fixed foreign exchange obligations.

A lender is perfectly justified in enquiring about the credit-worthiness of the borrower. Ever since the devaluation of Indian currency in 1949, India has been suffering from adverse balance of payments position. The overall balance of payments during the First Five-Year Plan is adverse to India to the extent of Rs. 506.5 crores; the figures for individual years being, Rs. 3.5 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 232.8 crores in 1951-52, Rs. 31.1 crores in 1952-53, Rs. 52.1 crores in 1953-54, Rs. 85.0 crores in 1954-55 and Rs. 105.5 crores in 1955-56. During the Second Five-Year Plan, for the public sector a credit of Rs. 800 crores is taken by way of external resources. In the first Plan period, a total of Rs. 298 crores of external finance was made available to India for programme of development in the public sector, of which Rs. 204 crores is estimated to have been utilised. The balance of Rs. 94 crores will be available for utilisation in the second Plan period. In addition, arrangements have been made for credits from the USSR Government and the UK Government and British bankers for a net amount of Rs. 76 crores (after allowing for repayment of Rs. 20 crores of USSR credit of Rs. 63 crores) to finance the steel projects. As for the private sector, a sum of Rs. 22 crores is already made available as the undisbursed portion of the loan made by the World Bank to the Indian Iron and Steel Company, the Tata Hydro-Electric Company and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India. India has already a large external liabilities and the World Bank can reasonably claim to suggest how India contemplates to meet her gap in balance of payments position before the Bank makes further advances.

American Views on Second Plan

Dr. W. S. Woytinsky, the noted American economic expert, discusses the targets and ideologies behind the Second Five-Year Plan of India in two articles in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*.

At the outset of his discussion Dr. Woytinsky notes that while all Asian countries had adopted plans for the development of their national economies, the role of Indian "Plan (with a capital P)" was greatly different. "In India, the Plan is the focus of public life, a part of national faith, while plans in the other Asian countries were little known to the public."

Referring to the overall targets set for the first Plan, Dr. Woytinsky says that "This would have been a fairly modest target even if all these outlays were capital investments (which they were not), but in the early phase of planning, Indian economic experts were afraid of their own boldness." He, however, notes that all things considered, the final results of the first plan "vindicates the caution exercised by the authors of the First Plan."

According to the learned economist, "The main impact of the (first) Plan was not in the accelerated growth of the production but in the change of the attitude of the people, a very important change that is not reflected in the current statistics. The country had become conscious of the Plan and its targets. The sullen passivity of the framers was broken . . ."

The Second Five-Year Plan, according to the writer, was "a very complicated programme;" but in spite of weaknesses, "fundamentally it is sound, not unduly ambitious and has a good chance of success." The extent of the success of the Plan would depend, partly on foreign assistance, that is, on American aid. "At this point," Dr. Woytinsky writes, "Indian economic planning gets tangled with the foreign policy of the United States."

Between 1956 and 1960—that is, during the period of the Second Plan—India expected to obtain \$1,680 million from abroad. According to the estimate of the writer even at the beginning, India had \$357 million at her disposal, \$197 million outstanding foreign credit not utilised during the first Plan period, a promise of credit from the U.S.S.R. (\$90 million) and Great Britain (\$70 million). In addition, India

hoped to withdraw \$400 million from her sterling reserves in London. "All this reduces to \$900 million the amount of foreign aid—loans rather than grants—which India needs for the execution of the Second Plan. The gap is not 90 per cent but less than 10 per cent of all planned developmental outlays," Dr. Woytinsky notes and remarks that while the U.S. Government did not need to cover the whole 'gap' it must, if it decides upon helping India, provide aid to India in conformity with the economic status and standard of generosity of the U.S. Government. But such aid should be without string and should be given in friendly spirit and not on any agreement of ousting Russian influence.

Regarding the controversy about the increasing active role of the public sector in the Indian plan, Dr. Woytinsky writes, "Such is the prevailing trend in all modern countries." Indeed, even the U.S.A. was ahead of India in this respect—accounting for 25 per cent of the national income as against only 7 per cent in India. "If India increases this ratio by one point each five years (as proposed in the Second Plan), it will need eighteen five-year periods or ninety years in all to reach the present U.S. 'Socialist pattern of society'," Dr. Woytinsky remarks. However, he considers the direction of governmental efforts to be wrong in India inasmuch as in India the increase of the public sector was not aimed, "in the fields that would bring the greatest advantage to the people—such as, education, health services, and water supply—but in operations in which the replacement of the private management by Government officials promises little or no gain to the national economy."

Saar Treaty

The Franco-German Treaty re-incorporating the Saar in Germany was signed in Luxembourg on October 27 by the French and German Foreign Ministers, M. Pineau and Herr von Brentano. It may be recalled that after the failure of the draft of the European statute for the Saar, rejected by the population of the region in the referendum held on October 23, 1955, the Ruhr concerns demanded that this important industrial region be immediately included in the Federal Republic of Western Germany. The pro-German parties—the Chris-

tian Democratic Union, the Saar Organization of the German Social Democratic Party and the Saar Democratic Party won the elections to the Saar Landtag on December 18, 1955, and the Municipal elections on May 13, 1956. After winning the majority of seats in the Landtag and forming a Government of their representatives, headed by Gubert Nei, leader of Christian Democratic Union, the pro-German elements began a persistent campaign for the inclusion of the Saar in the Federal Republic, and supported the Bonn Government in its talks with France. There are many economic and political French monopolies in the Saar and under these circumstances they decided to barter the Saar for maximum economic concessions in the Ruhr.

The Saar provides 6.1 per cent of the total output of the steel and 7 per cent of the coal of the European Coal and Steel Community. It is, therefore, clear that by this treaty there would be further losses for the French in this super-cartel. The chief demands of the French trusts, primarily of Lorraine heavy industry, were that West Germany should consent to the construction of the Moselle canal and guarantee for continued deliveries of Saar coal. The Lorraine iron and steel industry has an important interest in the West German market, as German machine building works are its old clients. Since the Second World War, the Ruhr iron and steel concerns have successfully competed with the French in this field with the aid of high railway tariffs. The cost of transporting Lorraine steel to the sea ports would be reduced by 70 per cent with the building of the Thionville-Coblenz stretch of the Moselle canal. The cost of sending Ruhr coal to Lorraine would be halved. With guaranteed deliveries of coal the Lorraine trusts can considerably raise their competitive capabilities. The Ruhr monopolies adopted a very hostile attitude towards the Moselle canal project and the West German experts claimed that the canal would not be a profitable undertaking.

These differences were, however, compromised at the Luxembourg talks on June 5, 1956. France has agreed to the political reunification of the Saar with the Federal Republic of Western Germany from January 1, 1957. The economic reunion is to be effected gradually, during a period of three years, beginning with

January 1, 1957. France has received the right to exploit the Warndt coal mines until 1970, during which period she will extract 66 million tons of coal. The West German Government has promised to sell to France an additional 24 million tons of coal during this period as compensation for French investments in the Saar. West Germany will construct the Moselle canal at a cost of DM 550 million, out of which West Germany will contribute DM 300 million and France DM 250 million.

Bulganin-Eisenhower Correspondence

On October 19, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Washington handed over to the U.S. Secretary of State a letter from the Soviet Premier addressed to the U.S. President. The letter was released to the Press by Tass, the official Soviet news agency, on the following day before the U.S. President's reactions thereon became known.

In his letter, dated the 17th October, Premier Bulganin referred to the importance of an American-Soviet accord on disarmament in general and on banning atomic weapons in particular. He also mentioned the current controversy in the U.S.A. over the suspension of tests of nuclear weapons.

M. Bulganin said: "We certainly realize that a debate on any problems of international importance, including those of disarmament, is apt to take on a form of polemics in the United States today as the election campaign is going on. We cannot, however, afford to disregard the fact that in some instances official pronouncements are giving evidence of manifest misrepresentation of the Soviet Union's policy on those matters. This is, unfortunately, particularly true of the statements made by Mr. Dulles, who is not stopping short of direct attacks on the Soviet Union and her peace-striving foreign policy."

Pending agreement on the broader question of the prohibition of nuclear weapons, M. Bulganin continued, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. might strive toward achieving agreement on lesser points, such as; the suspension of the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. There would not be any particular difficulty in supervising the executions of an agreement on the suspension of tests of nuclear weapons "since with the present state of science no atomic or

hydrogen explosion can be carried out without it being recorded in other countries. Would it not in itself be the surest guarantee against any breach of such agreement that undisclosed tests of nuclear weapons are impossible and that, consequently, no government which will have solemnly undertaken to cease tests would be able to break this pledge without having exposed itself in the eyes of the whole world as a violator of the international convention?"—M. Bulganin queried. He assured the American President that if the U.S.A. decided to discontinue atomic tests she would not be alone in doing so; the Soviet Union would also follow suit. To make the settlement of the question of atomic tests dependent upon the agreement on an overall disarmament programme would not be wise, he said.

Premier Bulganin said that the Soviet Government was "prepared to conclude an agreement with the United States of America at once on ending atomic tests. We, naturally, act on the assumption that other nations possessing atomic weapons will accede to such an agreement."

President Eisenhower's reply to the Soviet Prime Minister's letter was made known in Washington on October 21 immediately after it had been drafted and before it was sent to the Soviet Premier. This was a departure from usual diplomatic practice.

President Eisenhower said in his reply that M. Bulganin's letter was an interference in the internal affairs of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Premier's remarks about Mr. Dulles was "not only unwarranted but is personally offensive to me." He said that the Soviet Prime Minister's letter departed from accepted international practice in a number of respects. Yet he had not directed the State Department to return the letter because though he disapproved the Soviet Premier's departure from international practice the president still hoped that "direct communications between us may serve the cause."

President Eisenhower said in his reply to Marshal Bulganin's letter: "The sending of your Note in the midst of a national election campaign of which you take cognizance, expressing your support of certain prominent public figures in the U.S.A. constitutes an interference by a foreign nation with the internal affairs of a kind which if indulged in by an Ambassador would

lead to his being declared *persona non grata* in accordance with long-established practice."

In a subsequent statement on October 23 defining the official United States position on the tests of nuclear weapons, President Eisenhower said that the U.S.A. would continue tests of nuclear weapons until world peace was assured through "properly safeguarded international agreements."

President Eisenhower said that without a properly safeguarded programme of disarmament, the U.S.A. could not discontinue nuclear tests. The importance of U.S. strength in this particular weapons-field was sharply accented by the "unavoidable fact of our numerical inferiority to Communist man-power."

He said that the continuance of Hydrogen Bomb would not imperil the health of humanity. The American Academy of Sciences had reported last June on the basis of a study by 150 scientists of the first rank, the President said, that the radiation exposure from all weapons-tests to date—and from continuing tests at the same rate—was and would be, only a small fraction of the exposure that individuals received from natural sources and from medical X-rays during their lives. Moreover, radio-active fallout could not be restricted by limiting tests to the smaller nuclear weapons.

The President said that the Soviet Union was sincere in its desire to stop H-bomb tests. But he could not regard a simple agreement to stop H-bomb test as automatically self-enforcing since it might not be possible to detect small nuclear weapons tests in the Soviet Union because of the vast Soviet land mass. Nor was it possible to state, immediately following the long-range detection of a test, its size and character.

"If your government were to suspend research and preparation for tests—as well as the tests themselves—and resume such preparation only upon knowledge that another nation had actually exploded another H-bomb," the President told his countrymen, "we could find our present commanding lead in nuclear weapons erased or even reversed."

Referring to the Bulganin-Eisenhower exchanges, the *Hitavada* writes in an editorial article on October 26 that while the American President was right in taking exception to M. Bulganin trying to interfere in United States

domestic policies his objection was valid only to that extent. From the broad point of view of peace and security, M. Bulganin's proposal deserved serious consideration. Irrespective of who raised the question it was an acknowledged fact that suspension of thermonuclear tests was an essential precondition for the relaxation of international tension.

Referring to President Eisenhower's reply, the *Hitavada* writes: "The objection of President Eisenhower that without inspection and control it is not possible to stop these tests as there was no guarantee that the Soviet Union will not continue experimentation with these weapons is not convincing" on the face of increasing development of scientific knowledge on the subject rendering it practically impossible for any State to explode a nuclear weapon without being detected by others. The newspaper expresses the hope that M. Bulganin's proposal would be seriously considered by the U.S. President after the elections and that the new administration would apply its mind to the need for the suspension of those tests which had been asked for by those who knew atomic matters best—namely, the scientists.

"Humanity has raised this question and wants an answer from the American President," the *Hitavada* concludes.

Events in Singapore

Serious riots broke out in Singapore on October 25 over the Government's action in closing the students' union as an alleged subversive organization. Reports reaching here indicated that seventeen persons were killed and more than a hundred were injured as a result of the clashes between the police and the public. The number of arrests exceeded five hundred. British and Malay troops were used and Royal Air Force planes were also commissioned to frighten away the rioters. A curfew was imposed in the city. The Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Yew Hock blamed the Communists and the Opposition People's Action Party for the troubles.

There was widespread strike as a mark of protest against the government's action and the government responded by rounding up the Left-wing trade union leaders.

The background to these events in Singapore is provided in a dispatch of the *Economic*

Weekly's Singapore correspondent in the October 27 issue of the newspaper. The correspondent writes:

"On September 20th the newly reconstituted Labour Front Government under Lim Yew Hock, the Chief Minister, suddenly ordered the arrest of five men and two women as 'a threat to the security of Singapore by reason of their Communist activities' and the dissolution of two organisations, the Singapore Women's Federation and the Chinese Brass Gong Musical Society. At the same time the Singapore Chinese Middle School Students' Union registration was cancelled and its chairman arrested who, incidentally, was also a member of the Executive of the People's Action Party, the principal opponent of the Labour Front in the Assembly. Every person arrested was a Chinese and every person arrested had been educated in the Chinese schools' system other than Mr. Lim himself.

"As a result of these arrests, which were made totally without warning and at a time when Singapore had been more peaceful than for many months past, students of two of the principal Chinese schools, the Chinese High School and the Chung Cheng High School, struck and shut themselves up within the school. The Government in reply deregistered the schools and immediately offered to set up new schools at which all the old pupils were required to re-register themselves."

A *Reuter* despatch from Singapore, dated October 26, describes the situation thus:

"At one of the schools, police claimed that all student resistance had been broken soon after the operation began.

"The students lodged in the building in defiance of Government orders to close the school, jumped from windows of the buildings towards the school gates.

"Two hundred policemen crashed through a barricade of tables and chairs erected by 1,200 students at the Chung Cheng High School.

"At the Chinese High School in another part of the city police used tear gas to dislodge 2,500 students who then fled through the school gates.

"Police succeeded in splitting about half the crowd of 2,000 Chinese students and dis-

persing them in small groups away from Singapore.

"But the other half linked arms at the roadside and continued to defy police efforts to drive them away.

"British and Malay troops were manning road blocks along the roads leading to the city and patrols of armoured cars and infantry moved into the city outskirts."

The periodical disturbances in Singapore, the *Economic Weekly's* correspondent notes, were only symptomatic of the economic difficulties. "The unemployment, both open and concealed, the political insecurity of the lowly Chinese-born labourer who is denied civic rights and the insecurity even within the family, where marriages need not be registered by the State and can, practically speaking, be dissolved by desertion, prevent the rise of a real civic consciousness," writes the correspondent according to whom the best policy would be to encourage the growth and creation of small territorial communities consisting of the Malayas and the Chinese, unified Chinese-English schools, common state registered marriages; and to accord equal social status to the Chinese children.

Communists Invited to U.S. Elections

Government of the United States invited representatives from several European Communist States to observe the U.S. elections on November 6. The Soviet Union and Rumania have accepted the invitation while Poland and Czechoslovakia have declined. Only Hungary's reply was not received. The expenses of the representatives attending as observers would be borne by the U.S. Government.

This is a step which indicates a new shift in the U.S. outlook towards the Communist world.

Pandit Nehru on Foreign Affairs

We quote the following report from the *Statesman*, to show how little even Pandit Nehru could guess about the impending conflagrations in Egypt and Hungary.

Secret diplomacy seldom gives any outward indications, excepting to the extremely wary, but even then the complacency in Pandit Nehru's remarks, ending with "for the present, we stay at home," indicates an optimism in international affairs that seems extraordinary in the light of the events that followed:

New Delhi, October 25.—Events in Eastern and Central Europe, the Algerian crisis and the latest dispositions in the Suez Canal dispute, including the position of Israel, were some of the subjects covered by Mr. Nehru at a Press conference here this morning.

The Prime Minister, who was suffering from a cold, said perhaps it was not the right time to meet the Press. So much was happening that he might have to face awkward questions.

However, once he got into his stride, Mr. Nehru kept talking for more than an hour and his replies to questions were both frank and often comprehensive.

It was, he said, clear that there was a nationalist upsurge in Eastern and Central Europe. He did not think that it was likely to affect the broad foreign or economic policies of these countries.

There was an intense desire for independence there to fashion their own policies.

Referring to the Algerian arrests, Mr. Nehru said it was impossible for the Algerian question to be settled by force or by an attempt to suppress the nationalist movement. This would worsen the situation and there was already excitement in Morocco and Tunisia, which were hitherto friendly to France.

India's view was that the Algerian people were entitled to full freedom, but at the same time other interests, such as those of the French settlers there, should be considered.

There were, it seemed to him, occasions in the past three or four months when efforts to negotiate had emerged, but the Suez Canal dispute had distracted attention.

He was not sure of the legal position as regards the reported French decision to search ships, for arms, but this could give rise to friction.

Mr. Nehru's assessment of the Suez situation was that hopes of settlement were brighter today. A negotiating stage had been reached. It was difficult to go back on that.

India had accomplished her part by presentation of the new plan and, "for the present, we stay at home." It was now for the countries concerned to deal directly with each other. There was the proposal for talks to be held at Geneva. No final date had emerged, but the talks must take place soon, he said.

Discussing the contents of the Indian plan, he said that in the ultimate analysis there could be no guarantee other than the normal kind of international guarantees.

His impression was that the broad approach of the Indian plan had the approval of Egypt, but that did not commit her to any specific part of it.

The reaction of other countries was also mixed. No one wanted to commit himself at this stage even if he approved of parts of it. It was, however, clear that Egypt would not agree to any kind of international control of the Canal as that would affect her sovereignty.

Asked about Israel, he said there were differing interpretations of her position. Egypt claimed that the 1888 Convention did not cover a country at war. The question was a legal one and his suggestion was that it should be submitted for decision to "some superior court."

Hungary

The following two news-items and the quotation from Noel Barber's report to the *Statesman* are given below just to indicate the agony that the Hungarians are passing through. The outside world is only getting flashes and glimpses, but even that is horrible:

Paris, October 27.—Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, today telegraphed to Mr. Nehru, asking him to "put an end to the bloodshed" in Hungary.

Mr. Nagy, who is in Paris for a 12-nation conference of European Peasant Parties, wired to Mr. Nehru:

"For some days past Russian troops have been fighting against the Hungarian revolutionary forces and against unarmed civilians. They have massacred thousands of Hungarians who supported by the Army and police forces of their own country, are demanding freedom for Hungary.

"I appeal to you as to one who has always sought peaceful solutions to help to secure an immediate armistice between the belligerent parties so as to put an end to the bloodshed."

Vienna, October 27.—Budapest Radio claimed today that the rebels' resistance in Hungary's embattled capital had been "broken" and many had surrendered.

But heavy fighting was reported to be still raging late today. Usually reliable sources here

said the fighting was particularly fierce in the old sector of the city.

A new "national" Government was announced under the Titoist Prime Minister, Mr. Imre Nagy. It dropped 15 outstanding Communists, including four members of the key Politburo, replacing them mostly by Communists uncommitted to either a Titoist or Stalinist line.

The basis of the Government was not broadened except by the inclusion of the Peasant Party leader, Mr. Bela Kovacs as Minister of Agriculture.

This was the third political reshuffle in four stormy days.

The Austrian News Agency A.P.A., quoting Hungarian railwaymen, said Hungarian rebels had shot Erno Gero, the deposed Communist Party First Secretary.

Budapest, October 27.—Tonight Budapest is a city of mourning. Black flags hang from every window. For during the past four days thousands of its citizens fighting to throw off the yoke of Russia have been killed or wounded.

Budapest is a city that is slowly dying. Its streets and once beautiful squares are a shambles of broken glass, burned out cars and tanks and rubble.

Food is scarce, petrol is running out. But still the battle rages on. For five hours this morning until a misty dawn broke over Budapest I (Noel Barber) was in the thick of one of the battles.

It was between Soviet troops and insurgents trying to force a passage across the famous Chain Bridge that links Buda with Pest across the Danube. Two of the insurgents into whose ranks I literally wandered died in the battle, one of them in my arms. Several were wounded. Today as I write this, heavy firing is shaking the city which is still sealed off from the world.

To get here I drove through endless Russian check-points and through fighting that has by now killed thousands of civilians. At least 1,000 were killed in one of the most ghastly massacres I have ever had to report.

It happened yesterday morning when the Russians turned the guns of their tanks on to a crowd of unarmed demonstrators. They mowed them down for 20 minutes.

Today Budapest is a shambles with broken glass, wrecked tanks and cars. Where the trams ran, the insurgents have torn up the rails to use them as anti-tank weapons. At least 30 tanks have been smashed so far, many with Molotov Cocktails. Their burned out skeletons seem everywhere spread on both sides of the Danube.

World Atomic Agency

The text of a 23-article statute for the establishment of a world atomic agency was unanimously adopted on October 23 by a conference of eighty-two nations in New York city. The statute open for signature since October 26 until January 25, 1957, would come into force with the ratification by eighteen countries including at least three of the following States, the U.S.A., the U.K., the U.S.S.R., France and Canada. The agency, when it came into being, would supply fissionable materials to member-States for chemical processing. It would have authority to send inspectors to the countries receiving atomic aid in order to ensure that the fissionable materials supplied by the agency and their bye-products were used solely for peaceful purposes. The controversial 'safeguards' clauses, to which strong exception had been taken by India and some other countries were approved by the conference sitting as a committee by 79 votes to nil with one abstention (Afghanistan) after incorporating therein a compromise amendment moved by France and Switzerland.

At the final plenary session on October 26, the conference elected an eighteen-nation preparatory commission under the chairmanship of Senator Carlos Alfredo Bernardes of Brazil to continue the work until the statute came into force after the required ratifications. The members of eighteen-nation preparatory commission were Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A., Australia, Pakistan, Egypt, Argentina, Japan, Peru, Indonesia, Belgium, Portugal, the Union of South Africa.

Feroze Khan Noon's Ravings

Malik Feroze Khan Noon, the present Pakistani Foreign Minister, has long been known for his unusual sense and historical knowledge. It was precisely this Malik who

"discovered" that the battle of Plassey in 1757 had taken place not between Robert Clive and Seraj-ud-daullah but between Clive and Dupleix—contrary historical evidence notwithstanding. He was not yet a Pakistani when he discovered such a historical truth. It would be idle to expect sense from a man whose knowledge (understanding) of his own country's history betrayed such childishness. Nobody would have cared for whatever he might have to say on any matter had he not been the Foreign Minister of the largest Islamic State. Therefore, some attention has to be given to his utterances.

In a long speech on October 20 at the town hall Malik Feroze Khan Noon said that the "enmity of a powerful neighbouring country had obliged Pakistan to enter into defence alliances to preserve her freedom."

PTI adds: "The Minister, in an obvious reference to India, added: 'We have no desire to attack any country—these pacts are only meant to defend ourselves against the country with which we have great differences'."

On an earlier occasion the Malik had charged India of complicity with France in the matter of Algerian independence and Kashmir dispute. According to the omniscient Malik, India allegedly tried to strike a bargain with France to the effect that France should support India in the matter of Kashmir in the U.N. and that India would help France regarding Algeria.

Mr. Noon had further added: "Muslim world is watching with horror the massacres of Muslims going on, even today, in the so-called Secular State of India."

India sent a strong protest to Karachi against the unfounded utterances of the Pakistani Foreign Minister. As we have already mentioned Mr. Noon's utterances are not worth any attention but his official position makes the formality of a contradiction necessary to some extent. Nothing more, however, is deserved by him since his utterances do not bear any serious considerations and it would be sheer wastage of space to attempt a detailed refutation of his manufactured charges: the facts are too well-known to require that.

The best retort to Mr. Noon has come from his own compatriot—Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani, leader of the East Pakistan

Awami League and one of the great sons of Pakistan. In a statement issued on the night of October 25, Maulana Bhasani said that Pakistani people "cannot and do not consider India as their enemy" despite mutual differences over Kashmir. Even Kashmir dispute could not also remain unsolved for any great length of time. "We still believe," the Maulana added, "that it is not beyond the ingenuity of the people of Pakistan and India to solve the Kashmir problem in a manner satisfactory to India, Pakistan and, above all, people of Kashmir."

The *Hindu* reports: "While declaring that Malik Noon's remarks at Rawalpindi and elsewhere on Pakistan's defence and other Pacts with foreign countries had come as a 'rude surprise' to him, Maulana Bhasani said, 'Consistency has never been the qualification in him but people expected that as Foreign Minister he will practise discretion. Those who had been studying Malik Noon for sometime past would not be upset over this as only recently he said if Pakistan did not receive sufficient support and help from the Western bloc she would join hands with the Russian bloc,' Maulana Bhasani said.

Referring to Mr. Noon's refusal to place the texts of Pakistan's agreements with foreign countries before the National Assembly, Maulana Bhasani said:

"It is an established convention and practice everywhere in the world wherever there is a democratic form of Government to have all pacts and agreements with foreign countries ratified by the Parliament of the country concerned. Debates on foreign affairs are very common features in parliaments of European countries.

"It is, therefore, very surprising and at the same time regrettable that our Foreign Minister, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, tries to defend his or for the matter of that the Government's failure to place all pacts entered into with foreign countries for an examination by the National Assembly by saying that the Constitution does not provide for such action.

"If, as Malik Noon says, pacts, such as, Baghdad and SEATO, contain secret clauses it is all the more important that these pacts should be very carefully examined by the National Assembly. These pacts were entered into by the predecessor Governments. Therefore, people

through their representatives in the National Assembly have the right to know whether or not honour, prestige, and even the very essence of independence itself have been bartered away in exchange for very paltry benefits—personal or general—for the character of the predecessor Governments was never representative.”

The Congress and Pandit Nehru

Pandit Nehru was in a reflective mood when he made the remarks, quoted in the news-item appended below. Some salient truths stand out in them, though the causative factors are not indicated. There are some very characteristic utterances in it as well, such as that about Life and Discipline, which latter term has been used by Panditji in its narrowest sense.

The trouble about speeches like the one quoted, is that there are too many points raised and no complete discussion of any. As a result they leave no impression on the public mind.

The roots of the Congress have been weakened, that is a fact. And the Congress will either perish or become a second “Tammery Hall” organisation, historical necessity or not, unless the disease is eradicated. But how?

Jaunpur, October 28.—Mr. Nehru said here today that the idea of relinquishing office as Prime Minister which had occurred to him four years ago was still in his mind. “I feel that whether I remain Prime Minister or not, I can well serve my country.”

He added: “About four years ago while leaving the Congress Presidentship I decided to remain Prime Minister. But I do not like feeling that nobody could do my job except myself.”

Mr. Nehru was addressing over 30,000 delegates and visitors at the open session of the 37th U.P. Pradesh Congress political conference.

He said that the Congress had become weak and it was the duty of Congressmen to strengthen it. He regretted that the situation arising out of the States reorganization had slipped out of the hands of Congressmen. This, he said, indicated that the roots of the organization had weakened.

Mr. Nehru said: “It is a historic necessity that the Congress should exist and discharge the responsibilities laid on its shoulders with-

out faltering. Its history is associated with the history of the nation. Therefore, it must be revitalized.”

Discipline and organization were necessary for the Congress but they should not stifle the life of the organization. “Life is more important than discipline. There could not be discipline for the dead.”

Congressmen were suffering from a fear complex—always afraid of losing seats. This was an unhealthy state of affairs, the Prime Minister said. He added: “Let us at once shake off this fear and think of losing all seats. This will give us strength.”

The Congress had decided to bring in Socialism. But how many Congressmen understood this term? If the significance of Socialism was fully understood, then in the selection of candidates progressive elements in the organization would have been encouraged and preferred by those making the selections.

How many Congressmen realized that they were living in an atom age? he asked. How many ever thought about the atom bomb? Other political parties appeared ahead in this respect.

Mr. Nehru said the Community Project administration was in touch with at least 100,000,000 people through its development block link. It was bringing about a revolution in the countryside and doing good work.

The real problem facing the country was the question of stepping up food production which was not possible through small holdings. There was the urgent need of developing agrarian co-operatives. Mr. Nehru regretted that Congressmen today were not bold enough to emphasize such new things as agrarian co-operatives for fear of losing the sympathy of the electorate. They should abandon this fear and boldly assert what was right.

Mr. Nehru said: “The poverty-stricken condition of the kisans touched me. I do not want to say that nothing has been done for them, but it will take years to really improve their lot.”

Mr. Nehru strongly deprecated communalism and warned Congressmen against developing communal tendencies. The door of the Congress, he said, must remain wide open for all if the organization was to be kept alive, but Congressmen should be on their guard

against being influenced by Hindu Sabha or R.S.S. workers when they joined the Congress.

He referred to the agitation relating to the publication of the book, *Religious Leaders*, and said that the book doubtless hurt the feelings of Muslims but interested parties and students of Aligarh had taken advantage of the situation and fomented communal feeling which was wrong. He asked what had Congressmen done on these occasions. There was no trace of them at the time to control the situation.

The whole world was looking at India. Foreign deputations and delegations were visiting the country every year. Some, however, came with happy intentions, some with motives. But on the whole, the impressions they got were good. Dr. Appleby, who had strongly criticized the Administration, had in his recent report all praise for India. India was progressing and this was accepted by foreigners, but the people here did not appreciate the progress.

India's Changed Map

The political map of India underwent its second great change since independence. The first was occasioned by the integration of princely States with India. The passage of the States Reorganisation Acts occasioned the second redrawing. India's administrative units came down from 29 to 20 including the six Centrally-administered territories. Except those six States, the other fourteen States would be equal in all respects. In area, Bombay was the biggest and Kerala the smallest of the States.

The new States, after reorganization, were as follows:

A. STATES

Name	Capital
1. Mysore	Bangalore
2. Rajasthan	Jaipur
3. Kerala	Trivandrum
4. Andhra	Hyderabad
5. Bombay	Bombay
6. Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal
7. Punjab	Chandigarh
8. Orissa	Bhubaneswar
9. Assam	Shillong
10. West Bengal	Calcutta
11. Bihar	Patna

12. Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow
13. Madras	Madras
14. Jammu and Kashmir	Srinagar

B. CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED STATES

1. Delhi	Delhi
2. Himachal Pradesh	Simla
3. Tripura	Agartala
4. Manipur	Imphal
5. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	Port Blair
6. Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindiv	

India's First Music University

India's first Music University was inaugurated on October 14 at Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The University grew out of the Indira Sangeet Vidyalaya established in 1944 by Rani Padmavati Devi of Khairagarh in memory of her deceased second daughter, Rajkumari Indira Devi. After the merge of Khairagarh with Madhya Pradesh, the school was converted into an academy in July, 1955. The magnificent contribution of the Rani Padmavati and of Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh of their palace worth about Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs made it possible to convert the institution into a University. India's newest University would be known as Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwa-vidyalaya.

In an editorial comment in the issue, dated the 11th October, the *Hitavada* writes that music and musicians had always been held in high esteem in India. The cause of music had suffered during the days of British rule. But some of the princely States had helped keep alive the great traditions of Indian classical music. A welcome trend was noticeable in the opening of faculties of fine arts and music in various Indian Universities and it was to be hoped that the Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwa-vidyalaya "would flourish into a great institution and attract students from all corners of India," the *Hitavada* concludes.

It must be noted, however, that a music "University" is a very ambitious project. Hitherto the institutions that have taught or dealt with the subject of Music and Fine Arts, have done so within very limited and distinctly stereotyped scope. In order that this new University may justify its name, it will have to take a catholic view and widen the field.

INDIA'S ROLE IN WORLD PEACE

By SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJI,
Speaker, Legislative Assembly, West Bengal

THE subject of world peace with reference to a particular country related to its foreign policy. In the first speech of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"A country's foreign policy ultimately emerges from its own traditions, from its own urges, from its own objectives and more particularly from its recent past."

In one of his early addresses to the Parliament President Rajendra Prasad said :

"While aggression has to be met and evil cannot be condoned it has to be remembered that war itself is an evil which brings greater evil in its train. It is firm policy of my Government to maintain peace and friendship with all nations of the world and to help in every way possible in the maintenance of world peace. The Republic of India inherited no enmities or traditional rivalries with other nations and my Government intend continuing a policy directed towards securing peace in the world and avoiding any alignment which leads to hostilities with other nations."

Based on these two fundamental policy-making utterances let us analyse how far India has played in the past its role in world peace and hopes to play in future a similar role. What are India's own traditions and what are her own urges ? To understand these two aspects of the foreign policy of India we must have to traverse through a long course of history and legends running to an ancient period for over 5,000 years. Fortunately for her it is her pride and privilege to have inherited treasures in art and literature emanating from ancient times which is still today honoured, adored and studied and followed by the people of India. Without going further back into pre-historic days it would be convenient to examine this aspect of the question tracing our tradition for 2,500 years from the time of the appearance of Gautama Buddha on the Indian scene. A prince amongst men, considered by many thinkers to be the greatest man of the world, has left immortal teachings for the guidance of humanity. These are not

confined within the narrow geographical limits of the territory of India. This spread thousand years after his death beyond the borders of India to distant lands as far back as China, Japan, Korea, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma and other far-eastern countries. What message did they carry ? Could anybody find in the volumes of Buddhist literature any idea of man's hatred against man, of nation's hatred against nation, of the mutual rivalries and jealousies between border States and border nations ? On the contrary, they have tried to establish the principle of the universality of humanity, the oneness of the world, the removal of barriers between race and race and between man and man.

Like Buddha his another contemporary, the great Mahavira, in India about the same time, preached the famous religious principle of Jainism, which is nothing but a branch of Hinduism, based his whole doctrine and philosophy on absolute non-violence and love, discarding all evil means to gain right ends.

Coming back to 1,500 years after Buddha in India what do we find amongst the great teachers, Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak. They appeared on the Indian scene at a time when the political power of the State was weak, when society owing to its internal weakness through various historical reasons was deviating from the path laid down by their great *sastras* into mere rigid formulas, and spiritual teachings were forgotten and men became concentrated on doctrines, dogmas and ritual observance as the sole aim of religion. During this decadence Messiahs like Sri Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak and others appeared in different parts of India and spread their message of universal brotherhood, love and non-violence, the everlasting strength of solidarity of the people, and the strength of attaining the highest spiritual aim, *summum bonum* of Indian conception, *viz.*, the soul force and power of the mind is more powerful than the brute force of

the power of the senses and body. In the end of the nineteenth century the great Indian saint Vivekananda carried to the Western world starting from his Chicago speech and various utterances the eternal spiritual message of India of harmony of religions. Did he claim any physical gain for the Indian people from the people of the West? Through his soul-stirring speeches he wanted the West to understand the spirit of the East, and to throw light to the world amidst darkness prevailing, so that through this prophet of universal brotherhood and harmony of religions preached by his master Shri Ramakrishna the world may be rid of strife and tussle in the name of religion and other material ideologies. Did not Rabindranath the greatest philosopher and poet of the twentieth century, establish 30 years ago at Santiniketan, the Visva-Bharati or International University for advancement of world peace and fraternity and interchange of respective cultures? Every Hindu has a conception of Divinity which transcends beyond the personal, the sectarian and territorial limits. He does not think of God as a God of the Hindu only. A Hindu conception of Goodhood embraces universal Godhood. In every Hindu sacrament from pre-historic Vedic times down to this date during births, marriages and funerals and other religious ceremonies all functions end with a prayer for universal peace. In our ancient scriptures, in our great epics and in mythology we think and pray to universal motherhood and fatherhood of God. These fundamental and traditional characters of the Indians were not perhaps made adequately known to the civilized world due to India's foreign bondage. Therefore, from our ancient traditions and from our urges we are wedded to the principle of world peace, fraternity and universal brotherhood.

Now let us analyse our immediate objectives particularly in the light of our recent past. Let us analyse what part during the last nine years young India has played in the international sphere and for the promotion of world peace.

The question of world peace from the standpoint of Western mind has developed since the First World War and has further developed after the termination of the Second World War. During the First World War, statesmen of victorious Allied powers repeatedly asserted

that war had been fought to end war and with that noble objective the League of Nations was ushered into existence so that world peace may be secured and world war may be avoided. We are all aware how the League of Nations came to a miserable failure and the very sponsors of the League of Nations were at loggerheads for self-interest, for respective positions of power and military strength. The Second World War started within 20 years. In the Second World War, too, the belligerents, particularly the Allies, during the deliberations about war policies, conceived the idea of a world organisation to prevent war through a machinery known as the United Nations Organisation and the Charter of the United Nations was ushered in San Francisco in 1946 under the auspices of the five big nations of the world. India after independence pledged herself completely to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as she believes in the Charter because if properly worked it has got the potentiality of preventing war and establishing world peace. India as a member of the United Nations from the very beginning of her independence has played not an insignificant role in her deliberations. Her fundamental policy has been an independent line of action of non-alignment with any of the power blocs of the world. This non-alignment may not be called peaceful neutralism, but is an active and positive policy of peace and not a negative one of doing nothing and sitting on the fence and watching both sides. A foreign policy for world peace, international co-operation and brotherhood cannot after all be completely divorced from her own needs. India knows that she is an undeveloped country. Economically she is a poor and weak country and she needs a spell of long peace in the world not only for her own development, but for the development of all the under-developed countries of Asia, which was along with her under foreign domination and under the grip of Western imperialism for nearly two centuries. Therefore on the very eve of independence in 1948 she sponsored the Asian Conference in Delhi. The speeches delivered there by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru show that such a conference was held not with the object of forming an Asian block, but to understand each other's difficulties and to frame a policy of mutual co-operation for

mutual strength to secure world peace placing reliance on the United Nations' Charter. That policy has been followed up continuously and culminated in the famous Bandung Conference of 29 nations of Asia and Africa in 1955. But apart from these friendly gatherings and policy-making conferences, the active foreign policy steps taken by India for the cause of world peace and lessening international tension leading to war should be examined.

Let us stage by stage measure the steps taken by India in her relations with the countries of the world. The first question of India's joining the Commonwealth was a unique event in the history for world peace. India has proved following the teachings of Gandhiji that with the British transference of power India's relations with Britain has been most cordial not because India is toeing the line of the British, but due to historical and economic associations during the last 200 years India has joined the Commonwealth with an independent outlook simply because she believes that this association of democratic countries with her past connections would help her to exercise the influence in the cause of world peace. The very fact that during her entrance into the Commonwealth she insisted that she would be the first Republic joining the Commonwealth without any allegiance to the British Crown, is a proof positive of her independent and courageous policy and the British and the rest of the Commonwealth countries had to change the Commonwealth structure to make it fit to admit India to the Commonwealth. Since India's entry into the Commonwealth other countries of coloured people of Africa and East Asia, which were under the domination of British imperialism, are also one by one joining the Commonwealth as independent countries, such as, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Malaya, Singapore, Mauritius and other places where the British people are gradually transferring power to these people. During the successive Commonwealth conferences India has played an independent part in the deliberations and discussions and the Commonwealth deliberations and the Colombo Plan emanating out of the Commonwealth discussions had helped to develop the under-developed countries of Asia without any string attached. As Pandit Nehru has recently said :

"Commonwealth has a unique advantage to establish the right to disagree on the basis of substantial agreements for the mutual benefit of the adjoining countries."

India's next stand for the purpose of world peace is that she has a set idea against colonialism and racialism. Although she has succeeded in her policy in the United Nations on the question of racial discrimination in South Africa, South African Government is flouting the entire decision of the United Nations so far as the solution of the racial questions are concerned. India may not successfully act for lessening the racial tension in South Africa, but in her effort she has the support of the rest of the world, which is no mean achievement for a newly independent country and she will not rest until the last vestige of racial discrimination goes out of the world. With regard to colonialism India's boldest stand has been in regard to the countries of Asia and Africa. With regard to Indonesia she made a courageous stand by not allowing the Dutch planes to land in the country and this gave considerable strength to the Indonesian people. On the question of Korean war which was almost on the brink of bringing a Third World War, when China was forced to give military help to North Korea when 38 deg. Parallel was crossed, India exercised all her tremendous influence by discussions and deliberations to bring the Korean armistice to the United Nations and she had to play a part by sending her army in Korea not for war, but peace in that disturbed land. The action of her army in Korea has brought unstinted praise from the world. Although in the beginning India was terribly misunderstood by America and although America tried her best to keep out India as a non-belligerent country to be included in the political conference relating to Korea, still with the opinion of the rest of the world when the question of prisoners of war was a stumbling block, India was asked to take a leading part in solving that deadlock. Recently when events in Indo-China were almost threatening towards a Third World War, she played a gigantic role for bringing peace and armistice in the disturbed land, which was fighting for the last ten years or more and she is the Chairman of the neutral nations' supervisory commission on Indo-China

still working for bringing peace in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

In her foreign policy with China, India has played her trump-card by solving dispute with China through agreement containing the five principles of peaceful co-existence, which she has laid as an example of world peace. China follows an ideology, which has not been recognised by the United Nations nor is that ideology followed by India. She has played a great role in respect of the demand for China's membership to the United Nations. Through India's efforts 18 small nations, which were not members of the United Nations, have recently been admitted as members and India's efforts will soon succeed when China will be admitted also as a member and India's mission for world peace will get adequate strength. The five principles of peaceful co-existence, for the first time agreed in the international field between India and China have gradually been agreed between India and other Asian countries, such as, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Western countries like Soviet Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and other countries are following up the line of India's policy with regard to world peace. This is India's greatest achievement, for by the high moral principle she has, without economic and military strength, been able to gradually influence the world opinion for maintaining world peace.

The role played by her accredited representative in the United Nations on the question of disarmament and on the question of avoiding nuclear tests of Atom and Hydrogen Bombs has been universally appreciated. Her scientist, Dr. Bhava, was the first Chairman of the world scientific conference for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and for banning Hydrogen and Atomic bombs. India has never claimed that she aspires to the leadership of Asia. She knows that if her policy is sound, if she can develop her potential strength—economic resources and talents—she will be reckoned as a great world force for peace, prosperity and development. Naturally all Asiatic countries are looking upon her for guidance. Her greatest triumph in the cause of peace has been the successive visits of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to China and Russia whereby the two countries with vast population and with vast potential

strength, economic and military, and having complete ideals, have been able to admire and respect India's foreign and economic policy. By making those countries sign and agree with the principles of Panch-Shila, which contain the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in respect of each other's domestic and other affairs, India has taken a very big step towards lessening international tension. But she is not yet out of difficulties. Both America and England do not fall in line with India's policy of not supporting military pact because they believe in the marshalling of forces backed by their position of strength to bring world peace. As India holds diametrically opposite views that such military pact only creates suspicion, hatred and fear, she has strongly opposed Baghdad and SEATO Pacts and America's military aid to Pakistan being inconsistent with her policy of world peace.

During his recent visit to Western countries Prime Minister Nehru has been given ovations and his discussions about his country's policy with West Germany, France and other countries have not been unfruitful and have led to world peace. As in the East there are local areas of tension so in the West the great local area of tension has been the division of Germany into East and West. On the question of unification of Germany Pandit Nehru has been trying to play India's role so that tension may disappear, and the threat of war and use of force may be replaced by methods of discussions and deliberations. That is India's sole object. It cannot be said that India has completely succeeded in avoiding the Third World War, but the steps she has taken one by one during the last seven years have all gone towards relieving world tension. The recent question of nationalisation of Suez has been another theatre of tension and we all hope that India will play her consistent role in relieving the tension between the Western countries and the East successfully to the mutual interest of everybody because her vital interests are concerned over the international waterway for the very sustenance of her foreign trade, both export and import. In other words for her very economic need India is vitally interested as an Asian power on the successful solution of the Suez Canal issue and her countrymen will watch with interest the part she is going to play on this question.

Therefore, to summarise the seven years of retrospective view gives us a picture that we have acquired more friends than we had seven years ago. India's voice is now heard with respect and admiration by the rest of the world. Nearer home on the question of relationship with Pakistan and Portuguese India, she has shown tremendous patience to solve all problems peacefully so that she herself may not be guilty of taking means which are inconsistent with her loudly-proclaimed policy. She is following the lessons of the teachings she received in attaining independence by the peaceful methods of non-violence. She will rather wait indefinitely for the solution of the problems of

Pakistan and Portuguese, who are trying to gain by threat and force. For this, India's actions may be questioned in some quarters in the domestic sphere, but outside India for her patience and restraint she is admired.

Therefore, in short, in infant democracy with numerous problems, some never faced by any country in the world, after 200 years of foreign domination, economically and militarily weak, India has with head erect stood up with glory and honour for establishing friendly relations with all countries of the world and for maintaining world peace.*

* Address delivered at the Indian Club, Colombo (Ceylon) on the 12th October, 1956.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PADMINI LEGEND

By PROF. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

RAJPUT warrior's heroism and the hallowed memory of the sterner virtues of Rajput women who performed *Jauhar* thrice at least in medieval times have made the fortress of Chitor a place of historical pilgrimage in India. There the pilgrim of history visits Rani Padmini's "ancient palace of magnificent dimensions" standing on the bank of a tank, and particularly a small double-storied *mahal* rising from the middle of a tank. This was renovated by Maharana Sajjan Singhji. We have it on the authority of M. M. Gaurishanker Ojha that "even now people call this place *Padamini*, and the tank as *Padmini ka talao*."

But who was Padmini? We read in our school history that Padmini was the wife of Bhim Singh, uncle of Rana Lakshman Singh Sisodia. This was on the authority of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. But our children dispute the statement as their text-book gives Ratna Singh, the son and successor of Rawal Samar Singh of Mewar, as Padmini's husband. This confusion was due to the fact that by the time Tod wrote his history, the very name Ratna Singh had disappeared from the books of the *Bhats*, and even from their memory a century before Tod, leaving only Ratan's imaginary better-half, the so-called queen Padmini. And this is to be noted

that this Padmini was not the Padmini of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat*; because Jaisi writes that Padmini Padmavati was the daughter of Gandharvasen of Simhala island, whereas Tod makes her, evidently on the authority of the *Bhats*, the daughter of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon.

Rawal Ratansi, son of Rawal Samar Singh in whose time Chitor was invaded by Sultan Alauddin Khafji,—was discovered for authentic history about half-a-century after Tod, by Kaviraj Shymaldasji, the author of *Vir Vinod*. This new discovery was on the authority of *Ekalinga Mahatyam* and the Kumbhalgarh inscription (1460 A.D.) of the reign of Maharana Kumbha, which are the nearest contemporary Rajput evidence of Alauddin's conquest of Chitor (August, 1303 A.D.). But these authorities tell us nothing about any wife of Ratna Singh. And of Ratna Singh's activities, we get only "tasmin gate," i.e., "after his death," when the defence of Chitor was taken up by Lakshman Singh (known also as Bhad Lakhamasi). Kaviraj Shyamaldasji's researches also spotted Bhim Singh as the grandfather of Lakshman Singh (Chirwa Inscription), correcting Tod's error of making Bhim Singh, an uncle of Lakshman Singh. As a compromise Shyamaldasji, therefore, got the Padmini of the *Bhats* of Mewar remarried to Ratna Singh, and left the

1. Ojha : *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 486.

legend undisturbed further. Since then no historian suspected the historicity of the Padmini legend till V. A. Smith, with the unerring instinct of a historian, suspected the whole affair to be a myth, without, however, mentioning the grounds of his doubt.

This challenge apparently disturbed the mind of the late historian M. M. Gaurishanker Ojha, the greatest authority in Rajput history in the present age. He criticised Tod's account threadbare, and examined the historicity of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat*, with which the story of Padmini and Ratna Singh originated. He comes to the conclusion:

"Col. Tod has written this story on the authority of Bhats of Mewar, and the Bhats have taken it from *Padmavat*. . . Such being the case, Tod's statement lacks conviction. If there is any basic fact (lit. root; *jad*) behind the statement of *Tarikhi-Ferishta*, Tod and *Padmavat*, it is this that Alauddin captured Chitor after a siege of six months, that its ruler Ratna Singh was killed in this fight with Lakshman Singh, and that his queen Padmini died in the fire of *jauhar* with several other ladies".²

In commenting upon the historicity of Jaisi's poem *Padmavat*, Ojha further remarks:

". . . In the absence of history people accepted *Padmavat* as a history. But in truth it is only a story in verse, like a modern historical novel, the structure of which rests upon these historical facts that Ratan Sen was the ruler of Chitor, Padmini was his queen, and Alauddin was the Sultan of Delhi, who wrested the fort of Chitor from Ratan Sen (Ratna Singh) by fighting . . ."³

With due respect to the revered memory of Ojha, we may be permitted to point out that Ojha has not been perhaps exact on the following points:

i. Ratna Singh or Ratan Sen was killed in this fight not with Lakshman Singh but *before*, as Ojha himself elsewhere says on the authority of Kumbhalgarh Inscription.

ii. Alauddin wrested the fort of Chitor *not* from Ratan Sen but from Lakshman Singh.

iii. "Padmini was his (Ratan Sen's) queen," has not been proved by Ojha to be a *historical* fact, and yet he speaks in the indicative mood about the so-called Padmini palace and Padmini tank of Chitor.

(2).

A perusal of Ojha's learned history roused my curiosity about the historicity of Padmini, and

I began studying all the available evidence, historical and literary, about the heroine of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat*, and the nature of poem itself. I published about fifteen years back one paper in Bengali, in the *Prabasi* with the conclusion that there is not even tolerably reliable evidence of the existence of Padmini as a historical personage of flesh and blood, and that Padmini was purely a poetic creation of Jaisi, whose literary genius practised a bluff on credulous chroniclers and the Bhats of Mewar of later times.⁴ But a historical heresy once in possession of man's mind is very hard to kill, and there is no dearth of die-hards in the ranks of modern historians who would cling to the historicity of the Padmini legend desperately.

The latest and most tenacious champion of the historicity of the Padmini legend is my distinguished pupil, Dr. A. L. Srivastava, with whom I have agreed to disagree without bitterness on many a finding of Medieval history. He writes:

". . . arguments of modern scholars (who have rejected the Padmini episode) are based on a superficial reading of Khusrau's work and are fallacious. . . . It seems the women performed *jauhar* after Rana Ratna Singh's arrest, and *then* the Rajputs fell on the invaders and rescued the Rana."⁵

This is not getting at authentic history, but creating a new *history* (?) altogether. How many absurdities are packed up in one sentence? It gives a lie to the whole trend of Rajput history, and to the character of Alauddin Khalji who was treacherous, but not foolish, and from whose clutches no important victim had ever escaped alive. What could have been the meaning of rescuing Ratna Singh and for whom, if Padmini with the families of Rajput warriors had already burnt herself to death? Dr. Srivastava has similarly pushed himself into a tight corner by too startling and confident a guess:

". . . . Jaisi wrote out a romance, the plot of which is derived from *Khazain-ul-Futuh* . . . the story that Padmini was coveted by Alauddin and was shown in a mirror to the lustful Sultan . . . is probably based on historical truth . . ."⁶

Let us turn to the works of Amir Khusrau.

(3)

Amir Khusrau, the Parrot of Hindustan, was himself present with the besieging army of

2. *Ibid.*, ii, 494-95.

3. *Ibid.*, ii, 491.

4. *Prabasi*, Falgun, 1337, B.E.

5. *The Sultanate of Delhi*, 238.

6. *Ibid.*, 236-238.

Alauddin at Chitor. He wrote two *bona fide* histories of Alauddin's reign; namely, *Tarikh-i-Alai* and *Khazain-ul-Futuh*. Both the works are available in English translation. *Tarikh-i-Alai* is evidently earlier in date and written in a comparatively sober style; whereas *Khazain-ul-Futuh* is an artificial embellishment in a grandiloquent style containing, however, more facts about Alauddin's buildings, etc. *Tarikh-i-Alai* gives us the date of the Sultan's departure from Delhi, brave sorties of the Rajputs, date of the fall of Chitor (August 26, 1303), escape of the Rai and his eventual submission. It should be remembered that Amir Khusrau though an eye-witness, does not give us an account of daily events, but only a summary of all the incidents relating to Chitor and the Rajputs of Mewar till the end of Alauddin's reign in a single passage. *Khazain-ul-Futuh* gives us the same facts in a more involved style, regarding the siege of Chitor. In the course of his English translation of *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, Professor Muhammad Habib of Aligarh threw a guarded hint that the insertion of the Qur'anic allusion to Hudhud, the legendary bird who served Hazrat Sulaiman Nabi as the captain of birds of the sky, and had once been absent to bring to Sulaiman the news of the beautiful queen of Sheba, to which the poet compares himself to fit in with his praise of Alauddin as "the Solomon of his Age"—perhaps alludes to Padmini by a metaphor. This is, however, the limit of literary criticism.⁷

The next nearest contemporary historians are Ziauddin Barani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, and Isami, who wrote *Futuh-us-Salatin* in verse in the Bahmani court of Gulbarga. Barani does not make any reference to Padmini,

nor add anything to the facts mentioned by Khusrau. Nor do we find any mention or hint in Isami's history in verse about Alauddin's infatuation for any lady of Rajputana. He mentions eight months, in place of six months of Khusrau as the duration of the siege of Chitor. If it is argued that Amir Khusrau could not be expected to mention Alauddin's lust for Padmini, a flattering courtier as he was, the same argument does not hold water in the case of Barani and Isami, who could have no earthly motive in hiding such a sensational topic. If our masters failed to discover any history behind Hudhud in the rhapsody of Amir Khusrau, we at this distance of time cannot make ourselves ridiculous by making Solomon's Hudhud yield a Padmini for Alauddin and Ratansen. As regards Khusrau's statement, "the Rai fled and afterwards surrendered himself", we have it from Rajput sources that this Rai could not have been Ratansen, the alleged husband of the non-existent Padmini, but some one else of the Sisodia family. This prince was Ajaysi, son of Chitor's defender Lakhamsi. He was wounded in the last fight with his brother Anantsi. Ajaysi became the Rana of his ancestral fief of Sisode. This might be due to Ajaysi's submission to Alauddin.⁸

About half-a-century after Jaisi's *Padmavat*, Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, writes, "Sultan Alauddin Khalji, ruler of Delhi, heard that Rawal Ratansi, chief of Mewar, possessed a most beautiful woman (*Padmini-i-darad*, i.e., a woman of the Padmini class)".⁹ This mention of a woman of Padmini class in the harem of Rawal Ratansi by Abul Fazl is a landmark of the wide and sweeping publicity of Jaisi's *Padmavat*, which had already begun to assume the authority of a historical romance in Rajputana. It is clear that the Bhats took the clue of Padmini and Ratansen from Jaisi's *Padmavat*, and supplied information to the Delhi Secretariat for the use of the royal historiographer. Abul Fazl's notice of the Subahs of the Mughal Empire is

8. Ojha : *Rajputane-ka-Itihas*, ii, 512.

7. In deference to my esteemed elderly friend Professor Habib, and my own pupil Dr. Srivastava, I have consulted a MS. of *Khazain-ul-Futuh* in the Lucknow University Library. I did not trust my own knowledge of Persian against theirs, and so read the passage with the best masters of Persian available in Lucknow. I referred also the relevant passage to Professor Wahid Mirza, Head of the Department of Arabic, Lucknow University, who has made a specialised study of Khusrau's works. Professor Wahid Mirza wrote to me in reply : " . . . the question to be decided is whether it contains a veiled hint to Padmini. I am inclined to think that the presumption is unwarranted. . . . As a matter of fact I have failed to find any allusion to Padmini not only in this description of the conquest of Chitor, but in any composition prose or verse by Khusrau" (Letter, 18-1-56). This should, I hope, stop any further controversy over Padmini under the shadow of Hudhud.

9. *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 269. Jarret has made here a correct translation of the word, *Padmini-i*, which, may however, disappoint a student of *Kamashastras*. According to the *Kamashastra*, *Padmini* is one of the four categories of women, the other three in order of merit being *chitrini*, *sankhini* and *hastini*. This passage cannot be twisted to yield "a wife of the name Padmini" without making it un-Persian; because *Padmini-e-darad* is as good as *Irqi-e-darad* (so and so possessed an Iraqi horse). We shall notice later the use of *Padmini* in this sense in Rajput ballads, and *khyats*.

much less historical than the old district gazetteers of British India, though prepared in the same way¹⁰

Abul Fazl's worthy contemporary Nizamuddin Ahmed, was of too austere a type of historians to indulge in rhetoric and unhistorical romance. He dismisses Alauddin's conquest of Chitor in one sentence without taking cognizance of Abul Fazl's statement in the *Ain*. We are helpless against the stubborn logic of those who would argue that if Mir Qasim and Gurgin Khan were historical personages, where is the proof that Bankim Chandra's Dalani Begum was not?

(4)

Ferishta, a younger contemporary of Abul Fazl, was a much-travelled man gathering the then current popular stories to supplement history. He seemed to have had visited Rajputana, where he picked up confused stories about Alauddin's siege of Chitor. He writes:

"...At this time (704 A.H. | 1304 A.D.) Rajah Ratansen of Chitor,—who had been in captivity since the capture of his fort by the Sultan—fled away by a strange device. Alauddin having heard of the graces and unique beauty of a daughter of the Rajah, promised to set him free, if he would give that daughter to him. The Rajah under cruel torture in the prison sent for his daughter for surrendering her to the Sultan. The kinsman of the Rajah decided to administer poison to the princess for the sake of honour of their family, when they heard of this insulting proposal. The princess hit upon a plan to rescue her father and save her honour... (Here follows the doli story as given in Jaisi's *Padmavat*) ... The Rajah escaped from the town (Delhi) with his companions, and fled into his hill country, where his relations had been hiding. Thus the device of the resourceful princess got the Rajah out of his captivity. The Rajah at once began ravaging the tract of country in the possession of Muslims. Eventually the Sultan having found it futile to hold Chitor ordered Khizr Khan to evacuate Chitor and hand it over to the Rajah's nephew."¹¹

10. After Jaisi's *Padmavat* written in the reign of Sher Shah (1540 A.D.) Hissain Ghaznavi wrote a Persian poem, *Kissa-i-Padmavat*, and Rai Govind Murshid narrated the story of Padmavati in Persian prose (1595 A.D.). This shows that the story of *Padmavat* was already too well-known to be missed by Abul Fazl, who cannot, therefore, be taken as an independent authority for the legend.

11. Briggs, i, 262-63 (Italics are mine).

Ojha in his comment on this passage of Ferishta says that on comparing the story of *Padmavat* with Ferishta's narrative, it becomes clear that it is based on the story of *Padmavat*, and that Ferishta has given it a historical character, by making some additions and alterations; e.g., Padmini is spoken of as daughter in the place of wife of the Rajah.¹² But this passage should not have been so summarily dealt with by the veteran historian. In all fairness and courtesy to an eminent medieval chronicler though uncritical, it is only reasonable to hold that Ferishta has not *invented* anything, and that he has honestly reproduced the story as narrated to him by his informants in Rajputana, where gossips and facts in the melting pot seem to have been still in a fluid state.

It is to be noted that Ferishta does not mention Padmini by name either as wife or daughter, though the rest of the story down to the Rajah's escape is taken from *Padmavat*. We also owe to the historian to account for his "additions and alterations" and trace their possible sources. And this lands us into a digression into the story of Alauddin's earlier conquest of Ranthambhor and the poetic legend of Hammirdev Chauhan's fictitious daughter, Devala Devi.

(5)

Two years before the siege of Chitor, the fort of Ranthambhor, fell to the arms of Alauddin after a long siege (1301). The heroic defence of Ranthambhor by Hammir Chauhan, inspired two pseudo-historical poems, *Hammir Raso* (in Hindi) and *Hammir Mahakavyam* by Nayachandra Suri (cir 1336 A.D.). These were written within forty years of the fall of Ranthambhor, and they furnish best examples how rapidly history was smothered under the multi-coloured weeds of poetic fancy, and of the Hindu tendency to cut their own nose to spite the Muslim. According to these two works, almost identical in substance, Alauddin demanded in marriage Hammir's daughter, Devala Devi, for his son Khizr Khan. To save her father's kingdom from inevitable ruin, the heroic princess appealed to her father to sacrifice one daughter and "hand her over to the Saka ruler" (*Sakendra pradehi mam*). At this Hammir's wrath flared up; the warriors wore the *kesariya*, and the fire of *jauhar* consumed women and children within the fort.

But what might be the real cause of

12. Ojha; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 493.

Alauddin's attack on Ranthambhor? *Hammir Raso* says that Alauddin sent an envoy named Muhallan to Hammir with this insulting message. A Muslim envoy went, no doubt to Ranthambhor as we learn from a fairly contemporary Muslim historian, Isami. But this envoy was sent not by Alauddin but by his general Ulugh Khan, who demanded in a letter the surrender of two rebellious Mongol chiefs, and not any princess. Ulugh Khan wrote to Hammir that as he counted the Rai among one of his well-wishers, it was not proper that he should harbour the Mongol rebels who ought to be expelled from the Raja's territory. Hammir held a consultation with his *wazir*, and sent a reply to Ulugh Khan in polite language saying that it was impossible for him to surrender the Mongol chiefs, who for fear of life had sought refuge with him.¹³ There is not a single Indo-Persian chronicle, written within four hundred years of Alauddin's conquest of Ranthambhor in which a daughter of Hammir figures as the cause of quarrel, though Ziauddin Barani puts such courage and self-sacrifice by a Bhatti princess of the Punjab, whom Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq sought a bride for his brother Rajjab, father of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Thus it stands to reason for treating Devala Devi, a daughter of Hammir Chauhan as a creation of pure literary imagination innocent of history.¹⁴ If Rajput fancy could create Devala Devi within forty years of the fall of Ranthambhor, it is no wonder that in far-off Awadh, Jaisi created a Padmini for Ratansen, one hundred and thirty seven years after Alauddin's sack of Chitor. So it appears that by the time of Ferishta, the Rajput tradition took the beginning of the legend of Padmini from *Hammir Raso*, its middle portion of *doli* story from *Padmavat*, and the concluding portion from some *khyat* about

Ajaysi (son of Chitor's brave defender Lakhamsi), whom Ferishta has confused with Ratansen, "The nephew of the Rajah," mentioned by Ferishta was Maldev Sonigara (brother of Kanhar Dev of Jalor; *Nainsi*), who was the "sister's son" of the ruler of Mewar.

It is to be noted that Tod has mentioned Padmini as the *daughter* of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon, on the authority of the Bhats of Mewar. In popular ballads, Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor figures as a haughty warrior, implacable and uncompromising where honour was concerned as the saying goes:

Tiriya tel Hammir haih na chare duj var.

So it is evident that Hammir, a popular hero, displace Jaisi's fictitious king, Gandharvasen, father of an equally fictitious queen Padmini by the time Tod wrote his history. At any rate, the variants of the story of Alauddin's sack of Chitor in the works of two historians, Abul Fazl and Ferishta, who wrote about the same time, point to the fact that the Padmini legend had not crystallised in Mewar, and that two poetic heresies remained strangely confused in popular memory till the end of the sixteenth century. We need not follow Muslim chronicles beyond the time of Ferishta, in search of the historicity of Padmini.

(6)

Now the question is what about Ratansen? He presents another difficulty. History and legend reveal not one Ratan but four Ratansens converging on Mewar's brave fight against Alauddin's imperialism. These are:

- i. Ratna Singh (Ratansi), son of Rawal Samar Singh (Kumbhalgarh Inscription).
- ii. Ratansen, son of Chitrassen and husband of Padmini (Jaisi's *Padmavat*).
- iii. Ratna, son of Khem of Dhundher tribe (who gave the name of Dhundher to the tract, now known as Jaipur territory). He died fighting in defence of the lower town of Chitor, along with Bhim Singh of the fief of Sisode and grandfather of Bhar Lakhamsi (*vide* Ojha, ii, 473, 478).
- iv. Ratna Singh (son of Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor), who was given shelter at Chitor by Bhar Lakhamsi (Lakshman or Lakshita Singh). *This was the real cause of Alauddin's attack on Chitor* (*vide* Surajmal's *Vamsabhaskar*, ii, 1686).

It is evident that the Bhats of Mewar found Jaisi's Chitrassen, father of Padmini's husband Ratansen, as inconvenient for the genealogy of the rulers of Mewar, and they had forgotten the parentage of all other Ratansens. So in their memory, all the four Ratansens became merged

13. *Futuh-us-Salat*, Persian text, 261-64.

14. In a paper contributed by me to the Journal of *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* several years back, I discussed the historicity of Amir Khusrau's Deval Rani. All the views on Deval Rani have been summarised and subjected to scrutiny by Sri K. M. Munshi (*Glory that was Gurjaradesha*, Part II, Appendix VIII). I reached the same conclusion independently as that of Babu Jagan Lal Gupta, who in a luminous and well-documented paper in Hindi appended to the Persian text of *Deval Rani: wa Khizir Khan*; namely, that Deval Rani is altogether a fictitious character.

Samyogita, the Lady of Qanauj, in Chand Ba-dai's *Prithviraj Raso* may soon find the same fate as Padmini and Deval Devi at the hands of historians, whom poets dread as herd of wild elephants sporting havoc with a lotus in the pond of poetry!

into one Ratansen only. They tagged on the second half of the story of the *Padmavat* to their own tale, and gave new fathers one each to Padmini and Ratansen of Jaisi. Thus, Padmini became the daughter of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon and Ratansen was given Ajaysi, son of Lakhamsi, as his father, though Ajaysi was born several years after Ratna Singh, son of Samar Singh, the ruler of Chitor.

About fifty years after Ferishta, Muhnot Nainsi began collecting materials for a grand history of the Rajputs. He was in the service of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and served in the Deccan against Shivaji. Mainsi writes :

"Ratansi, son of Ajaysi and brother of Bhar Lakhamsi, died in the affair of Padmini (*Padmini ke manle*) by fighting with Alauddin. In fact the Badshah had once marched away from Chitor. But Ratansi, son of Lakhamsi, called him back from Pur (a parganah of Chitor). Twelve sons of Lakhamsi led sallies from the fort by turn. *Jauhar* took place on the thirteenth day. Lakhamsi, Ratansi and Karan Singh descended from the fort and died fighting valiantly"

This bundle of confusion about two Ratan Singhs gives us definitely one important fact, viz., one Ratan Singh, who was not surely a son of Lakhamsi, was in the fortress of Chitor, pretty long after the other Ratansi, who had

15. *Vide* Nainsi's *Khyat*, i, 21 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha translation). Here is a confusion enough to confound the historian. The learned annotator of Nainsi's *Khyat* takes it for granted that Ratan Singh in this passage means Ratna Singh, son of Rawal Samarsi. But the express qualifying phrase, *Bhar Lakhamsi ka bhai*, goes against such assumption. Ajaysi, whom the annotator identifies with Ajaysi, son of Lakhamsi, might be a mistake for Jaisi, who was on the authority of Ojha, the father of Lakhamsi.

How is it true that in the same passage occur two Ratans, one as brother and another as the son of Chitor's defender, Lakhamsi? Who might be this Ratansi, son of Lakhamsi, who is said to have brought back Alauddin from Pur, and why? It is surely not to give Alauddin a glimpse of Padmini. If he were a traitor, why should he again fight and die along with Lakhamsi?

Two Ratan Singhs, were, in fact, involved in the siege of Chitor, one having been the son of Samarsi, the other, a son of Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor. Hammir at the last stage of the siege of Ranthambhor had sent away one of his sons, Ratna Singh, to take shelter in Chitor. This induced Alauddin to turn against Chitor, two years after its capture. This second Ratan Singh, son of Hammir died in the last attack on Alauddin's army before Chitor, according to one version of the bardic source. (see *Vamsabhasakar*, ii, 1695).

died "in the affair of Padmini." A clue to this second Ratan Singh is afforded by the account of the siege of Chitor by Alauddin, in the work of the Bundi poet Surajmal Mishan, who wrote his stupendous history, the *Vamsabhasakar*, within twenty years of the publication of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and about twenty years before Kaviraj Shyamaldasji, the author of the well-known Mewar history, *Vir Vinod*. Surajmal is the first historian, who totally rejected the Padmini legend, sixty years before Vincent Smith suspected its authenticity, though Shyamaldasji and M. M. Ojha with strange consistency chose to cling to the shadow of this charming piece of falsehood.

The author of *Vamsabhasakar* says that Lakhamsi prepared for war and made up his mind, "to sacrifice his kingdom and life for the sake of him, whom he had given shelter." We learn further from the same authority that Alauddin, enraged by this hostile act of the ruler of Chitor, ravaged the country and stopped supplies to the fort, the afflicted people raised the cry of lamentation at which some of the soldiers within the fort pressed the Rana hard to surrender Ratna Singh, son of Hammir of Ranthambhor.¹⁰ But *Dharma* was dearer than life and *bhum* to a true Rajput. Lakhamsi died according to this authority, with twelve sons, eight brothers, two grandsons, and two other heroes, Hinglu Hada (Ahada?) and Ballan. About the fate of Ratan Singh, son of Hammir, Surajmal says, "Some say that the son of Hammir was sent away to some distant place (*kaddi kahun dur*); some say that he died fighting heroically in the company of the Rana and his relations."

(7)

Apart from Alauddin's general scheme of conquest and aggressive imperialism, we find in the story of the fight of a son of Hammir, indirectly supported by the testimony of Muslim chronicles, a plausible cause of Alauddin's in-

16. *Hammir Raso* of Jodhraj (Third edition, Nagari Pracharini Sabha) says that on the eve of his last fight with Alauddin, Hammir sent away his trusted lieutenant Chaturang with five thousand troopers, to escort his only surviving son, Ratan, to Chitor; two others having already died in battle.

At any rate, the flight of Ratan, son of Hammir, is an unassailable historical fact. We get a hint about it from the brave Mongol Chief's defiant reply to Alauddin before Ranthambhor that even if the Sultan would spare his life he would die fighting for Hammir's son (Barani).

vasion of Chitor, in pursuit of a political fugitive. The very fact that Surajmal gives all that he had read or heard about Ratna Singh, son of Hammir, indicates his rare intellectual honesty. It is too much to presume that Surajmal was unacquainted with the story of Padmini, which though an exotic growth had taken deep root in the soil of Rajputana, centuries before him. Besides, there is ample evidence to show that Surajmal was acquainted with Tod's Annals. So Surajmal's rejection of the Padmini legend is very deliberate, and significant too. M. M. Ojha has simply side-tracked Surajmal's version of the Chitor affair, which even, if incorrect ought to have been noticed by him for refutation.¹⁷ Surajmal, though incorrect in many details, has made one positive contribution to the episode of Alauddin's invasion of Chitor, namely, the flight of Hammir's son for shelter; whereas the contribution of Ojha has only a negative value in the form of a luminous criticism that has evaporated everything about Jaisi's *Padmavat* except Padmini and Ratansen. Ojha has cautiously confined himself to more reliable Persian sources, which do not give any positive ground for Alauddin's wrath against Mewar except its independence. So he had to tolerate the existence of Padmini to explain the episode; and this is on no better authority than a mere popular tradition about Padmini's palace and tank, which itself had originated with the growing popularity of Jaisi's poem in Rajputana. The great historian admits that Jaisi's *Padmavat*

was a poem of Sufi mystical allegory, in which Padmini stands for Human Intelligence (*buddhi*), and yet he believes that she was perhaps a queen of Rawal Ratansi, son of Samarsi.

(8)

Though the foregoing historical criticism may have shaken the faith of a few about Jaisi's Padmini having been ever a mortal of flesh and blood in the seraglio of Chitor, it will not at any rate satisfy a type of intellectuals under the powerful spell of Jaisi's poetic genius. Poets and novelists take out an ounce of history, to manufacture a pound of lifegiving elixir for our society; by their creative genius, against which the narrative genius of the historian, contend in vain for ascendancy over man's mind. In Ancient India, the Spirit of History assumed the ascetic garb of religion and morals, or a guise of political philosophy; in the middle ages that of royal scarlet of horror and woe rendered picturesque by the jewelled hems of love and loyalty strung with romance and legend remote from facts; in modern times only it has descended on *bona fide* edifice of History. In all ages and in every clime legend swelled by swallowing up distorted facts and gave birth to poetry of the Heroic Age; and poems like those of Homer created History for succeeding generations of childish curiosity and credulity.

It is within the range of experience of archaeologists that those who go in for collecting local tradition are themselves responsible for creating more legends in the very locality for subsequent visitors. The historicity or otherwise of the Padmini legend, therefore, hinges on the controversy whether Jaisi really picked up some older legend current in his time somewhere in India, or is it that Jaisi's own knowledge of history and poetic genius made his love-epic of Sufistic mysticism, *Padmavat*, the fountain-spring of the Padmini legend of later generations with whom it became serious history.

Pandit Ramchandra Shuklaji in a very learned literary criticism of Jaisi's *Padmavat* comes to the conclusion that the first half of the story is pure imagination; but the second half, viz., from the Brahman traitor Raghav's arrival in Delhi down to Padmini's self-immolation, is based on historical facts. His authorities are some of those that we have already discussed and dismissed. But Shuklaji, too, is perturbed

17. Ojha has been uncharitable to Surajmal Mishan. He says, "Surajmal was a good poet, but not a scholar of history. So he has in that work taken ancient history from the Khyats of the Bhatas." (*Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 558, fn. 2).

This is no fault but a positive merit of Surajmal's work as a store-house of bardic tales, which now one can subject to scrutiny. Tod himself drew as freely from the *Khyats*, and that is no reason to denounce his work as unworthy of notice by future historians. Dr. M. L. Sharma, the author of *Bundirajya ka Itihas*, has appraised the worth of Surajmal's work correctly, because he cared to read it. Surajmal might be incorrect in many details; but he has given us at least one important fact from Rajput sources about the real cause of Alauddin's wrath against Chitor, i.e., the flight of Hammir's son; whereas Ojha has cautiously confined himself to Persian sources and failed to discover any positive ground for Alauddin's invasion. It is curious that Ojha has been at pains to dispute with Surajmal that a minor character Hinglu was not a Hada but a Ahada Guhilot hailing from Ahad in Dungarpur, and he died a century after Alauddin's capture of Chitor, and yet he did not care to test critically the incident of the flight of Hammir's son.

over Simhala (Ceylon), the traditional abode of demons and dark-skinned people, where a beauty like Padmini could not possibly be born. "If we accept, Simhala as correct," says Shuklaji, "this must be some place in Rajputana."¹⁸ His hint has seriously been taken up by some of the *Charans* and young scholars of Rajputana, and they have at last come upon the historic site of Pugal in the Rajputana desert as the birth-place of Padmini, saying that Pugal changed into Simhala in popular tradition of later times! But where is Padmini herself? We ourselves have come across more than one woman of the *Padmini* category in *geets* and *khyats*, but none bearing a personal name of Padmini to square with the heroine of Jaisi's *Padmavat*.¹⁹ Similarly, Ratar Sen and Chitor have been discovered outside Rajputana and nearer the abode of Jaisi in Awarh. Prof. R. C. Majumdar has brought to light a Sanskrit manuscript, *Ratansenakulavali*, according to which Ratan Sen of Chitaur fought many a battle with the Muslims, and his son, Naga Sena became the Raja of Prayag (Allahabad). Naga Sena defied the authority of the ruler of Delhi. Naga Sen's son Totha Rai, out of fear fled to Riddhikota, in the Nepal territory.

This "Chitaur" could not be the famous Mewar capital in Rajputana, but a place somewhere near Allahabad. The official name of Mewar's capital was also Chitrakut, and an equally well-known Chitrakut is there in the Banda district of U.P., the latter having been apparently "Chitaur" of this *pothi*.

Ramchandra Shuklaji further contends that in Northern India the story of Padmini Rani and Hiranman (parrot) is narrated in the countryside almost in the same form in which Jaisi has cast it; and that as Jaisi knew history, he has given such names as Ratansen, Alauddin, etc. But where is the proof that its story had its origin earlier than the time of Jaisi? In East Bengal every villager, Hindu or Muslim, knows much more about Alauddin, Padmini and Hiranman Parrot than his counterpart, anywhere

in India. If we did not know that this was no old legend, but one picked up from the highly popular *Padyabati Pothi* of the Bengali poet Alawal of the Arakan Court, where he translated *Padmavat* into Bengali in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, we might as well argue that Jaisi had travelled to Bengal, the land of mysticism and magic, where he must have picked up the essentials of his famous poem! It is Jaisi's poem that gave birth to such stories everywhere, and not *vice versa* as Shuklaji argues. Another argument of Shuklaji is that Jaisi knew the story of Alauddin very well, and as such Padmini cannot be a fiction. We may also add that no Muslim before Jaisi had known the Rajput and Rajputana better. And yet it is exactly here that the trouble lay in store for us. Had not Jaisi given us more than the usual proportion of fact and fiction to make a poem or a novel, "historical," we would have taken Jaisi on his own word that his poem was no history, but at best a story (*kahani*) wholly allegorical. It is common knowledge that one who knows history can only spring a surprise on unwary students of history, and herein lies the skill of a Scott or of Bankim Chandra and Rakhaldas Banerji in our country.

A wild goose chase through literature and history for Padmini Rani betrays only a lack of humour and promises no better results than a search by ardent Sanskritists for Chandragupta Maurya's mother, Mura, born thirteen centuries after in the commentary of Dundiraj.

Jaisi wrote "to amuse the young and old, but to enlighten the wise!" We have nevertheless allowed ourselves to be befuddled for full four centuries. Let us now heed the warning of Jaisi, who foresaw such a plight for us. We have no reason to believe otherwise, and so "Padmini is Intelligence, the offspring of our heart's heart," whose charms and mysteries are so alluring as those of the landscape of Simhala (not Ceylon). But Padmini has proved a *Maya* (illusion) to modern historians. The poet has summed up the only unassailable historical fact about his poem at the close of the narrative:

*Jauhar bhoyi sab istiri, purush bhaye sangram;
Badshah garh chura, Chitaur bha Islam.*

[i.e., Women burnt themselves in the fire of Jauhar, men perished in battle. The Badshah sacked the fort, and Chitor became Islam.]

¹⁸ Introduction, 34-31 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Banaras).

¹⁹ To quote only two: i. *Pingala-putri padmini, Maravani tini man* (i.e., A Padmini, daughter of Pingal the ruler of Pugal), whose name was Maravani (*Dhola Maru ka Duha*, text, 2). ii. "With a *padmini* woman the marriage of Khut, son of Nagahi (Mata), took place" (Nainsi's *Khyat*, ii, 248).

HOUSING IN INDIA

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THE Indian Nation dwells in cottages. According to 1951 Census there are 558,089 villages, and the average population per village is 529. The number of occupied houses in the villages is 451 lakhs so that each village on an average comprises 97 occupied houses and each rural household on an average consists of 5.5 persons. In contrast to this the total number of towns is 3,108 with an average population of 20,510 persons per town. The number of occupied houses in the towns is 103 lakhs so that each town on an average comprises 3,413 occupied houses, and each urban household on an average consists of 6 persons.

The average population per house was 4.9 in 1911 as against 5.2 in 1901, 5.4 in 1891 and 5.8 in 1881* and 4.9 in 1921 (1921 Census, p. 46) and 5.0 in 1931² and 5.5 in 1951. The average number of houses per sq. mile was 21.7 in 1881, 33.9 in 1891, 31.6 in 1901 and 35.8 in 1911, 36.1 in 1921, 39.3 in 1931, and 50.8 in 1951. The following Table gives the number of persons living per house :

*Persons Per House in different Provinces**

Provinces	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951.
Assam	5.5	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.9	
Bengal	6.3	5.2	5.2	5.3	5.1	4.7	
Bihar	6.4	5.7	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.2	
Bombay	5.6	5.4	5.1	4.9	4.9	5.1	
M. P.	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.0	
U. P.	5.4	5.7	5.5	4.6	4.6	4.8	
M. B.	5.5	5.2	5.1	4.6	4.5	4.6	
Madras	..	5.3	5.4	5.3	5.1	5.1	
Punjab	..	6.6	6.2	4.5	4.5	4.8	

The following Table gives the average number of persons living in each house both in urban and rural areas:⁴

Average No. of persons per occupied house

Zones	Rural	Urban	Total
North India	6.0	8.0	6.3
East India	5.3	4.5	5.3
South India	5.5	7.0	5.8
West India	5.4	6.0	5.5
Central India	5.5	8.0	5.2
N.-W. India	6.7	7.0	6.8
<i>All India</i>	5.4	6.1	5.5

It is estimated that of the 541 lakhs occupied houses in India's villages, not more than 2 per cent are *pukka* or brick-built houses, and not more than 7 per cent are well-built *kutchcha* houses, namely, houses with walls of mud, wood, or bamboo-matting, roofs of thatch, tiles, or corrugated iron sheeting and with doors and windows of some kind or other. The rest are just huts, hovels, or shacks, hardly deserving the term *houses*. The vast majority of these hovels are ramshackle one-room affairs, with low ceiling barely permitting an adult to stand erect, and with floor areas of anything between 80 and 120 sq. feet. Their only opening is usually a doorway so low that you cannot enter without stooping, and there are no windows or other apertures to admit light and air. Even the doorway is often covered up with a piece of matting or screen to secure privacy and protection.

On an average, four to five persons live in each of these hovels. They are born there; they eat, live and sleep there and they die there. All their personal belongings usually consisting of a few pieces of rags which serve as clothing, a mat or a cot to sleep on, and a few earthenware cooking utensils and perhaps one or two brass vessels are also kept there. Bathrooms are unknown, although the average Indian villager habitually, and as part of his religious practice, takes a daily bath at the village well or in any nearby pond, spring, river or waterway. A tiny tinshed in the yard or a covered recess on the outside wall of the hut usually serves as a kitchen, though in cold and rainy

1. *Census of India, 1911, Vol. I, Part I, p. 47.*

2. *Ibid.*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 37.

3. *Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 33;*

Ibid for 1921, p. 62; *Ibid* for 1931, p. 37.

4. Calculated from the figures given in the Census of India paper No. 3 (1953)—Summary of Demographic & Economic data—1951 Census, pp. 8-9.

weather cooking may have to be done inside the huts. Latrines and privies are a luxury, reserved for the well-to-do, while for the vast majority of the population, the fields and the wide open space take care of the daily necessities. The lack of running water offers a formidable obstacle to any desire for "family planning" on the basis of contraceptive technique.

Housing conditions are very unsatisfactory in villages in large parts of India, especially in regions where there is high rural density. In rural areas, the usual type of houses has a court-yard but no windows. The material used for construction is mud with a thatched or occasionally tiled roof. A separate latrine for a house is rare. Food is usually prepared and eaten in the court-yard, occasionally a room may be set aside as the kitchen. It is a common practice for the villagers to permit cattle, goats and other domestic animals to share the available living space in the house with human beings. The villages are scattered over a wide area and communication between houses is often very difficult. Indeed, many houses are completely isolated for long periods during the monsoon.

In the East Punjab, where the standard of farming and living is the highest in Northern India, the mud huts of the peasants show a terrible congestion. Such huts are "low-roofed, windowless, airless and miserable abodes." Dr. Lucas remarks:

"Of course for nine months of the year the entire family practically live out of doors and the houses are used only as store-rooms and shelters in case of storm. In the winter nights of December to February they are so ill-clad that a closely-shut mud box is their chief protection against the bitter cold."

In the villages in the eastern districts of U.P., which have been intensely surveyed, the average number of persons living in such mud boxes varies from 8 to 12 and inmates are found to sleep along with cattle and other livestock. In many villages of Oudh, e.g., in Jaunpur, the huts generally consist of only one dingy room with kitchen, dormitory, parlour and in many cases cattle-shed combined.⁵ In the Hatwa village, a hut measuring 7 × 13 × 5 ft. was found to be occupied by five persons and a goat

and the inmates were thin, diseased and dirty.⁶ Similarly, in the village Sheikhdhir (Bahraich), it was found that two bullocks, a fishing tackle and four members of a Guriya caste labour family were packed into a dark and stinky house measuring 14 × 14 × 7 ft.⁷ Too often a village family has for home a dwelling which is scandalously below its needs, besides being leaky and unhealthy.

Again, in the rural areas of Bengal houses are generally built with mud walls or occasionally with bamboo-matting. Windows are provided but they are insufficient in size. Latrines are rarely found. A common feature in the province is the *doba* or tank attached to each house or a group of two or three houses. The villages are scattered over a wide area and communication between houses is often very difficult.⁸ Thus in large parts of Northern India the homesteads are seen to be huddled together at all angles in order to utilize the space as far as possible while the streets are narrow and tortuous and sometimes impassable owing to the collection of refuse-water from the house-drains and the excreta of village cattle. The growth in number of 'city servants and village residents,' and the increase of bovine population have aggravated the effects of congestion in rural areas.

"To many peasants," observes Dr. Mukerjee, "the huts are simply places where one can stretch his legs and sleep in the night, and in several instances the loss of privacy blunts all sense of shame and decency. Men and women, young and old, sometimes may be seen packed together along with cattle and goats in winter, and home, that should radiate noble, social and aesthetic influences, is a den of misery and disease where people breed and die like fruit flies."⁹

In Madras, the houses of the labourers are usually built of mud and has a roof of palmyrah thatch. In front there is a verandah or *pial*, and the interior consists of a single room. The dwelling of the average ryot is also usually built of mud but the roof is thatched with bamboo and straw or is sometimes tiled. The *pial* is raised higher above the ground and the

6. Mathur: *Pressure of Population in Gorakhpur*, p. 48.

7. A. Lorenzo: *Agriculture, Labour and Market Gardening in Oudh*, p. 69.

8. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. I, p. 138.

9. R. K. Mukherjee: *Food Planning for 400 Millions*.

5. B. Misra: *Over-population in Jaunpur*, p. 55.

interior consists of four or five rooms opening on to a verandah which surrounds a small court-yard. One of the rooms is used as a kitchen, one as a store-room for grain and other property and the rest as sleeping apartments. The cattle are also tethered in the court-yard at night, though usually they are lodged under a sloping roof outside the walls of the house. The houses are ill-lighted and ill-ventilated and window openings are either too few and narrow or totally absent. What is reckoned as a house for census purpose is not a house in the sense that it provides the accommodation, floor space and living room reasonably required for its inmates. 90 per cent of the rural houses are unfit for human habitation. The flooring is damp, the walls are deeply indented, light and air practically absent, roofing low and flimsy and in short all the conditions exist which make for sickness and disease.¹⁰

Thus, it will be seen that the existing housing conditions are, generally speaking, extremely unsatisfactory in rural areas. The growth of housing accommodation has not kept pace with the increase in the population and the overcrowding is therefore a common feature. In addition, the requirements of sound hygienic construction have largely been neglected, while the state of insanitation that exists in the towns and the countryside helps to reduce still further the value of home as the place which provides reasonable satisfactory living conditions for the maintenance of the health of its inmates. Proper housing has a profound influence on the health of the people. Specific reference may be made of the three groups of diseases, namely, tuberculosis, venereal diseases and bowel complaints, such as, dysentery, worms and typhoid, the incidence and the spread of which are profoundly affected by the housing conditions of a community.¹¹

The unsatisfactory state of rural dwellings are due to several causes. First, most of the houses are fairly old. Moreover, the new houses are not required to conform to any regulations. Secondly, in many cases the dwellings are too scattered to enable the common services, such as, water supply, drains, electric lights to be

provided on an economic basis. Thirdly, the present state of rural housing seems to be mainly due to the low income level. With the poor income of the agriculturist in general, there is little margin for him to make an adequate outlay on proper housing.

The level of health services is unsatisfactory even in urban areas and the position is much worse in rural areas. The space between the houses is narrow and full of depressions which allow water to stagnate and offers a suitable breeding ground to the bacilli of innumerable diseases. All these contribute towards the regular visitations of malaria after the rains, and cholera and plague during the winters. Sanitary reforms, village planning and housing schemes are practically unknown in the rural parts of the country.

A HOUSING POLICY FOR RURAL INDIA

It is clear that the sanitary and housing conditions of the agricultural workers and the peasants are deplorable, and their improvement is an urgent duty incumbent on the Government. An attempt should, therefore, be made to revive the healthy, beautiful and picturesque village sites of ancient India. This will require the planning of village streets and lanes with reference to the important buildings and village meeting-places; the extension of congested village sites by acquiring land from the landlord on payment of such compensation as is within the means of the villagers; the controlling of the construction of model houses in the interests of public health, safety, adequate lighting, ventilation, repairs and protection against fire; the development of the means of communication to distribute more extensively the population over the country and to bring about a closer contact between agriculture and industry, rural and urban life; the disposal of waste and sewage, and the provision of education, marketing, recreation, etc. This programme will have to be taken up under the supervision of the resident organiser and the Panthayats.

The main factors involved in the promotion of large-scale housing schemes are: (1) the availability of land; (2) the provision of streets, water supply, drainage and other utilities to serve the common purpose; (3) the production of building materials of the required quality at

10. S. Y. Krishnamurthi: *Rural Problem in Madras*, p. 410.

11. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Pt. I, p. 138.

reasonable prices; (4) cost of the execution of the schemes and their maintenance, when completed. A housing programme can only be carried out successfully if the Government, the local authorities and the improvement trusts, and the village panchayats are prepared to enter the field with large-scale housing schemes of their own, and to stimulate the co-operative and building societies and private interests for more satisfactory performances, by financial and technical assistance and the rigid enforcement of better standards. Government and public authorities can perform these functions: (i) The planning, execution and regulation of housing programmes including the participation by local authorities and improvement trusts in house construction and maintenance; (ii) the grant of financial aid by long-term loans at low rates of interest, or grants-in-aid; (iii) the prescription and enforcement of standards; and (iv) the promotion of housing research.

The following are some of the suggestions for improving the housing conditions:

1. Accommodation space and the height of the house according to the size of the family should be fixed. A house has on an average 5 inmates which may be assumed to consist of four adults and one child. At the rate of 100 sq. ft. for each adult member and 60 sq. ft. for each child, the minimum floor space for a dwelling house may be fixed at 460 sq. ft. This will include all occupiable floor-area including verandahs.

2. The minimum floor area in any living or bed room should not be less than 120 sq. ft. The height of these rooms should not be less than 9 feet from floor level. The floor level of the rooms should be generally at least 18 inches above the level of the adjacent street.

3. The health of the inmates of dwelling houses is very much dependent on adequate ventilation of rooms and proper circulation of air within rooms. Thorough ventilation and free passage of air should be ensured in the living and bed-rooms, and as far as possible windows and ventilators should be provided on opposite sides of the rooms. The aggregate area of the openings provided by windows and ventilators should be at least one-sixth of the floor area of each room.

4. A small compound attached to the house is necessary. An independent open bath

and a latrine should be provided at a corner of the compound screened from the view of the living rooms and sufficiently away from the well if the house is to have its own water supply. On one side of the compound may also be erected cattle-shed.

5. The use of single-roomed tenement by a family should be condemned. No house or portion of a house intended for occupation by a family should consist of less than two living rooms with a separate kitchen, a bathroom and a latrine, and in the warmer parts of the country, a verandah. One-room tenement should be restricted for occupation by single persons and should be adequately provided with common kitchen, bath and latrine accommodation.

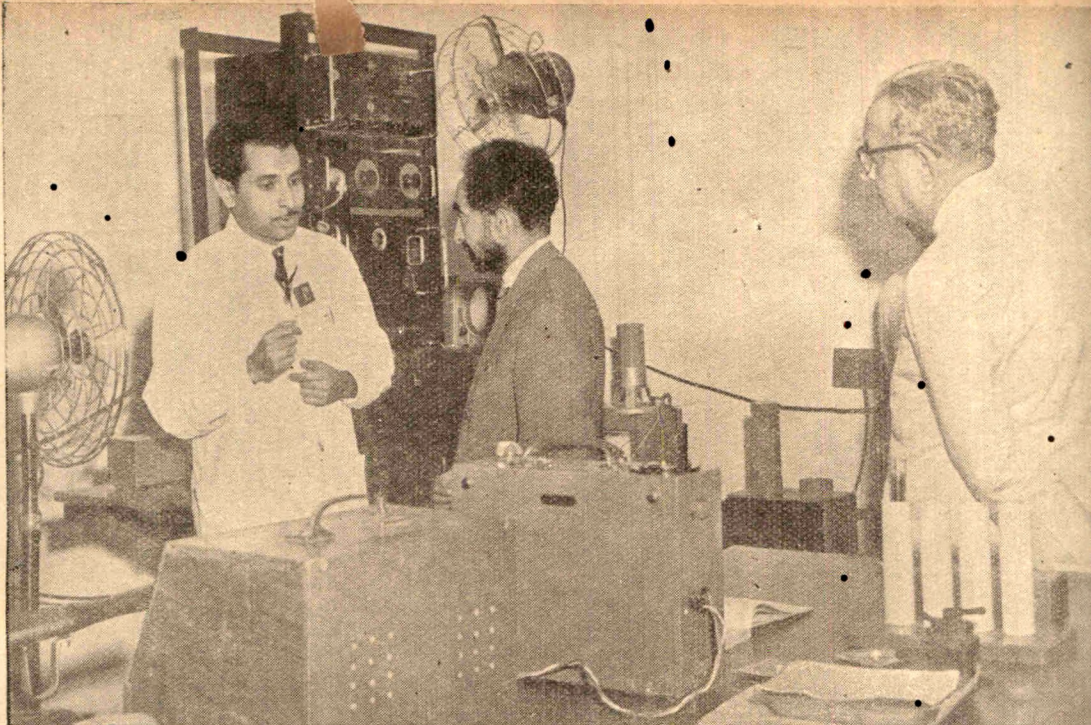
6. The house should be so constructed as to give protection against rain and fire and may be suitable for all seasons. The walls, floors and roofs of houses should be so constructed as to prevent dampness and also provide insulation against the easy transmission of heat, cold and noise. In the designs, as few opportunities as possible should be given for the harbourage of vermins.

7. It is better to have a common protected source of water supply for a group of houses forming the hamlet or village.

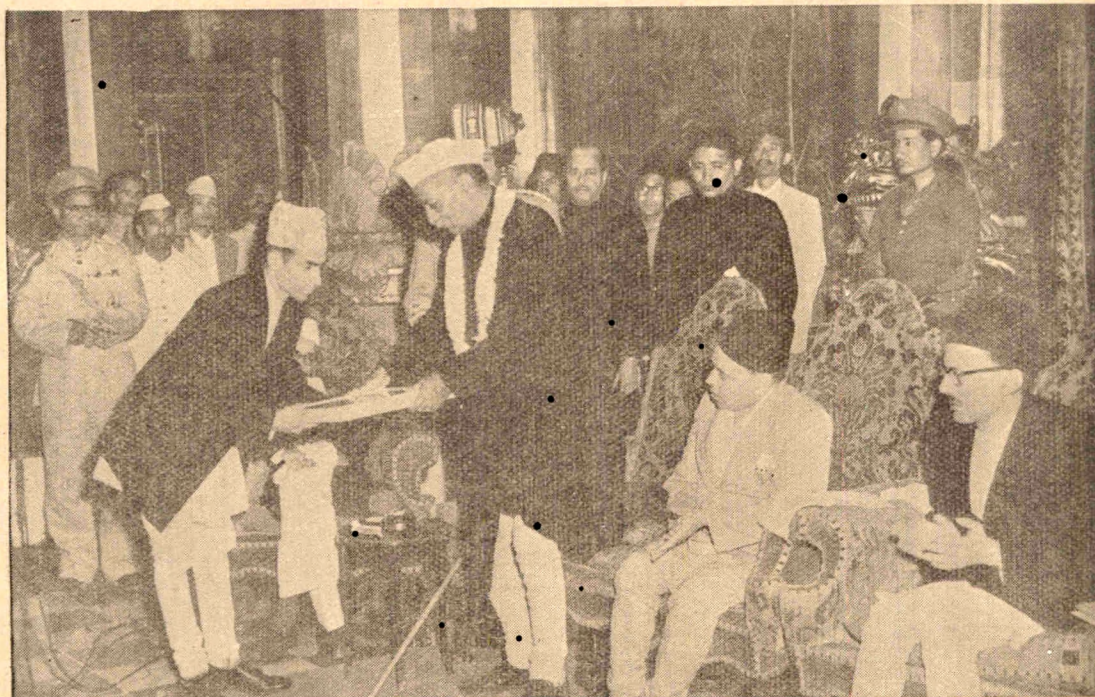
8. Disposal of house drainage will depend on the arrangement for drainage for the particular schemes of housing as a whole. Subject to this, suitable arrangement must be made in each house for leading off all domestic sullage and refuse by the provision of a sanitary type of drain. At a convenient place in the compound, rubbish-bins of suitable size and design should be provided on low masonry platforms about 2 feet by 1½ feet.

9. The Government should also consider the desirability of arranging for mass production of standard fittings for village houses and for their sale to villagers at controlled rates, and if necessary on an instalment basis. Some of the articles suggested are door frames and doors, window frames with bars or expanded metal or wire mesh for protection, fire-places and chimneys, wall-cupboards, planks for shelves, squatting slabs for bore-hole latrines, hand-pumps and ventilators.

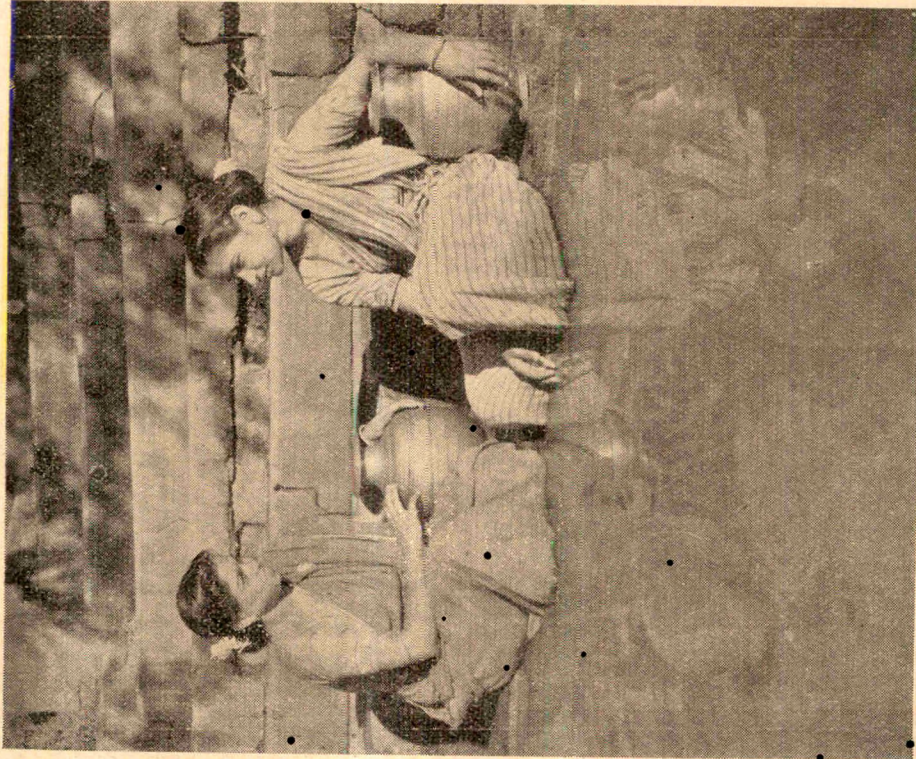
10. The lodging of agricultural workers, whether voluntary workers or those supplied by employers, in the stables or out-houses, should



His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, being explained the working of the radio-activity counting machine at the National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, on October 27, 1956



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, receiving an address of welcome from the Chairman of the Nepal-India Friendship Association at the reception held in his honour at Singh Durbar, Kathmandu, on October 24, 1956



Two friends



Husband and wife

Photos : Ramakinkar Sinha

be prohibited, the degree and nature of the isolation that must be insisted upon being that cattle and men should not sleep together. Further, a tenant should not be ejected from his residential house in the village merely because he has been ejected from his holding in the village.

It must be remembered that no schemes of rural housing will be successful which does not seek the co-operation of the State and the Employers' and Workers' Organisations. In India, in the absence of strong workers' organisations, only State and Co-operative Housing policies can be successful. The All-India Co-operative Planning Committee has recommended that a co-operative housing society may be organised for a group of villages, that after construction the house may be taken over by the society which will be responsible for the collection of rent from the occupier members and that option may be given to them to purchase the houses; that the value may be determined with reference to the local market rates and that payments may be made under the hire-purchase system over a period of 20 to 30 years.

The landless agricultural workers who do not own any land in a village cannot afford to have anything more than huts with mere mud walls and thatched roofs without any help either from the Government or the landlord. The bigger landlords in rural parts must be treated on a par with industrialists of the urban centres and they may be persuaded to make a contribution to the housing of the agricultural workers and other poorer classes of the village community and may be given similar facilities for construction of houses as those given to the industrial labour.

A comprehensive survey of housing conditions at present obtaining in rural areas should be immediately taken up. Such surveys have been made in some of the European countries like U.K., France and Finland. A representative village in specified villages may be chosen for the purpose and an intensive study may be made of the habitable nature of the houses in them. Such a survey will furnish the data necessary to determine (i) how many or what percentage of houses are already in a fit condition, (ii) how many require modelling, and (iii) how many require to be demolished al-

together and rebuilt. A comprehensive view of the magnitude and nature of the problem may be thus obtained. A plan can then be drawn up to tackle the problem in a systematic way having regard to the various aspects which have a bearing on the problem, viz., the agency best suited to execute the plans, the financial implications and the method of financing the operations and so on.

It will be interesting to note that the building of a new farmhouse, as is the belief of rural folk in America, is one of the most important episodes in life, and it should be given long, careful and prayerful study. It should be built in keeping with its surroundings and the tastes and requirements of the people. Therefore, in evolving a Housing Policy of Rural India, we require not only a system of planned housing and zoning of settlements, but the close co-operation of the State and the workers' organisations for the enforcement of protective and constructive measures by legislative enactment.

URBAN HOUSING

In urban areas housing conditions present the most shocking contrast as between the rich and the poor. In the following paragraphs the housing conditions of industrial workers in some important industrial centres are described:

'CHAWLS' OF BOMBAY

In Bombay, the majority of the workers live in *chawls* (blocks of flats erected for the accommodation of a large number of families).

"Many of these *chawls* have tall narrow frontages and extreme depths, with the consequence that the rooms, especially those in the middle and on the ground-floors, are denied both sunshine and air, lavatory arrangements are frequently inadequate and crude, and the air is filled with an indescribable stench. As though this were not sufficient to poison the atmosphere, there is the common practice of throwing all the household rubbish and filth into the gullies. Much of this stagnates, and with the liquid sinking into the soil when the drains are in a bad condition, the net result is better imagined than described. It is to such a life that the worker and his family (if he has one) are condemned. To minimise discomfort the windows of the room opening on the gullies—the only outlets to the open are kept practically always shut. Where the lavatories are not

detached from the main building, of course, nothing can keep out the stench."¹³

Often in one room of these *chawls* measuring 15 ft. by 12 ft., five to six families are found living, preparing their food separately. During night, clothes or sacking are flung on bamboos hung from the ceiling to partition the room for different families. And as the Royal Commission on Labour remarked :

"In the majority of cases these *chawls* are impossible of improvement and therefore fit only for demolition."¹⁴

An enquiry conducted by the Bombay Labour office in 1938 revealed that, of the families covered, 91.24 per cent live in one-room tenements and that the average number of persons residing in each such tenement is 3.84. The approximate floor space available per person and tenement is 26.88 sq. ft. and 103.23 sq. ft. respectively. The average monthly rent is Rs. 6-14-4 for one-room tenements, the figure varying between Rs. 5 and Rs. 9 for 79 per cent of the total number of families. One-room tenements constitute 81 per cent of the total tenements in the city, 74 per cent of the population of which dwell in these tenements.¹⁵

A considerable majority of workers, therefore, live in *chawls* privately owned. Most of these *chawls* are built of cheap material and almost 60 per cent of them have plinth below 1 ft. According to the Bombay Labour Office Enquiry conducted in 1938, the average number of persons per tenement was 4.05. Sometimes more than 10 persons live in one room measuring 12 ft. X 10 ft. Very often more than one family live in one room. The floor is mostly *kutchcha* and the roofing is either of corrugated iron sheet or of country tiles. Generally there is no lighting arrangement. A few *chawls* have common taps and some have tube-wells. Bath-rooms are not provided at all. A large number of *chawls* have not provided for latrines and even where they exist they are in a most insanitary condition. Everywhere rubbish, dirt, stinking water are found, keeping the whole area unhealthy and insanitary.

'BUSTEES' OF CALCUTTA

While in Calcutta one can admire the luxurious buildings around Calcutta, one will be horrified to look at slums known as *bustees* where a considerable majority of the workers live. These *bustees* are constructed by private landlords, often mill-Sirdars. Every available foot of land has been utilised for building huts, dark, damp and leaky. The degree of overcrowding and congestion that can be seen in *bustees* around Calcutta are probably unequalled in any other industrial centre of the country. The huts are mostly *kutchcha* with roofs of thatch, corrugated iron sheets or tiles. The height of these huts is not more than 8 feet. A large number of huts have plinths below the ground level. The size of the room does not exceed 80 sq. ft. and still several families (up to 12 persons) will be found living in one room. The same room serves the purpose of kitchen and store-room. Most of these huts have no windows and even if there is any, it is kept closed to secure privacy. The Administration Report of 1869 of the Corporation of Calcutta described the *bustees* as follows:

"A *bustee* or native village generally consists of a mass of huts constructed without any plan or arrangement, without roads, without drains, ill-ventilated and never cleaned. Most of these villages are the abodes of misery, vice and filth and the nurseries of sickness and disease. In these *bustees* are found green and slimy stagnant ponds, full of putrid vegetable and animal matter in a state of decomposition and whose bubbling surfaces exhale, under a tropical sun, noxious gases, poisoning the atmosphere and spreading around disease and death. These ponds supply the native with water for domestic purposes, and are very often the receptacles of filth. The articles which feed these tanks are the drains that ramify over the village and carry the sewage of the huts into them. Their position is marked by development of rank vegetation. The entrances to these *bustees* are many, but are not easily discoverable, whilst the paths are so narrow and tortuous that it is difficult for a stranger to find his way through them. The huts are huddled together in masses, and pushed to the very edge of the ponds the projecting eaves often meeting one another, whilst the intervening spaces, impervious to the rays of the sun, are converted into urinals and used by both sexes in common. In these huts often live entire families, the members of which occupy the single apartment of which it is not infrequently composed, and in which they feed and sleep together, the wet and spongy floor with a mat spread on it serving as a bed for the whole family."

13. B. Shiva Rao: *Industrial Worker in India* (1929), p. 106.

14. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour* (1931), p. 273.

15. *Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee Final Report* (1940). Vol. II, p. 273.

Though the condition was described three quarters of a century ago, still, it is deplorable, no change has taken place in the condition of these *bustees*.

The quarters built by employers are also mostly unsatisfactory. The houses are built back to back, usually of brick-walls and have either brick-paved or *kutchcha* floor, the roofs are either of beaten *soorki* or asbestos corrugated sheets. Generally these rooms have no windows and are damp, dark and dirty. Such houses are also quite inadequate in number. Recently, however, some employers have constructed quite good houses for their employees. The Birla Jute Mills have a colony providing housing for 43 per cent of the employees. The Hukum Chand Jute Mills have also recently constructed some good flats for their employees. The Bata Works at Batanagar have provided housing for some 4,000 of their employees. There are quarters for bachelors as well as for families. Most of the houses are lighted with electricity and have decent sanitary arrangements. There is also adequate arrangement for water supply.

'AHATAS' OF KANPUR

The Kanpur Labour Inquiry Committee in their report points out:

"Most of the workers have to live in slums locally known as *ahatas*, where small dingy rooms are let out on exorbitant rents. Most of these *ahatas* are extremely insanitary and over-crowded and lack adequate sunshine and ventilation, to say nothing of water, light and conservancy. Quite a number of huts are below the street-level. The condition under which men, women and children in their thousands (about 40,000 souls) live in their *ahatas* are indescribable. The space within each tenement where the worker lives with his family, often numbering eight to ten persons, is smaller than the space we usually have in our bathrooms. An animal, especially if it be a horse or a cow, is given more room than the poor tenant. A night visit to these areas is for a stranger a positively risky undertaking—a sprained ankle is almost a certainty, while a broken neck by stumbling into a blind well or a goodly-sized hole, would not be an impossibility. Even the elementary services of public lighting is denied to these people. As for drainage and water supply, such luxuries are thought to be superfluities. The underground rooms, in which thousands of Kanpur workmen live reminded one of the members of the Committee of the "dug-outs" of France during war-time. While the slum-dwellers

should be somewhat protected from shot and shell in the event of an aerial bombardment, they are but easy victims of those ever-active enemies of mankind, namely, the germ and the bug. These have wrought havoc, especially amongst the ranks of infants, the young and the women. The rate of infant mortality in Kanpur is still appallingly high. The paradox of the situation is that the *ahata*-owner, who has done the least for his tenants, stands to gain the most at the time of acquisition of land either by the Municipality or the Improvement Trust. The entire situation is iniquitous. It should not be permitted to continue a day longer than possible. Little wonder that the so-called agitator in Kanpur has such widespread and wholehearted response from the labouring classes. The wonder is that they have kept silent for so long."

In 1938-39, an official inquiry was conducted which covered in all 1,421 families living in *ahatas*. It was found that 64.6 per cent lived in one-room tenements, 32.3 per cent in two rooms, 3 per cent in three rooms and only one per cent in more than three. The average size of these rooms was 11.4 ft. × 8.5 ft. × 10.2 ft. and the area on an average was 96.9 sq. ft., with a capacity of 988.4 cubic feet. Sanitary conditions were conspicuously absent. All these facts throw a flood of light on housing conditions in Kanpur.

'CHERIES' OF SOUTH INDIA

Worse than the *bustees* in their planless confusion, squalor and insanitation are the *cheries* of such South Indian towns as Madras, Madura, Coimbatore, Tuticorin and Cochin. Where the *panchamas* dwell filth and dirt are even more marked. Each single hut, as in Bengal, is made of mud and thatch or of old kerosine tin plates and the entrance to it is an aperture rather than door. The average size of the hut is here reduced to 8 ft. × 6 ft., and the materials used are flimsier than those used in Northern India, yielding more easily to rain and storm which are frequent. Inside each hut, complete darkness reigns supreme even in daytime, while there is overcrowding of the worst kind. Mahatma Gandhi's description of the *cheries* of Madura may be given here:

"One *cheri* I visited is surrounded by water and drains on all sides. In the rainy season, it must be a place unfit for human habitation. Another thing is, it is below the road-level and all these places are flooded during rains. The cottages in all the three

cheries are built anyhow. There is no lay-out of the streets or lanes, and cottages in many places have no yards worth the name. In all cases without exception they are so low that you cannot enter in and get out without bending double. And in all cases, the upkeep of the place is certainly not even to the minimum sanitary standard."

In the city of Madras there are about 200 such *cheries* of which more than half are owned by private individuals, 26 by the Government, 25 by the Corporation, and 27 by Trusts. In these are quartered about one-third of the population of Madras. A survey has revealed that 35 *cheries*, where about 15,000 persons live, are not provided with Municipal water supply. 134 *cheries* occupied by 183,000 persons have only 460 water taps. Only 12 *cheries* have an adequate supply of taps. In respect of latrine accommodation, 72 *cheries* have none at all while 109 have 121 latrines with about 1,200 seats.

'DHOWRAHS' OF MINING AREAS (*Coal-fields*)

Dhowrahs or mines quarters are built usually by colliery proprietors from the point of view of the minimum permanent labour force required by them.

In the colliery *dhowrahs* 85 per cent of the miners' families are living in one-room houses and 10 per cent in two-room houses, 3 per cent in three-room houses and only 2 per cent in four-room houses.

A *dhowrah* is often occupied by 12 to 15 persons. New relations are brought in and especially in winter some of the worst forms of over-crowding are met with. Miners and loaders of the same village, caste, or gang prefer to live together in the rooms of the *dhowrah*, while those who work on different shifts deliberately choose to occupy one set of rooms alternately.

Only at some of the bigger collieries are some latrines provided for the *dhowrahs*, but these are grossly inadequate in number. Miners, especially the children, ease themselves too near the quarters and pigs do the work of scavengers.

In the *dhowrahs* for which piped water supply is provided the taps are too few and distant. It is found that in four collieries, there is only one tap provided for 75 to 80 *dhowrahs*.

'BUSTEES' AND BARRACKS OF THE PLANTATIONS

In the plantations the usual housing accommodation adopted is of the *bustee* type, long lines of barracks with iron roofs and brick-walls, or bamboo huts with thatched roofs, are built usually along the banks of streams or small channels and the usual defects of congestion, lack of light and ventilation, and insanitation are met with. There are also hamlets consisting of small groups of separate huts scattered over the cultivation on high and low grounds; the coolies building their huts on receipt of advances from the garden.

The lanes are narrow and crooked and littered with garbage and washings, and with the excreta of cattle and goats which are frequently found here. There are no separate cow-sheds, an adjoining room serving to shelter the animals.

The huts are built at all angles in short or long blocks as space permits and also back to back. The danger of fire-outbreaks is serious in summer; while during the rains the pathways to the *bustees* become small channels and there being no plinths water flows into the huts when their inhabitants are compelled to go without cooking and perch themselves on earthen-ware vessels, their only belongings.

In the Darjeeling tea-estates and in the plantations occupying hill-sides, as in Coorg and Travancore, the lines of labourers' huts are similarly located on sites lying on the banks or streams, and the dangers of water-logging or inundation are equally recurrent. Bathing and washing arrangements are seldom met with in the plantation-*bustees*, although piped water supply is found in a number of gardens. There is hardly any latrine accommodation in a plantation. The labourers use the field and the jungle for nature's call.

The sudden outbreaks of cholera in an epidemic form and the prevalence of hookworm disease testify to the dangers of the lack of provision of latrines and sanitary bathing and washing places for the labourers. Where the *bustees* and their surrounding areas are not adequately drained, malaria and pneumonia become endemic causing a heavy mortality, especially among women and children.

Small employers are generally incapable of providing houses to their workers. Moreover,

the houses built by the employers are likely to be of high rent, whereas the workers need cheap but healthy houses. The responsibility of the State is, therefore, two-fold: Firstly, it should prepare a housing plan, lay down the type and size of the houses to be constructed and the rent to be charged. This plan should be executed by the employers and special housing boards which should be constituted in each industrial centre. Secondly, the State should help the employers and the housing-boards in acquiring suitable lands near the mills for building houses, by enforcing the Land Acquisition Act in their favour.

There are certain important problems connected with housing. The first is that the rent of the workers' quarters should be within their means. A living wage at least must be paid to the workers and the rent of the houses must be such that they may afford to pay it out of their wages. Secondly, such amenities of life as dispensaries, markets, schools and post offices must be available near the labour-colonies. Thirdly, there is the question of cheap conveyance. The employers should provide cheap bus-services to bring to and fro the workers from their dwellings to the mills. Fourthly, some

reasonable principles, preferably according to the period of services put in, should be adopted by the employers for making allotments of the houses amongst the workers. Lastly, for effecting a long-term solution of this problem, the State should prohibit further starting of industrial concerns in areas which are already over-crowded and where housing is already a serious problem.

To conclude, we might say, improved housing is the first step towards an improvement of the standard of living, behaviour and morals of the industrial worker. With all this will come the conquest of the preventable disease and mortality, the improvement of health and morality and the improvement of health and output. The problem of housing is undeniably the most central and the most urgent for the efficiency and the well-being of the Indian working class. For those who assert that India cannot afford to spend more money for industrial housing, there can be only one answer that she can no longer afford to delay such expenditure.¹⁷

17. R. K. Mukerjee; *The Indian Working Class*, (1951), p. 321.

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EXTENSION OF THE CITY

By TARUN BIKAS LAHIRI, M.Sc.,

Lecturer in Geography, Presidency College, Calcutta

A walk through the Strand Road in the rush hour or a peep into the slums makes one feel about the immediate necessity of the expansion of the city. In this article an attempt has been made to analyse briefly the cause and the magnitude of the problem and to put forward a suggestion towards its solution.

According to 1951-Census, the population of Calcutta stands at 2,548,677 on an area of 32.32 square miles. It means a density of 88,953 persons per sq. mile, probably the greatest in the world. Comparison with other cities of India may be useful for the study:

TABLE 1

City	Population	Area (sq. miles)	Density per sq. mile
Calcutta	2,548,677	32.32	88,953
Bombay (greater)	2,820,270	210.90	13,463
Delhi	1,191,104	39.52	30,139

Even the average figure of 88,953 persons per sq.

mile does not reveal the true picture. There are 3,615 *bustees* in Calcutta, which have 21,556 huts and 155,624 living rooms where live 617,374 souls, almost a quarter of Calcutta's population. The condition of the other residents of the city is no better than the *bustee*-dwellers. The following table will clarify the position:

TABLE 2

Year	Total Municipal premises	Population per Municipal premises
1921	50,004	20.6
1931	64,890	16.8
1941	76,555	27.5
1951	82,313	31.0

The number of living rooms, as counted in December, 1950, was 710,579. So the average number of persons per room with a population of 2.55 millions works out at 3.6. This is a high figure even for a moderate 144 sq. ft. floor area, which is also not very

common in Calcutta. Similarly, acute is the problem of traffic congestion in the streets. Widening of some streets is an urgent necessity.

Census figures indicate that certain localities have reached the saturation point and possibly cannot accommodate more persons.

TABLE 3

Locality	Percentage variation.				
	1941-51	1931-41	1921-31	1911-21	1901-11
Bara Bazar	-1.4	+102.1	-43.3	+ 8.1	- 3.4
Coltocola	+0.1	+ 83.9	+27.2	+32.5	- 9.6
Murchipara	-0.3	+ 69.8	+15.7	+10.0	- 1.2
Taltola	-1.6	+ 83.2	+21.4	- 1.4	- 0.4
Benapukur	+0.6	+ 88.4	+15.8	+ 0.5	+24.1

For certain reasons, 1941 Census figures seem to be exaggerated and unreliable.

The above figures all point out to the same problem—how to find out the living accommodation for the existing population without touching the question of the daily passengers.

There are three ways to reduce the density of the city population or to provide more accommodation: (a) by shifting a portion of the population from the city, (b) erecting sky-scrapers and (c) integrating new lands with the city proper. It may be relevant to discuss the merits of the three ways.

It is the employment opportunities which bring here the immigrants in thousands. The location of multiple industrial units at Calcutta is due to the interaction of some factors, e.g., port, transport and market facilities. Unless these facilities are available elsewhere and that the possibility is distant, the prospect of migration of industries from Calcutta, particularly of the industries under private management, is remote. The factories outside Calcutta are located chiefly within the 30-mile radius of the city and they are intimately linked with it. These factories are promoting settlements in between those centres and Calcutta and stretching lengthwise the ribbon of our ribbon-shaped city which is undesirable for reasons more than one.

The development of cottage industries at least can check the migration of surplus rural hands to Calcutta and cannot cause emigration from the city. For obvious reasons the commercial core of the city will remain the commercial nucleus of not only the State but of Eastern India as well. Nearly four-fifths of the city's population is engaged in commerce (756,168), production other than cultivation (547,262), transport (287,681) and other services (934,870). Comparable opportunities are not likely to be available outside Calcutta and the prospect of emigration is not at all bright. This is evident from the table below:

TABLE 4

	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911
Immigrant	1389028	690550	378776	371575	397274
Emigrant	44536	26591	22301	46000	34000

This meagre emigration, too, according to the version of the Census authorities, "predominantly, represents those whose parents were on short or periodic visits to Calcutta on business." All these show the reluctance of the permanent settlers to leave the city and hence the poor response for Kalyani. It may be relevant to mention that it is the density which is alarming and not the total population of the city. As regards total population, Calcutta is much behind the great capitals and cities of the Western Europe, U.S.A., China and Japan. So it will be improper to believe that the reduction in density will come through emigration from the city.

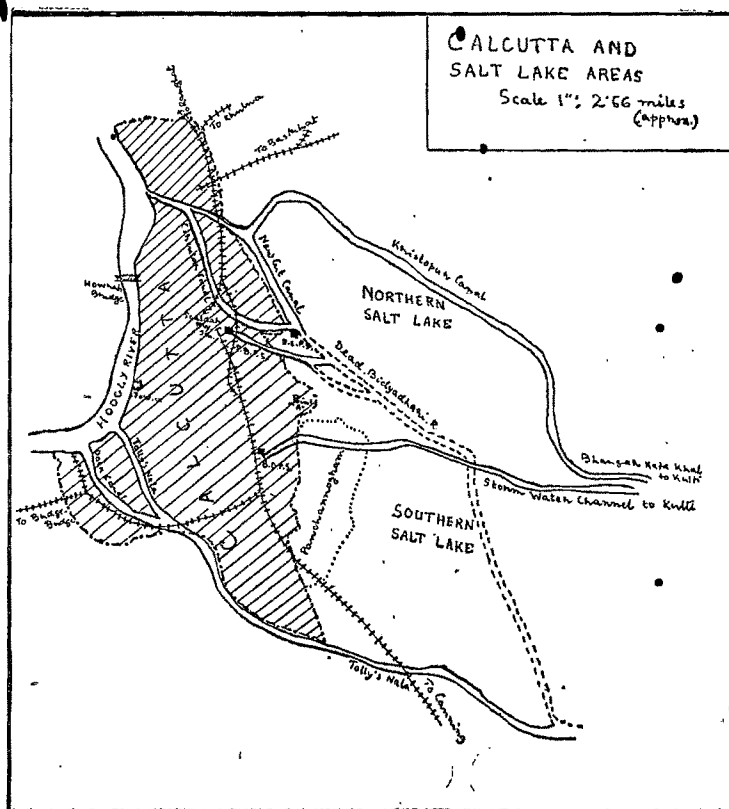
Sometimes it is suggested that the solution lies in erecting sky-scrapers. But it is not within the means of the average people to bear the financial burden of building such mansions and if the State does not take up the enterprise it will only promote capitalism. Capitalists can only build such sky-scrapers and the common people can only hope to enter those houses as tenants. Moreover, the construction of the sky-scrapers is associated with vital points, such as (1) the soil conditions and its capacity of carrying loads, (2) wind pressure on the structure, (3) water supply and sewage disposal, (4) fire protection and (5) traffic problems. Again, the attempt to accommodate more people on a limited ground will result in increasing the density which is already alarming. So the suggestion is not practicable.

In the light of the above-mentioned arguments it may be concluded that the way to reduce the density lies in the horizontal expansion of the City, i.e., by integration of the new lands with Calcutta proper. But to what direction Calcutta will expand to the north, south, east or west? The writer, on consideration of different aspects, is of the opinion that the best chance lies in the east. Reclaimed Salt Lake area integrated with the city will solve the problem. The reasons for such choice are stated below.

Enclosed between the Kristapur canal in the north and Tolly's *nala* in the south, Salt Lake area is divided into two halves by the storm water channel and jointly measure 37* sq. miles. If this 37-sq. mile area is amalgamated with the city, the density will be reduced to less than half of the present. Even the reclamation of only the northern Salt Lake area (19 sq. miles) will considerably reduce the overcrowding in the houses and streets. The shape of the City, after the incorporation with this area, will be corrected and the task of the Corporation will be easier in providing civic amenities.

To make the area suitable for habitation, the surface level will have to be raised by 4 ft. to 6 ft. It

* The figure is from the Corporation, Government figure differs from it. On the Indian map prepared by the Government, the northern Salt Lake area measures 18 sq. miles and the southern one 15 sq. miles.



means the surface level of the built-up area will be +10 ft. At present the altitude of the Salt Lake area varies between +3 ft. and +6 ft. There are two ways to raise the level: (a) by dig and fill method, (b) by transporting material from outside.

Dig and fill method means excavation of half the area in different parts for giant tanks and filling the rest of the area by the material thus derived. Large portion of Dhakuria was built up in this way. Previously it has been estimated that it will cost nearly two and a half crores of rupees to build up the northern Salt Lake area by this method.

The alternative way is to bring soil from outside. The Government proposes to bring here the soil that is to be dredged from the Hooghly bed by hydraulic force. If 20-sq. mile area is to be raised by 4 ft., 223.20 crores cubic feet of soil is necessary. But this huge figure should not be a cause for disappointment. It has been estimated that before the execution of the D.V.C. project, Damodar alone used to contribute nearly 340 million cubic yard of silt and sand to the Hooghly basin. There are other tributaries too. And the most serious problem that the Port authorities face is the silting up of the Hooghly Channel. So the initiation of the reclamation work will serve the double purpose.

The position of the Salt Lake area is advantageous in respect of providing civic amenities. One of the

basic necessity of man is water. At present tap-water supply system of the Corporation is a centralised one, Tala tank in the north is the sole distributing centre. Although at present water-scarcity prevails all over the city yet it is South Calcutta which suffers most. As the distance from the Tala tank increases, pressure falls due to friction. So, further extension to the south will make the situation worse. If more main pipes are to be taken to the south to ease the problem, it will be a heavy financial burden on the municipality. The chief difficulty in the way of decentralising the distribution system is the increasing salinity of the Ganges water downwards of Palta. Hence, installation of pumping machinery in the south has its own difficulty. On the other hand, proximity of the Salt Lake area to the Tala tank is a good advantage.

Proper drainage of the area is the second most desired civic amenity. At present only the city proper gets the benefit of the underground drainage system. The following table shows the drainage of Calcutta:

TABLE 5

Location	Storm Water Served by	Area in acres	Total discharge in Cusecs
North Calcutta	Palmer's Bridge Pumping Station	4800	1260

South Calcutta	Ballygunge Drainage		
	Pumping Station	6:00	1120
Tangra Area	Point 'A'	878	171
South Maniktola	Dhapa Lock	1477	193

The diameter of the underground drains and the capacity of the pumping stations are the two factors which determine the proper drainage of an area. It has been observed during the recent cyclonic rains that it is beyond the capacity of P.B.P.S. or B.D.P.S. to drain storm water excess over normal. Water-logging of some streets even during a normal shower is a common sight. So if the underground network is further extended to the north and south without the installation of new pumping stations, the situation will deteriorate. The position of the Salt Lake area by the side of the storm water channel is advantageous in respect of the installation of the pumping machinery as well as for implementing decentralised drainage system to enforce efficiency.

The time needed to reach the nucleus of the city, i.e., Dalhousie Square from the two extremities, Cossipore in the north and Tollygunge in the south, is nearly double the time that is taken to reach the heart of the city from Maniktola, Narkeldanga and other eastern areas. So the extension to the east will bring economy in time and fare. The ramifications from the railway lines proceeding to Ranaghat in the north and Canning in the south from Sealdah will serve the area very well. Moreover, Sealdah Railway Station is proposed to be shifted half-mile further east from its present position. So the position of the Sealdah Railway Station, due to the integration of the Salt Lake areas, will be nearly central and the divergence of the traffic in all directions will remove congestion in one or two directions.

One of the chief causes of the increasing lung diseases is over-crowding in ill-ventilated houses or in the houses negatively placed in respect of the prevailing winds. The following table shows the actual percentages of days on which wind blows from a particular direction:

TABLE 6

N.	N.-E.	E.	S.-E.	S.	S.-W.	W.	N.-W.	Calm
10	3.5	5.5	9.5	19	18.5	5	7.5	21.5

It appears that the prevailing winds on majority days are from the South, South-east and South-west. Undoubtedly the south is placed in the best position but the location of the Salt Lake area is not unfavourable. Slums and closely spaced buildings of different sizes cannot enjoy the breeze from the south due to blocking. No such obstacle stands in the way of the breeze that blows over the Salt Lake area. On this newly-developed part municipality may strictly impose its building rules, may bring uniformity in shape and size of the houses to be built, so that, even when developed, free passage of air will not be checked.

Nearly half the population of Maniktola, Entally, Belaghata, and Tangra are *bustee*-dwellers. If the slums are to be removed, settlement of these *bustee*-dwellers in the immediate vicinity will prove an advantage.

If the Government or C.I.T. takes the charge of the distribution of the land, it is hoped, that land price will be moderate. An opportunity will be opened for the lower middle-class people and the wage-earners to own a piece of land.

The idea of the reclamation of the Salt Lake area is not a new one. As early as 1895 Salt Lake Reclamation Committee was set up to devise ways and means. Various committees were formed since then for the same purpose. But it is the present State Government which has taken it up earnestly and, it is understood, the reclamation work will be started soon. The Government will at first reclaim the northern Salt Lake area. But the Government's aim is to reclaim only 4 sq. miles for habitation and to keep the rest of the areas as 'polders.' This very limited addition to the city will not be able to produce any remarkable result. Moreover, the difference in level between the area to be built up for the city extension and the rest of the area will cause flow of drainage water from that zone to polder areas which will create an unhealthy environment. And for the drainage of the polder areas and to guard against possible flood water it will have to depend on the embankment and pumping arrangements, the maintenance of which is costly. In view of these considerations it may be suggested that the reclamation of the entire northern lake area for habitation and building it up to a uniform level will bring greater benefit.

The objective of the article is not in any way to support more immigration to Calcutta or to seek space for the future immigrants. Extension is the urgent need to provide living accommodation for the existing population, to increase the ratio of the street area to total area, to remove the traffic congestion and to transform the unhealthy environment into the finest spot of the city.

It may be hoped that the days are not far away when the present-day abode of the blood-sucking but musically-humming mosquitoes will be changed into an integral part of the city. And the light peeping through the trees of the shady avenues of a not very distant future is visible.*

* Tables 1, 4, and 6 are taken or prepared from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 31st Anniversary Number. Tables 2 and 3 are taken or prepared from the *Census Report on Calcutta City*, Vol. VI, Part III. Table 5 is taken from the map "Calcutta and Its Environs of Calcutta Corporation." I am indebted to Sri A. N. Banerjee, retired Outfall Engineer, C. C., for information and Sri N. C. Chatterjee of the Geography Department, Presidency College, for suggestions on the construction of the map.

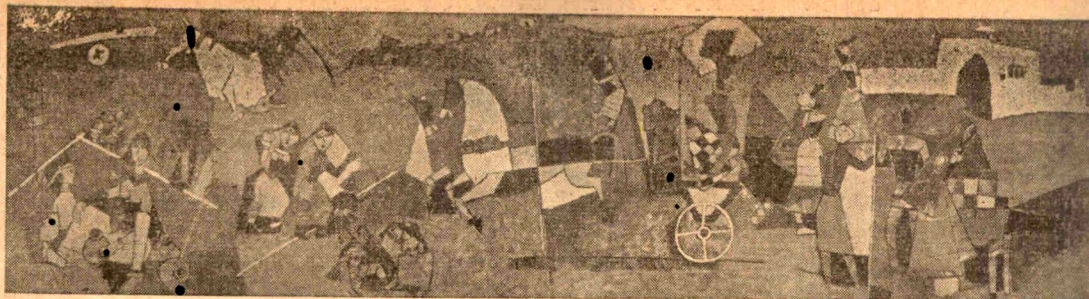


Fig. 1 Village Scene
By Maqbul Fida Husain

INDIAN PAINTING AT THE VENICE INTERNATIONAL

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE International Exhibition of Art, held at Venice, every second year, popularly known as the "Venice Bi-Annual," has justly become an institution, where artists of all countries and all nations send their works of art for appraisal by an universal or international standard. We do not know what is the constitution of the Judging Committee and what are the accepted standards and canons for judging the productions which come from all parts of the world to this modern international forum for appraisal of their respective merits. Until a few decades ago, the best critics and connoisseurs of the West were unable to appreciate any merits in the productions of the arts of Eastern countries and the finest masterpieces of Chinese and Indian art were looked upon as freaks of Asiatic barbarism, unworthy of the label of "Works of Art." But since the beginning of the twentieth century and a few years earlier, serious attempts have been made in Europe and in America to understand in a liberal spirit the Eastern point of view, to appraise the art of oriental countries by a critical analysis, the peculiar forms of expression, their techniques and modes of revelations judged from their own point of view through the phases of evolutions in the context of the art-history and traditions of Eastern schools of art through their own national philosophy and their different attitudes towards life. In order to set up a just and fair standard of judging works of Oriental Art, the Western connoisseurs and collectors of art set about in a serious manner to collect and study masterpieces of Chinese, Indian and Near Eastern Art. For this purpose, a museum of Far Eastern Art was set up at Cologne, a department of Chinese, Japanese and Persian Art was opened in the British Museum and the most distinguished and representative collection of Indian Art was installed in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the United States. So that there is now a trained group of specialists in all phases of Eastern Art, competent to evaluate the exotic arts of the East and to critically

appraise their modern expressions. But, in the present context, it is necessary to enquire if the Venice Judging Committee had included a few, at least, of specialists and connoisseurs in the schools of Asiatic Art. But a more pertinent enquiry would be: Is there a definite policy on the part of the Exhibition authorities to encourage the exhibition of works bearing the unmistakable marks and characters of the nation exhibiting in the different sections assigned to different nationals of the world in the Venice Bi-Annual? The Venice authorities would be perfectly

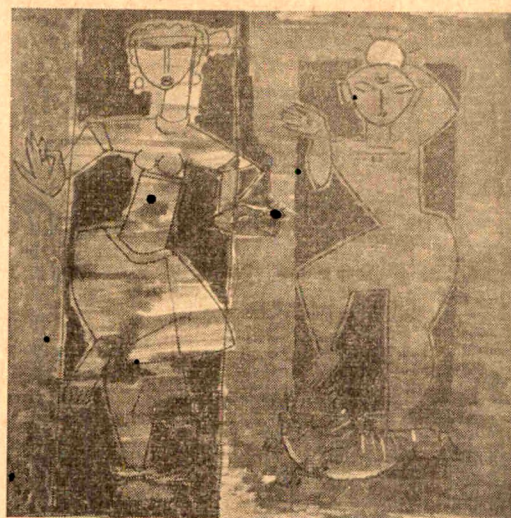


Fig. 3. Two Women
By Maqbul Fida Husain

justified in maintaining a perfectly neutral attitude leaving each national to exhibit any kinds of Art, national, nationalist or anti-national in complexion, the object of the international show being to present the actual tendencies now predominating in the current productions of contemporary Art, say from China, Japan, and India. We have no materials to judge of

the nature of the contributions of China and Japan to this world-famous Exhibition which opened its 28th Show a few months ago. We are, therefore, confined to an appraisal of modern paintings, which were sent to Venice from India. No one expected that any of the works of the senior artists now living would be represented in the show. So that we do not complain that no works of Nanda Lal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar, Kshitindra Nath Mazumdar, Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury or even of Jamini Roy, were represented in this international assembly of modern Indian paintings.

that no accurate information is available and we do not know if the Indian Ambassador in Rome took any interest in this representation of contemporary Indian painting at the Venice Show. Our regret is all the more when we find that American nationals took their part very seriously and have published a magnificently printed and lavishly illustrated brochure, setting out the contribution made to the show by modern American artists, with an Introduction written by so famous an art-historian as Lionello Venturi. Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and/or the Lalita Kala Akademi apparently did not do anything to sponsor



Fig. 4. The Red Chapel
By Sayed Haider Raza

We reproduce here seven of the Indian paintings which elicited praise from the international critics at Venice. The artists who earned praises are Dinkar Koushik, (represented by two specimens), Maqbul Fida Husain, (represented here by three pieces), Padamsee Akbar and Sayed Haidar Raza (each represented by one example). We do not know if Amina Lodi, Rathin Maitra, or Subho Tagore, was represented in the Show. If not, then, one would be entitled to comment that the best phases of "Modernistic" Indian painting were not presented in the show. Apparently the Bombay group was adequately represented. It may be, by accident or by deliberate gesture of exclusion, the Santiniketan group was not represented. But we have no right to complain, as we do not know if any committee was set up in India to make a representative selection of "modernistic" and contemporary paintings from India. It is unfortunate



Fig. 6. Labourers
By Dinkar Koushik

the cause and claims of modernistic Indian painters in the Venice Show. It is quite possible that the Bombay Group had elected to send their paintings on their own initiative without caring for any official help or backing. This must be regarded as a piece of good fortune, as we have been repeatedly told that Indian paintings sent abroad, under diplomatic auspices, through official Indian channels, never receive any independent criticism or review, but unstinted diplomatic praises which can never be accepted as accurate and sincere appraisals. We are happy, therefore to find that the few Indian artists who sent their pictures (even if they did not fully represent all the leading artists of modern India and all phases of the modern trends in painting) have earned praises judged by the international standard. This must be to us a

matter of great gratification, as it must be taken to enhance the prestige of India in the field of Art.

From the national point of view and from the point of view of the great traditions of Indian Art, shining through the corridors of time, one might say, there is nothing 'national' or characteristically *Indian*

modern age. They are trying to express themselves in a pictorial language which has not grown out of the soil of Indian social and spiritual life. Yet, one cannot quarrel with those who repudiate their own nationality, their Indian citizenship and their great artistic heritage. They cannot complain if sincere nationals look upon them as "outcasts" of Indian culture or rebels from Indian spiritual standards.

Even if the seven specimens we have chosen for illustration, do not pay any manner of homage to the techniques, manners, and mannerisms and to the best traditions of Indian Art, we must concede that each of them is a work of Art, judged by the modern canons of Europe. And even if we cannot accept them as genuine productions of Indian Art we cannot deny the praises due to them as vigorous and able essays in line and space-compositions, revealing a wonderful sense of rhythm, balance and harmony. If there are no "reasons" in them, there are enough



Fig. 2. Three Women
By Maqbul Fida Husain

in the seven pieces of *Indian* painting which earned praise for India at Venice. For, there are thousands of responsible critics who still entertain the superstition that Art is nothing if not national and if it does not reflect the national spirit expressed in the language and vocabulary of the art of a nation. Even the most fanatical exponents of modernism in Europe have been able to outgrow or repudiate the manners and mannerisms of old masterpieces, as they have repeatedly revealed the so-called old outworn formulas of their El Grecos, Duccios, and Byzantine Icons. And it has been pertinently said by a modernistic critic, "Revolution is one of our fondest stereotypes in disguise," and "there is nothing more out-of-date than the *moderns*!"

Rightly or wrongly a few group of contemporary painters in India have chosen to repudiate the age-long traditions of the great heritage of the language of Indian painting and slavishly accepted the so-called International Esperanto, borrowed from the modernistic language of Post-Impressionism and Cubism and a host of other "isms," unintelligible and unacceptable to most of the educated Indians of the

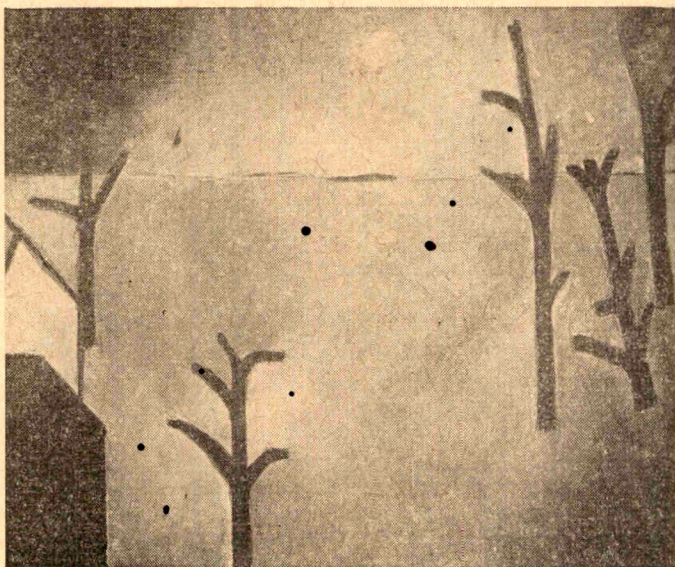


Fig. 5. Landscape
By Padamsee Akbar

"rhymes" in them, which sing out in an exotic melody. Poor in *content*, they are rich in *form*. If they have no serious message or even any substantive story-values, they are full of excitements and agitations reflected from the flutter of the hearts of the artists.

Let us comment on the pictures one by one. Of the four artists, Maqbul Fida Husain appears to be the more versatile, having chosen three divergent

manner in his three different compositions. In the *Village Scene* (Fig. 1) all the varied and exciting elements of village-life have been translated and



Fig. 7. Women with bird
By Dinkar Koushik

transcribed in a series of mosaics, and space-compositions carefully balanced and consummately woven into a convincing epic, a moving tapestry in

which the flavour of Indian life is not obliterated by the Cubistic formula. It is a clever interpretation of Indian life couched in an exotic language. The *Three Women* (Fig. 2), summarily rendered in three black but vigorous silhouettes, is a masterly reduction of a fully comprehensive realistic impression into an essential formula, which, ignoring all details misses nothing. The third picture *Due Donne*, two figures, (Fig. 3), is a still more masterly reduction to essentials the artist's impression of a *Deva-Dasi* dancing before the image in a Hindu temple.

Sayed Haider Raza, a resident of Paris, studying Art under a Government of India scholarship, is a landscape artist, here represented by *The Red Chapel* (Fig. 4), has been recently praised in the French journal *Prisme Des Arts*, but he does not appear to have yet developed any originality, still confined to repetitions of familiar formulas. Padamsee Akbar, very familiar in Calcutta exhibitions, is here represented by a moon-lit landscape *Paesaggio II* (Fig. 5) almost imitating the brevity of Japanese *Haikai* poetry without its flavour or fascination. It is a mere dry and deceptive formula with all lyrical flavour cruelly pressed out and banished. The subtle gradation of light is very commendable. Of this group, Dinkar Koushik easily outstrips the others both in his vigorous and realistic visualization, analysis of spaces and a true presentation of types, emphasized but not obliterated by his Cubistic formula. His *Lavoratori* (Labourers) (Fig. 6), has all the merits and charms of 'academic' painting, translated into modernistic conventions. His *Women with Bird* (Fig. 7) is a masterly presentation of a *genre* theme with all poetical and lyrical elements intact, not submerged under the daring *bravura* of his modern technique. These are talented artists who have stepped across the geographical boundaries of Indian painting, yet still claiming to be Indian painters. They have yet to answer the relevant query of an eminent French critic, "Art in India, should it be Indian or should it not be so?"



A NEW LOOK AT ASIA

AN expectant hush fell over the auditorium at the Spring Garden Girls' High School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As the school principal introduced her guest, colorfully dressed in a brilliantly patterned sari, an enthusiastic burst of applause filled the crowded assembly.

Miss Indira Nalin, a dynamic educator from Bombay, was the first Asian lecturer to participate in the new consultant teacher program of the National Council on Asian Affairs. Two other graduate students, Melencio Gay Cua of the Philippines and Pak Kun of Korea, and the noted Burmese lecturer Daw Mya Sein went to other Philadelphia public schools as guest lecturers. The program is one of the many activities sponsored by the Council to promote a better understanding of Asia in the United States.



Indira Nalin of India, lecturing to a class at the Spring Garden Girls' High School, shows her large purse as one example of Indian handcrafts

The Council was formed in the summer of 1955 by a group of Philadelphia citizens who were interested in Asian affairs. They recognized a growing interest in Asia throughout America and felt that there was a need for greater knowledge of this important area of the world. In addition, they recognized that many of the 10,000 Asians studying in the United States are particularly well qualified to interpret their countries to Americans.

Dr. Norman D. Palmer, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, who has taught in

Asia, is President of the Council's Board of Directors. The Executive Vice President is Dr. John F. Melby, a former U.S. foreign service officer in Asia. Mrs. Elinor K. Wolf, the Secretary-Treasurer, and other members of the Board also have had experience and interest in Asian affairs. The International House of Philadelphia has made space available for the Council's headquarters.

The Council co-operates with such groups as the Far Eastern Association and the Conference on Asian Affairs, and with scholars, educators, and others who are interested in Asia. It sponsors meetings for representatives of these groups and serves as a clearing house for the activities planned at the meetings.

Such a program of Asian education could be limitless in scope, embracing primary, secondary, college and adult

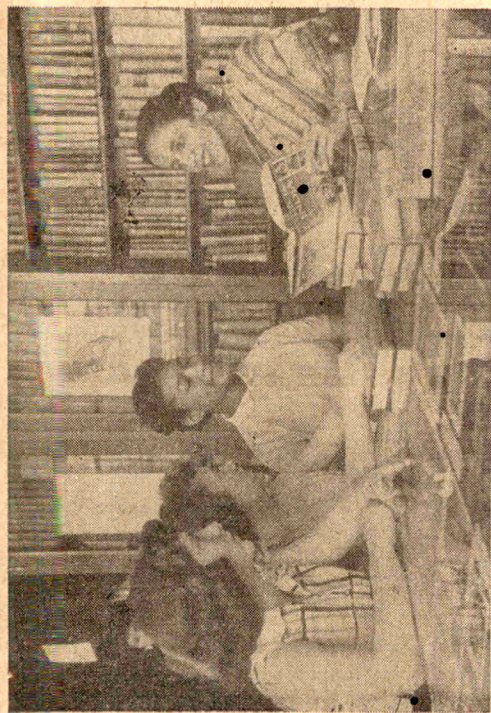


With the help of a student in Spring Garden Girls' High School, Indira Nalin of India shows the class how to wear a sari

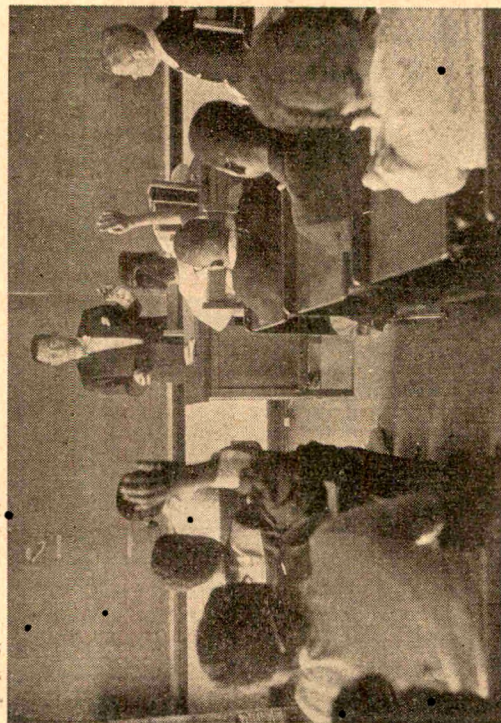
education levels. The Council decided that the place to start was in the primary and secondary schools, where it found less work being done and where the attitudes and opinions of tomorrow's adults are being formed.

The first efforts were concentrated in the Philadelphia area. Council members felt that if they could show a program in operation in their own city the idea would spread to other areas.

Teacher placement is one phase of the experimental program begun in Philadelphia. Several Asians who are studying in the United States were selected to partici-



Indra Nalin answered as many questions about India on an informal basis as she did in her class talks at the Spring Gardner Girls' High School



Melencia Cua answers students' questions at the Audenreid Junior High School during his informal lecture on the Philippines



Daw Mya Sein (*right*), the well-known Burmese lecturer and historian, visits a weaving class at Widener Memorial School for handicapped pupils



An American pupil demonstrates to Daw Mya Sein, how the fork will hold a vegetable or fruit firmly in place so that it can be cut or peeled with one hand

pate. While they are in America to advance their education they can, at the same time, contribute to America from their rich background and knowledge.

They teach regular classes, as would American teachers, but with a difference. Asians talking about Asia stimulate greater interest in the subject and bring more authoritative knowledge to the young pupils. This

also wanted to begin a "pen-pal" exchange of letters with Filipino students.

Pak Kun was a lecturer in one school, where he spoke to various classes. He told the students about the customs, religion and culture of Korea, as well as the history of his nation in its relationships with others of North Asia.

In reporting to the Council, Pak Kun emphasized the "scope and intensity of the student interest in Asia," and the teachers' "good understanding of recent Asian history." He told also of the school's gift to his country. The students voted to use their special class funds to ship a large collection of books to the Seoul University research library.

The Korean lecturer made thoughtful recommendations to the Council for its Asian studies program. He suggested that a course in Asian history should be offered in American high schools or that Asian material should be integrated more extensively into related courses.

He felt that American teachers can do a good job of presenting factual knowledge to the pupils. The role of visiting Asian teachers, he said, should be to present a picture of Asian customs, traditions, way of life, and thinking that they cannot get from an American, regardless of academic background.



Before his class lecture at the Andernreid Junior High School, graduate student Melencia Cua shows the pupils a Philippine shirt made from pineapple fibre

year the Council has placed Asian students in teaching positions in both public and private schools in several American cities.

The value of this approach is indicated by the overwhelming success of the consultant teacher program. The Council, the Philadelphia Board of Education, and the Asian lecturers all felt that the program should be repeated.

After their visits to the Philadelphia schools, the Asian participants were asked to write frank reports of their experiences and to suggest ways of improving the program.

Melencia Cua, for example, was a lecturer in five different schools. Finding varying degrees of understanding and background in each of them, he recommended an "easygoing approach" on the level of the student's understanding.

He also reported great advance interest in his visit. One school had a long list of questions on the Philippines prepared for him to answer. Another was devoting its annual international project to a study of the Philippines.

In one school he was asked to hold a student press conference. The young newswriters questioned him for forty-five minutes to get information for their special international issue of the school publication. This group



Daw Mya Sein visits a sculpture class at Widener Memorial School

Daw Mya Sein, an historian and lecturer from the University of Rangoon, spent three weeks in the Philadelphia schools. Like the other consultants she spent part of her time with faculty members, helping them to evaluate and improve their presentation of Asian studies. And as she told the students about the history and customs of her own country she brought the entire Asian area close to the minds and hearts of her young listeners.



Brightening his lecture on the Philippine economy Melen Cua shows the class a peso, explaining its value in terms of an American dollar

Indira Nalin found "an eager interest in India" at the Spring Garden Girls' High School, where she spent two weeks. During the first days she was a guest in various classes, met informally with faculty members, and later was introduced to the entire school assembly.

By this time the interest of both faculty and students had reached such a high point that she was unable to fulfil every request to speak. Teachers and pupils were stopping her in the halls or library to ask if she would talk in their classes on various aspects of Indian life. Thus she was able to base her lectures on topics suggested by the teachers and students.

As a result of this experience, the Indian educator confirmed the desire of American educators for more intensive Asian studies in the schools, and the American teachers agreed with her that Asia should be interpreted by Asians as well as by Americans. Miss Nalin also suggested that visiting Asians could do their best work if they were familiar with the methods of teaching in American schools.

She included in her report some of her interesting personal experiences during the two weeks. She was asked to pose for the art class, helped to arrange a special Indian exhibit in the library, and was invited to be a guest on the annual senior class trip to Washington.

Riding on the train with the class, she was constantly surrounded with a group of enthusiastic girls, who were eager for answers to more questions about



Korcan educator Pak Kun, who is working for his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania, tells a tenth grade history class at West Philadelphia High School about the geography, climate and customs of his native land

India. They also asked her to join in their singing of familiar American songs and wanted her teach them some Indian songs.

The experiences of the four lecturers proved the value of this two-way exchange of knowledge. They expressed an awareness that they, too, had gained from their school lectures. Faculty and school administrators who were their hosts unanimously approved of the experiment and said that the visiting Asians had enriched the backgrounds of the teachers as well as their pupils.

The consultant teacher program is but one activity of the Council on Asian Affairs. Many others are planned or under way.

There are plans, for example, to make known to American teachers the vast amount of Asian research that has been done in the United States. Bibliographies, new

maps, films and study outlines will be made available. It is planned to co-ordinate the experiences of the many Asian seminars for teachers, to improve existing seminars and to encourage the start of new ones.

At the suggestion of the Council, American textbook publishers are enlisting the help of Asian scholars to improve the quality and content of Asian information in American school books.

The Council plans to work closely with those developing public school curricula, and to stimulate secondary school interest in Asian studies it has urged that the College Board Entrance Examination include more Asian questions. It also is encouraging school magazines to publish more articles on Asia, as has been done by *Scholastic* and *Current Events*.

Another successful Council project is the assembly of "teacher packets," containing pamphlets and illustrated articles on Asia. Half of the material was written

by Asians, and the rest by Americans. Embassies of the various Asian countries have co-operated in furnishing some of the materials.

American teachers have shown great interest in using this authoritative material for their classes. Most of them had not known such material existed or where it could be obtained.

The National Council on Asian Affairs has a wealth of ideas for further expansion of its activities. Interest and support is coming now from educational leaders and groups all across the country. The program gradually is becoming nation-wide in scope.

Those working closely with it already can see encouraging results. But with any education program the true results lie in the future. The affection and understanding of Asia now building in the minds of American children is a foundation for peace in the years to come.
—USIS.

—O:—

SHRINES OF ART IN INDIA

Genesis and Evolution of Museum Movement

In the beginning, it was the enthusiasm and love for art of enterprising individuals and private institutions that accounted, in the main, for the rise of different museums that now enrich the Indian contemporary scene with the vast treasures of the past.

The genesis of the museum movement in India can be traced to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded by that brilliant scholar Sir William Jones in 1784. Comprising of two sections, one of archaeological and ethnological material and the other of geological and zoological, the Society's museum grew rapidly and in 1839 the Court of Directors of the East India Company sanctioned an amount for the maintenance of the museum and also authorised the Government of India to make other grants from time to time for special purposes.

The Museum of Economic Geology at Calcutta, opened in 1840, was also at first housed in the Society's museum but later removed to the premises of the Geological Survey of India and was finally brought to the Imperial Museum, which was then newly established after protracted negotiations between the Society and the Government.

As early as 1819, efforts for forming a museum had been made in Madras, and the Madras Literary Society, an auxiliary of the Asiatic Society of London, desired to have a museum of Economic Geology in 1828. In 1843, the Society requested the Government for the formation of this Museum and the Court of Directors of the East India Company agreed to the formation of a Central Museum at Madras. The formation of local museums

at Bangalore, Bellary, Coimbatore, Cuddalore, Ootacamund, Secunderabad, Mangalore and Tiruchirappalli followed.

The idea of a museum at Bombay originated in 1848, and the collections got together in connection with the great Exhibition at London in 1851 gave it an impetus, and in 1857 (thanks to the efforts of Dr. Buist), a Museum of Economic Products was established. The museums at Lucknow and Nagpur were established in 1863. The Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore came into existence in 1865. The year 1874 saw the creation of the Mathura Museum. The next year saw the birth of the Museum at Raipur. In 1883 the Rajkot Museum was formed and a few years later the Museum at Srinagar. The foundation-stone of the Baroda Museum was laid in 1887.

OFFICIAL ENCOURAGEMENT

The celebration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887 ushered in a new era in the rise of museums in India. Several museums were started at this time such as the Victoria Technical Institute at Madras, the Museums at Jaipur, Udaipur, Rajkot, Bezawada and the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta.

But the greatest impetus for the development of museums in the country was during the time of Lord Curzon, whose interest was in no small measure followed up by the enthusiasm of Sir John Marshall, the then Director General of the Archaeological Survey.

The Museums established at Ajmer, Baripada, Chamba, Jodhpur, Khajuraho, Gwalior, Bijapur and Dacca within a space of ten years, owe their existence to the keen interest evinced by Sir John Marshall, who was also responsible for the Archaeological Museums at Sarnath, Nalanda, Taxila and other sites, and the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi. The Museums at Malda in Bengal, at Pagan and Mandalay, at Bijapur and Bombay, in the Taj at Agra, at Dhar and at Peshawa were at the instance of Lord Curzon. The creation of the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay was thought of in 1904, but, with liberal grants secured both from Government and large-hearted donors like Currimbhoy Ibrahim, the building was completed in 1914.



Flying Celestials
Early Western Chalukya sculpture (c. 6th century A.D.) from Bijapur

In the wake of this creative activity several States, with collections brought together by their respective departments, established museums of their own. Thus, came into being the Museums at Indore, Hyderabad, Himmatnagar, Jamnagar, Kolhapur, Padmanabhapuram and Rewa between the years 1921 and 1947.

PRIVATE INITIATIVE

The Museum of the Bharat Bhasa Samsodhaka Mandal at Poona sprang up through the enthusiasm of a society and some individuals. Again, it was originally the museum of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti of

Gauhati, that has now developed into a provincial museum. It is interesting that a Historical Society of a College could build up the nucleus of a provincial museum, but so is the case with the Provincial Museum of Orissa at Bhubaneswar, which grew out of the Museum of the Historical Society of the Ravenshaw College. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Museum, opened in 1910, is another case of this kind.

Through the efforts of Rai Krishnadasa, the Bharat Kala Bhavan, a fine museum of art, was established in 1919 at Banaras. The Municipal Museum at Allahabad in no small measure owes a debt of gratitude to the enthusiasm and the collections made by Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas. The Museum at Madanapalle in the Theosophical College owes its existence to the personal collections of Dr. J. H. Cousins, and similarly the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute in St. Xavier's College owes its material to the efforts of Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

There is practically no college of importance in India without the different departments having a museum of their own to promote the study of different scientific subjects. There are museums for engineering and the different branches of medical science.

There is a fine group of museums attached to the Forest College at Dehra Dun with separate branches for silviculture, timber, minor forest products and entomology. The building of museums of the Forest Research Institute and colleges at Dehra Dun is one of the best not only in India, but in Asia.

There have been cases also of museums developing purely by industrial institutions. The Lord Relyea Maharashtra Industrial Museum at Poona, which dates back to 1888, was born out of an exhibition of Indian arts and manufactures held in Poona and has grown into an admirable museum of its kind. A remarkable museum of recent origin is the Calico Museum of Textiles established in 1949 at Ahmedabad by Mr. Gautama Sarabhai.

Another important phase in the growth of museums, specially in the South, is the springing up of small, but interesting museums in the larger temples. Of these temple museums, mention must be made of the Rajaraja Museum in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore, the Museum of the Srirangam temple and that of the Minakshi-Sundereswara temple of Madurai, the first containing a remarkable collection of sculpture in stone and metal and the rest a collection of splendid ivories.

ROLE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

In the earliest stages of the museum movement the nucleus of collections have mostly been geological or biological. It is with this material that the principal museums of India started functioning. But with the formation of the Archaeological Survey of Northern

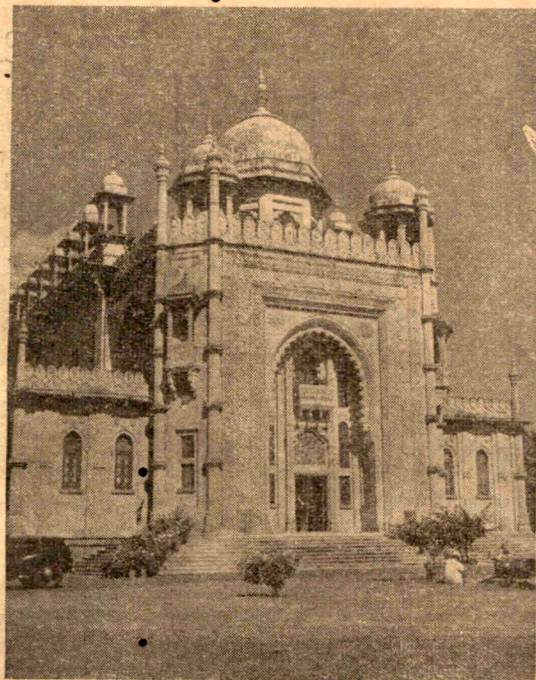
India by Lord Canning and the appointment of General Cunningham as the Archaeological Surveyor, the place of archaeology in museums came to be felt.

With equal anxiety for the the proper emphasis on museum development in the Department, Sir Mortimer Wheeler constituted a Museums Branch in 1945. The formation of the National Museum of India at Delhi in 1949 opened up new vistas.

encouragement shown by the Archaeological Department.

II

Among the large number of museums that today exist in this country, those that were the last to be organised have had better facilities in the matter of their buildings. The earlier ones are at a disadvantage, having been housed in buildings that are quite antiquated



The Building of the National Art Gallery, Madras

The National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi is a museum devoted to the modern phase of Indian art as the scope for its collections. The National Museum has a rich collection of paintings of the Mughal and Rajasthani schools and is now building up the collection of copies of ancient frescoes portraying the different phases of art from the earliest paintings at Ajanta to the late mediaeval paintings of Vijayanagar period to make the story of Indian paintings complete in its galleries in a magnificent new building rapidly coming up on Kingsway in New Delhi.

Material from archaeological sites has been freely distributed among the museums by the Archaeological Survey, and it is thus that items from Mohenjodaro collections are found in almost all the principal museums in India. The Patna Museum was enriched by the finds at Basarh and Pataliputra as well as by the Kurkihar bronzes, the Lucknow Museum by the antiquities from excavations at Bhita, Saheth Maheth, Sankisa, etc. Thus, both directly and indirectly, the building up of museums in India was accelerated by the enterprise and



Abhisarika Nayika
Kangra painting (c. 18th century A.D.) kept at the National Museum of India

and unsuitable, judged by modern museum standards. Any large, easily available building was considered fit for housing a museum, making impossible attractive display of even the best material. The Lucknow Museum is a case in point, where the defect is aggravated by the location of the Museum in two different buildings separately situated.

In the case of some of the museums, which were more recently created, it is indeed gratifying to note that fine new museum buildings amply compensate the few years of cramped existence in inadequate old structures. The Municipal Museum at Allahabad has now an excellent, well-planned building in place of the dark old rooms it so long occupied in one of the dilapidated wings of the Municipal building. The new building of the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum in the Banaras University, which has just been completed, is another fine structure. An excellent building has

recently been completed for the occupation of the museum at Raipur.

The Mathura Museum, which was originally started in an unsuitable building, is now housed in a well-planned structure with ample scope for future expansion. The Bombay Museum was well-planned, and has been particularly fortunate in the matter of its building. The Madras Museum, well laid out on spacious grounds, has got the finest block in the latest lay-out for the Archaeological Galleries. •

MUSEUM PLANNING

Planning for museum building is most essential and without well-lit suitable galleries even the best material cannot be effectively presented. Moreover, a museum is primarily a growing institution and requires ample space for expansion. The Indian Museum, for example, which is the finest in the East, not to talk only of India, is unfortunately housed in an old inadequate building, and lacks the space around it for further growth.

In a properly planned museum, there should also be room for a decent laboratory, for chemical treatment of the museum material, in addition to the galleries, working place for the staff and storage capacity for reserve collections. Ideal provision for this has been made in the Madras Museum, where in addition, they have a Museum Library, which serves the public besides benefiting museum research.

It is the Madras Museum, again, which probably provides the best school services. It is a museum where school children pay frequent visits and gather first-hand knowledge of things that they may have read about in books. University students, however, are able to make the best use of the material kept in museums. In this respect, the Archeological Section of the Indian Museum is a valuable source of information to the students and teachers of several universities, and specially that of Calcutta.

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

Research publications form an essential aspect of museology. It is due to the indefatigable work of Dr. Gravelly that the Madras Museum leads today all the other museums in the matter of research publications. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. M. Goetz, the Baroda

Museum and Picture Gallery has a bulletin which has been regularly publishing interest on the material in the Museum and has prepared a handbook of its collections. The Wales Museum at Bombay has also started of its own. The Indian Museum, which has several valuable publications to its credit, has recently revived this activity. As for Museum, the earliest publications pertain to different sections were issued by the Museum, as for instance, the Catalogue of Man Anderson, the interesting work on Coi Rodgers and others. Most of the books including the records and memoirs of the Indian Museum, are publications by the Geologic Surveys. The two volumes of "Gu Archaeological Section" like several others dealing with the material in the Archaeological of the Indian Museum, are publications of the Archaeological Survey.

Though the Art Section of the Princeton Museum has several interesting publications, probably no other museum except the Antiquities Museum has published any material contained in the Art Section of. Recently, however, the Indian Museum has published an attractive book on the early works of Indian artist, Abanindra Nath Tagore.

A CURATOR'S JOB

And now, a few words about curators. The voice of a museum is its curator. The decay of a museum depends mainly on the enthusiasm, knowledge and equipment that the curator possesses, and the sympathy and co-operation able to receive from the management and the public. It may be realised that the curator of a museum has in addition to his duty as the custodian of the collection, has numerous other and equally exacting duties to discharge. He has at once to satisfy the needs of the layman, bringing to bear on his work his own ship and practical experience of a variety of needs. The duty of the curator, in short, is to place the museum in an ideal setting, as a befitting temple of the Muses, and a temple of learning for the people.—PIB.



MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By SACHIN SEN GUPTA

II

LENINGRAD

LENGRAD, the city of the mighty Czars, is simply lovely. Man and nature have joined hands to make it almost a dreamland. Its colourful settings take its visitors' minds back to its colourful history. The Winter Palace and the Hermitage through their architectures and art collections and grandeurs reveal chapters of Russian history full of brilliant achievements as well as dark episodes of exploitation and oppression. The solid one-piece marble column in the square represents the solidarity of the will of the reigning powers as well as the skill of the peasant-born architect and his craftsmanship. The square itself which had a blood-bath on what is now known as Bloody Sunday reminds one that the will of a ruler however hard and arrogant might it be and whatever cruelty might a ruler perpetrate to perpetuate a tyrannous rule, is bound to break into fragments to be mixed into the rust while the determined will of the people, solid like that one-piece marble column in the square, works to assert itself. The descendants of the very people whose blood was made to flow in torrents over the cobbled arena of the square had entered the Winter Palace from the very square itself and succeeded to close for ever the chapter of tyrants' rule, the last of whom had in his earlier days splitted the blood of their patriotic and humanitarian but helpless forefathers.

The *Aurora* still kept afloat on the blue waters of the Neva did full justice to her name by radiating the first glow of hell-fire across the Neva right into the room where the reactionaries had assembled for the last time to decide what steps should be taken to ward off the waves of the people's Revolution. History has numerous names of battle-ships that had carried conquests far and wide, that had carried galley-slaves as well as captured rulers and emperors; but none so glorious as the *Aurora* which carried liberation and victory to a people, disregarding the command of her feeble commander. The crew of the *Aurora* could read the writing on the wall as did read the revolutionaries who had beset the Palace. Victory to man was the writing. And from the moment the first shell was fired from the *Aurora* the man's march onward to victory started in Russia, and since then the people there have been marching onward from victory to victory to demonstrate to the world what the victory of man really means. It was demonstrated during World War II when Leningrad suffered terribly but did not succumb to the Hitlerite onslaught, stood unconquered, and proved how ridiculous was Hitler's idea to hold victory banquet in the halls, of the Astoria Hotel. Hundreds of thousands of the citizens of Leningrad starved to death to prevent Hitler from holding the victory-banquet in their city which had for

the first time brought victory to man in Russia. Victorious stood Leningrad, the people's will proved too strong for the Nazi warmacht.

And then the Smolensky. It was a palace too. A palace where pride of wealth and birth and prejudice against the people were zealously nurtured and insilled into the tender minds of the future mothers of Russia's rulers and nobles. It was a palace of spurious culture. But how fatefully it fell in the hands of the revolutionaries and how wonderfully was it converted into a real palace of a culture that helped to grow what the world took to be the spirit of Russia.

In an unostentatious little room of the palatial premises lived Lenin and his wife in those days when the vanquished power had not vanished altogether. That little room had been partitioned into two halves by a wooden screen; one half to be used as Lenin's office and the other half as the bedroom for the comrade-consorts. On two opposite walls of this office of one of the greatest architects of the modern world we found fixed the world-famous two decrees, The Decree on Peace, and the Decree on Land. They were preserved in original as were they initially drawn up, penned through, and corrected, by the handwriting of Lenin himself. Those two decrees alone bore in them the spirit of New Russia—the spirit of peaceful reconstruction. The history of the Brest Litovsk Treaty was known to us. We also were aware of the vituperations flung against Russia by her former allies in World War I. Few of us realized that Russia made that treaty not to escape an unwanted war but with the definite objective of her own rehabilitation as well as to eradicate the possibility of any future war by providing the world an example of a society which for its growth and fulfilment needed no war of conquests nor any exploitation.

That Russia had been consistently striving since 1817 to give the spirit behind the decrees a material shape could be noticed in the new social order she had founded, and by her persistent attempts to bring the four powers into agreement both before and after World War II. I have already referred to the repeated attempts of Litvinov, Stalin and Molotov. The Decrees I witnessed in the small room of the Smolensky written by the supreme architect of New Russia. Lenin himself convinced me that the desire for peaceful reconstruction of Russia as well as the determination for the elimination of the root causes of War from the social orders of nations were born of a spirit that sought to imbue man in different ages, since the birth of civilization, but, unfortunately, repelled by the wielders of powers and upholders of individual interest at the cost of the common man.

Attempts to make this spirit a guiding force to

lead the new generations on, culture has been saturated with it. Young generations are being given a condensation of the culture in this respect that it means wilful surrender of individual interest to the growth of the community. Within the bounds of a country and in the fields of its social and political activities it means communism. But when it is projected to other countries it is bound to be international communism unless necessary stress is laid on international peace. When that stress is given, co-existence of systems cannot escape attention. And co-existence of systems demands free existence of a system that a country has developed. No plea for international communism may therefore be reasonably put forward by those communist countries who have come forward to contribute and to lend support to Panchashila.

Does not Russia believe any more that international communism is an integral part of her plan for world communism? There is Lenin's admission that co-existence of nations is possible to be achieved. The Nehru-Bulganin joint statement as well as the speeches of Russia's representatives at the Helsinki Peace Assembly indicate that the present executive heads of Russia as well as her intellectuals and representatives of the workers and the peasants do not only believe in co-existence but have also pledged themselves to make it a practical proposition. We had during our travels in the U.S.S.R. met many men and women, workers and peasants, who were not eminent persons. But nowhere did we meet a single one who had said anything against the Chou-Nehru principle; on the contrary, everybody expressed to see it implemented. So was the case in Helsinki. None of the sixty-eight nations assembled there had a word to say against co-existence of nations. Each delegate was anxious to see that the powers waste no time to accept the Five Principles. It is exactly why China and India are found to be the most popular countries with the peoples of the world today.

Acceptance of the principles of co-existence of nations may not be found feasible unless nations develop mutual respect for one another. To respect a nation one must know it; one must try to arrive at a correct appraisal of its system, its culture, its ideology, and its way of life. The communist countries have devoted themselves to this task more seriously and sincerely than other countries have.

In Leningrad we found quite a number of young men and women who had talked with us in Hindi and Bengali. In Moscow we found in the public meetings that Russian boys and girls could interpret all the speeches delivered in most of the Asian and European languages. In Czechoslovakia the welcome address to us was interpreted through Hindi. Our Hindi and Bengali speeches were rendered into Czech by the teachers and the students of those two languages. There have been already a pretty large number of trained interpreters in all the communist countries. Their number is daily

on the increase. Translation and collection of literary masterpieces and their study by experts have been made a part of the cultural programme of all the communist countries.

The directors of the Leningrad Oriental Institute took immense trouble to show us how their scholars and research workers had engaged themselves to the study of oriental languages. We know that the Western countries too take particular interest in them. We know of the care and pains that some of the western scholars in different countries took to vindicating the culture of the East. But for them many of the West and also of the East would not have known today that the East had a cultural heritage no less precious than the culture of the Western nations. But the approach of the present orientalists in Russia seem to be different in this respect that they are interested to discover if there had been any unity among the diverse cultural currents of the orient. That there must be some is obvious to those who care to consider seriously the international aspect of the Buddhist, the Hebrewite, the Christian and the Islamic cultures, each of which originated in the orient.

Those today who think and speak of Asian solidarity must know what Asia really is. To know it, the cultural trends of Asiatic nations must be discovered and placed anew before the world to prove that there is no reason to believe that 'East is East and West is West' and the twain shall never meet. To study oriental languages and cultural pursuits of the orient is one thing. And to study them with a view to discovering the streak of unity in diversities for the benefit of the progressive humanity, is quite a different thing. The Leningrad orientalists are at present doing the latter which, I believe, is exactly what the world badly needs today. There are persons who tell us that this amazing interest in the study of the oriental languages and of the cultural heritage of the orient is also purposive; it aims at the world-expansion of communism. One has to meet these orientalists and to hear them to be sure of their aims. Yes, they believe that communism is the best of the social orders man has founded up till now. But they do not believe that it could be extended over to any part of the world by a mere study in languages and cultural traits of nations. They have full knowledge of what communism stands for. And now they want more knowledge about man—both communist and non-communist.

Moscow

Moscow appeared to me to be mighty and massive but not as elegant and as majestic even as Leningrad seemed to be. In Moscow I noticed the implementation of what I found in spirit in Leningrad. There was, indeed, the Kremlin in Moscow. But it did not touch my soul as deeply, in spite of the accumulated treasures in it, as the Winter Palace, the Summer Palace, and

the Neva did. I saw only that part of the Kremlin which bore the relics of the dead past. The living Kremlin where the leaders meet and talk on their problems I had no access to. But even then I found pretty big slices of it outside the walls of the Kremlin. I found them in the University Buildings, in the Metro, in the opera houses, in the factories and shops, in the creches and the kindergartens, in the hospitals and the rest-houses for workers and retired artists and most of them in the Agricultural exhibition and in the unions of writers and workers.

The Grand Planning which has made Russia what she is today, unfolded itself to me, part by part, to all its entirety through the workings of the institutions I was able to visit. The main university building is indubitably an architectural wonder. The settings and the monumental structure is marvellous. Splendid are the decorations within and without. The faculties and the laboratories and the libraries and the amenities provided for the students are faultlessly perfect. They must be requisite parts of the Grand Planning. But the most important part of it is the provision for scholarships to ninety percent of the students. There had been many excellent universities in the past in many countries of the world. There are excellent universities in all the countries of the world today. But most of the universities in the past were sectarian. They kept their doors closed against students who did not come from families of particular sectarian views of life. In latter stages of the general development of education the universities became more liberal but not secular altogether. Modern universities opened their doors to all seekers of higher education but made education so costly that students coming from lower income-groups found it almost impossible to sit for university education. It was not the faculties of the existing universities outside Russia that were found undesirable by the Russians, but it was the system that they found objectionable. Universities, they decided, must be thrown open to all. And arrangements must be so made as to bring the largest number of qualified students within their portals for higher education. That was the idea why scholarships to the ninety percent of students were arranged for.

In Russia today students from the families of peasants and workers and, as a matter of fact, from every income-group may get university education. And that the standard of education has not suffered the least is proved by the fact that Russia today does not need any foreign experts to assist her. Experts coming out from her own universities and factories and institutes are found competent enough to deliver goods and also to compete with their counterparts in other countries pursuing different educational systems. In certain fields of the sciences the Russian scientists are said to have advanced far ahead of others. I am no competent person to elaborate the progress the Russians

have made in those fields. I refer to them only to say that by providing facilities to the students coming from the lower income-groups and from the families of workers and peasants, the universities have not lowered their standards but have possibly been able to raise it by tapping new sources of virgin intellect. Fields and factories in Russia have now been made feeder institutions to the universities. That is the redeeming feature of the Moscow University more than its superb material structure.

The creches, the kindergartens, the cultural palaces, the libraries and the agricultural exhibitions, every one of them, functions both as a social and a cultural institution. Even farms and factories have equal attention to material and cultural progress of the nation. On looking at Moscow industrial works one has to ponder just where a line might be drawn to separate industry from art and culture. Factories have been given appearances of garden-cities, and workers that of artists. Arts, therefore, have started to draw from farms and factories living models to be represented as art-creations. New types of men and women are found in novels and stories.

As there exists no leisurly class in the society, those types of men and women have to ally disappeared from arts and literature also. The life of a worker has to be portrayed in a different manner from that of the portrayal of a dreaming leisurly man. New style has to be set in, new words have to be coined, new psychology has to be dealt with, and forms of dialogues even have to be renewed. All these are being done. To do this the authors have to know intimately the workers, the farmers and, as a matter of fact, all the working people. On the other hand, the cultural activities in farms and factories and other places of work give rise to some men and women who find arts to be the best media of their self-expression. They take to arts, from connoisseurs they come to be creative artists themselves.

There are today in Russia artists, writers, dancers, painters, singers and actors who started life in factories and farms and other places of work. With the advance of mechanisation in all the fields of physical activities, a worker's physical strain is being reduced to the minimum, and his intellect is allowed to grow more imaginative. A worker's mind is creative by itself. Infusion of culture makes it more creative. When he gets inspired by arts, he happens to be a successful artist. From farms and factories he shifts his workshop to the temples of the muses, where only a chosen few had access in the past. When these workers take to arts, they look to their former workshops and to their comrades-in-work for contents and forms that would be easily appreciated by those who were once their colleagues.

One who does not take into account the Russian way of life today will fail to appreciate Russia's

modern works of arts and letters. He who will seek for conventional forms and contents and styles even, is likely to be disappointed more or less. But the Russian artists have themselves planned that their arts should be developed so. They do not feel that all the products of arts are simply superb because they come from a new set of artists. But they feel that arts would not suffer stagnation if art-expressions of virgin minds are encouraged, and formalistic restrictions are removed. This particular planning has also succeeded to create a new social atmosphere. Arts have been able to get the support of an ever-increasing number of men and women of the society, with the result, that both the society and the arts have been growing more beautiful and at the same time more real to life.

Formerly artists were a fraternity of dreamers, and arts were more like mere expressions of dreams. I do not belittle dreams. There are dreams without which life seems to be hardly worth living. Pushkin, Tolstoi, Chekhov, Turgenev and even Gorky, each of them, had dreams to dream. The difference that is noticed today is that the fraternity of dreamer-artists have been widened to include the entire community within it and arts have been more than mere expressions of dreams of the artists alone but expressions of dreams that the entire Russian people dream today to make their land and the world wonderful to live in.

The Operas and the Ballets reflect these dreams of the people to the people. Life is no more a burden. It is as brisk as the dances are. It is as sweet as dreams of the lovers are. It is as colourful as the costumes, the scenarios and the effects are. It swells and surges just as songs and music do. This life does no more exist only in the imagination of artists taking part in those operas and ballets, but it is a reality today. They are proud of this life and proudly do they reflect it to their auditors and spectators to instil into them this just pride. It is no pride of any individual, but of the entire community. There is no propaganda, no narrowness in any of these operas and ballets. Only those human notes that soar high are given expression through the performances jointly given by hundreds of actors, dancers, singers, musicians and technicians, the whole bunch of them. This community display of the community-dream of the people of modern Russia is also witnessed in open air ensembles organised by unions of the workers. They are no professional ventures but skilled performances given by amateurs, without any amateurish degeneration.

As the number of literary figures are swelled by men and women coming from farms and factories and other places of work, so the number of artists, dancers, and singers are also swelled by efficient artists coming from the very same sources. No barrier is ever placed anywhere to stop man from his journey onward to

fulfilment. Steady work, gradual progress, broader outlook, and desire to march forward along with the entire community towards fulfilment are precisely what Moscow expects of her citizens. The Grand Planning based on these requirements is not a blue print of regimentation, but a humanitarian scheme to prepare the citizens both individually and collectively, for a better life and a better world. Moscow is as creative as the mother earth, as holy as Mecca, as beautiful as the Madonna. Moscow reflects the spirit of Russia. And it is no wonder that every year between four and five hundred delegations from different countries visit Moscow.

UZBEKISTAN

From Moscow we flew to Uzbekistan, a distance of about two thousand miles. We had a mixed feeling, both bitter and, sweet, for Samarkand, now in Uzbekistan. It was from there that Taimur came and sacked Delhi. Babar too had come from that region. India had suffered from their aggressions. India had also profited by their contacts. They had brought death to many an Indian. And many were their gifts to Indian art and culture. The dynasty that Babar had founded in India did change the face of India. And India today holds as much a legacy of the Central Asian culture as she does of her own ancient one.

We knew all these. But few of us had any idea of what Tashkent was. Tashkent, the principal city of the State, now known as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, is a garden-city and yet an industrial one; the best and the biggest in the Republic. On landing at the air port itself, we felt that we had at last reached the land of eastern romances. There were those vine-yards, those multicoloured flowers sweetening the air by Arabic perfumes, those shining dark eyes and smiling faces. Only burkhas and veils we missed to notice.

We had read much about the backwardness of the people of that part of Asia. Yes, the people were backward not unlike many other peoples in many other parts of the world. But what we heard and found during our visit was astounding in contrast to what we had read. The new Republic has totally liquidated illiteracy, has provided work for every able-bodied man and woman. It is today the biggest cotton-producing state in the U.S.S.R. It holds the second place among Soviet States to generate electric power. Culturally it has made a tremendous progress.

We witnessed a performance of Shakespeare's Othello in Uzbeki language. I cannot, of course, tell my readers how far correct the adaptation was. But the performance itself was in no way inferior to those we have seen in India given to us by troupes coming from England from time to time. The artist who appeared in the title role was a Stalin Prize winner. Not a few of the cast had the distinction of being National Artists.

We had visited an Opera House that was described

to us to be the Second Taj Mahal. It was indeed so. We had not seen an equal to it anywhere else in the U.S.S.R. It might be called an art-museum as well. In the spacious halls of this five-storied Opera House specimens of Central Asian architectures and paintings are presented as decorations. Audiences of the Opera House are invited to visit these halls. Trained guides conduct the audiences through this museum and explain to them all about the decorations. Here we also witnessed a performance of the famous opera "Laila and Majnu." Its heroine too was a Stalin Prize winner and also a member of the Supreme Soviet. We also attended an ensemble of songs and dances. A tiny girl gave us a Hindustani song. She presented it so correctly that donned in an Indian costume she might have been passed easily for a girl from Upper India.

An academician and professor of mathematics invited us to lunch with him. Fruits and viands and bottles of wines were so heaped on the table that hardly could we see the faces of our friends sitting opposite us. Our hostess, the motherly wife of the professor, fed one of us by her own spoon when he said that his stomach had no more space left to receive further food. The professor himself provided feasts for our brains. When we told him that there was no mathematician among us, he started to talk on the cultural history of Central Asia. He had actually written a book on the very theme. He left the table and brought out from his book-shelves copies of it and explained to us what he had written. One of us recited a poem from Hafiz and immediately after, our learned host and the hostess gave us recitals from the very same poet.

We were similarly entertained by a poet who was also an academician. We learned from him that his publishers were paying him twenty roubles for each line of his poems they published. A professor of history gave us his constant company during our stay in Tashkent and worked as our guide, friend and philosopher. The minister for culture honoured me by giving me a seat next to him while we were invited to witness a variety performance of dance and music. In him I found not only a young and handsome and deeply intellectual person but also an artist. He confessed that while he was a student he used to take part in stage-plays and song-recitals.

From Tashkent we flew to Samarkand, and spent a whole day there. We visited the famous observatory founded by the renowned astronomer Abu Bekir. It was constructed after the model of the equally famous Jaipur observatory, remarked our learned guide and read out to us an inscription in support of it. We visited Taimur's tomb and many other tombs of his dear and near relations. The grand Buland Darwaja was almost in ruins. A part of it only could be protected. But even the remnant shows how magnificent was the structure when it stood high in all its glories, against the azure sky.

We were told a romantic tale while we visited a big mosque. Built under the command of the most favourite of the wives of Taimur to commemorate the conquests of her mighty husband. The construction was entrusted to a handsome young architect. The lady herself used to supervise the daily progress, because she wanted to see it completed before her lord had returned. But Cupid stole in between the queen and the architect, and made the two enamoured of each other. The architect slowed down his work thinking that the more time he would take to build the mosque, the more opportunity would he get to drink deep the love of the queen. But the lady did not forget that she was Taimur's consort. She insisted on the quick completion of the mosque. The architect realized that unless he complied with what she wanted, he would be surely thrown out as surely as he would be denied her company as soon as the construction would get completion. His dismissal was equally certain in either circumstances. He grew desperate, and desperately declared to his lady-love that he would complete the structure even in advance of the scheduled time if her ladyship would allow him to impress one little kiss on her ruby-red pair of lips. His boldness amazed the lady. But she could not resist him either. Lips pressed against lips for a few seconds. And then all was over; both the love and the construction before the scheduled time. Taimur came back and was surprised to find such a magnificent mosque built in so short a space of time. How could he manage to get it done was his query to his queen. The queen told him of the price she had paid for it. Taimur wanted to see the architect. But he could not be found anywhere in the city. An apprentice to the architect could only say that he saw his master mounting on to the top of the highest of the minarets and disappearing from there in the endless blue. Behind the veil that covered the deep dark eyes of the queen two pearl-drops rolled over two rosy cheeks turned ivory pale.

We had a late lunch that day at a collective farm. The director of the farm and his comrades, both men and women, made it a gala occasion. It was no lunch but a feast in right royal oriental style that they arranged for their Indian guests. Carpets were spread under the shades of farm-trees, fat pillows in velvet were placed on them. Hand fans to cool ourselves were handed to each one of us. Tables for the feast were laid in green groves bordered by plants which bore blossomed flowers displaying all the seven colours. Big round Samarkand breads, grapes black and red, chicken roasts, vegetables and wines of three different qualities and colours and tastes were littered on the tables. Speeches and songs and applause and peals of laughter followed one after another in a continuous expression of a festive occasion. After an hour and a half the feast was over. And we were led back on the carpets for a little rest. No sooner had another half

an hour passed, a gong was sounded. We looked all around to find what had happened. Our hosts informed us that we were to go back to the tables. Every one of us shrank at the very idea of it. But there was no escape from it. The Biriiani Palao was ready steaming on the dishes. To refuse it, would not only be an expression of ungratefulness but would be taken as an insult, our Russian companions explained to us. We had to sit at the tables once again. A few of us showed gastronomic feats, but every one of us deplored why it was not served as the first course. But it was the custom there; and we had to respect it.

Throngs of men and women and children greeted us wherever we had gone. The expression in their eyes showed that they did not take us absolutely as foreigners. A feeling of kinship had possibly seized some of them. These people looked comparatively poorer than their comrades in Tashkent. A budding journalist whom I met at the air port in the morning came out of a crowd and handed over to me a copy of Lenin's life in Russian. I thought he wanted my autograph. I was about to put my signature on it, when my interpreter told me that the book was given to me as a presentation. I looked for the youngman to offer him my thanks. But he had disappeared. His dress suggested that he was not well placed in life. But he had purchased the copy of the book after he had met me in the morning at the air port and had followed us throughout our journey to snatch an opportunity to make the presentation, when he was able to reach me he could not find a word to say. Silently he offered me the book, and before I could know what it was for, he had disappeared. The book is written in Russian language. I shall never be able to read it. But I will ever remember the generous young journalist of Samarkand.

We were to fly back to Moscow from Tashkent. I boarded the plane a little ahead of the time of departure. In came the President of the Local Peace Committee. I thought he would not find time to see us off, busy as he was. He gently held my arm and asked me to get down. When we had landed he said, "We have yet twenty minutes to strengthen our friendship. The longer an Indian stands on our soil the stronger gets the friendship of India and Uzbekistan." I looked at his eyes. They were humid.

KIEV

Leningrad plus Moscow equals to Kiev, is my estimation of the principal city of the Ukraine situated on the Dniipper, famous for the great dam, the first surprise the Soviet sprang on the world. Kiev is as beautiful as Leningrad and as active as Moscow. She suffered terribly at the hands of the Nazi aggressors. But her spirit could not be subdued. Half the city was demolished. Citizens were killed by thousands. Kiev bore the brunt and retrieved as soon as the enemy was forced

to retire. We were shown a street where not a house stood erect during the war. But we could not discover a single blow-out heap. We saw palatial new houses on both the sides of the broad road. They were tenement houses, newly built for working families. Some of the buildings were as big as to accommodate two hundred families in two hundred suites consisting of bed rooms, sitting rooms, kitchens and baths. Community kitchens are also provided for, and tenants are encouraged to take advantage of them. Nobody is, of course, forced to have his meals at the community kitchen, but every one's attention is drawn to them with a view to building up the community habit of living. A family gains in money and time and labour if its members prefer the community kitchen to the private ones. We were told that the number preferring the former to the latter is on the increase.

Everybody knows that the Ukraine is the granary of Eastern Europe. Its principal city Kiev has, therefore, directed her energy to industry and culture. She has become an industrial centre as well as a centre of cultural activities. That is why I call her a Moscow in miniature. She has a university big enough. But she contemplates to make it bigger yet after the pattern of the New Moscow University. Her Theatre buildings and Opera houses are big and bright and they cater first class art productions. Ukrainian folk-songs and dances are famous for their emotional appeals, colourful presentation and vital expressions. Gogol's *Ukrainian Night* was no poet's fantasy but a reality that might be felt every night even now.

Culture is the keynote of the present activities of Kiev. The Shivchenko Memorial Museum shows how sacred the Kievans hold the cause of culture. Shivchenko was the national poet of the Ukraine in the distant past when the peasants in Russia had to live as serfs. Shivchenko himself was a serf. He had to tend sheep for his master when he was quite a boy. But the boy had talents which no bondage could curb. A benevolent connoisseur discovered the talents in him and purchased for him his liberty from his master-lord. Freed from serfdom Shivchenko found opportunities to develop his talents. He passed out from the school and got admitted into the university and came out of it as one of the most brilliant scholars of the age. But he was no book-worm scholar. He proved himself to be a creative artist. He wrote poems and songs and painted pictures. As he came from the peasantry, his poems and songs and pictures represented and reflected the woes and the sufferings of the peasants. The peasants themselves found in him a friend and guide. Shivchenko became the link of contact between the progressive intellectuals and the dumb and the ever-oppressed serf-peasantry. Literary figures including the great Gogol and progressive intellectuals used to seek company of Shivchenko. But Shivchenko himself, spent most of his time with the peasants. He built up

peasant organisations and inspired them by his poems and songs to throw off the yoke of slavery. This the Tsarist government could not tolerate. They started persecuting him. But Shivchenko could not be humbled or coerced to give up his mission. Twenty-three years of his life did he spend in prison in different stages. Once out of the prison gate he would at once take up his sacred mission to be thrown back into the prison again. We know today that the cause for which Shivchenko stood and fought had been vindicated by the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat of peasants and workers. The Ukraine is not ungrateful, nor is she unmindful of her precious heritage. She has therefore founded in Kiev Shivchenko Memorial Museum, a big and bright park, and a mammoth statue on the Dnipper to commemorate her national poet whose life and works truly reflected the nation's life then.

In the museum Shivchenko's poems and songs have been preserved. His printed books, their translations published in different languages, letters and documents are all to be found collected as exhibits. His paintings too are being exhibited. There is a painting depicting the event of the purchase of his liberty from serfdom by his benefactor. The surprise and the feeling of unbounded gratitude was so masterly represented in light and shade in the facile expressions of young Shivchenko that looking at it hardly any visitor may stand unmoved. There is another painting where Gogol along with Shivchenko was enjoying the peoples' funs and frolics. There are exhibited numerous portraits, too, drawn by Shivchenko. When a person visits this museum he does not only get himself acquainted with the life-story of Shivchenko and his tremendous struggle for the freedom of the people, but also does he get a clear idea of how the present nation was made. Kiev has a very well organised Association for Cultural Relations with foreign countries. Its Secretary, Madam Zina Erevina expressed that her Association seeks for a closer relationship between India and Ukraine through exchanges of arts and literatures representing their respective cultures.

The night we left Kiev will be ever remembered by every one of us, I believe. It was a sweet night as most of the Ukrainian nights are, but the parting was very painful. After the farewell banquet was over, we approached the workers of the hotel where we had stayed and apprised them of our sense of deep gratitude to them for the attention and care they had given us. The women workers heard us and then suddenly some of them sobbed aloud. What had happened? Had we offended them by our thanks-giving? No, they were not as unappreciative and uncultured as to misunderstand us. They had accepted our thanks. The memory of their husbands and sons and daughters and many a dear and near ones who were killed by the Nazis had come back afresh to them on hearing us talking of peace. Had the progressive men and women of the world taken this

step a few years earlier, they said, they would have been spared of the misfortune of a War that had killed those who were verily the throbs of their hearts, the lights of their eyes. It was this thought that had rushed into them and broke all restraints. One of the ladies pressed a palm of one of our women-colleagues and said in her own language with tears in her eyes, "Farewell, sister. Go back to your country and work hard for world-peace. Tell the peace-loving people of your land that the Ukrainian women have suffered too hard to keep themselves aloof from any movement that will bring world-peace." None of us left the hotel with dry eyes.

But there were more painful moments we were destined to suffer. They came the following morning when we reached the frontier of Czechoslovakia. Our Russian guides would no longer give us their company. For three weeks every hour of the day till midnight we moved from place to place under their care and guidance. Their anxiety to see us happy and comfortable, their earnestness to show us as much of their country as was possible, their zeal to leave nothing unexplained to us were more than mere expressions of friendliness. We loved them, respected them, and placed ourselves entirely under their stewardship. We never thought during those three weeks that a time would come when they would cry a halt, and we would have to part from them perhaps never to meet again. We gratefully remember every one of them. We remember teacher-interpreter Lyda, who guided us in Tashkent and Samarkand and helped us by translating our speeches but unkindly left us when we returned to Moscow without giving us an opportunity to express our gratefulness we owed to her. We remember the tall and handsome figure of Andrey and his untiring assistance, as we remember the distinctive personality and ability of young Tamara. Both of them left us at Kiev. We left behind in Tashkent sweet Misha who was placed in charge of the small groups of our delegation who decided to come back by the Kabul route. Amiable Henrietta and wonderful Chelesov, Hindi-teacher, stuck to us till the last. Above everybody else stands bright in our memory the motherly and no less lovely, personality of Madam Krivapolova of the Soviet Peace Committee. It was she who bore the whole brunt of our weaknesses and not unoften childish caprices. She is a typical expression of the qualities the Soviet Woman has achieved. She was the first person to extend to us a warm welcome when we had touched the Soviet soil. And she was the last person to bid us Farewell when we were about to cross over to Czechoslovakia. Hosts and guests stood on the borderline looking at one another; hands pressed hands; and farewell greetings sounded like stifled sobs.

Czechoslovak guides stepped forward and took over the burden our Russian friends had unloaded.

(To be continued)

AUTOMATION

By ARUN KUMAR ROY

"AUTOMATION" or "Rationalisation" brought a commotion in the industrial world in the recent past. Though India is not so well-advanced in industry as U.S.A. and U.K., still this step became an important topic throughout the length and breadth of the country wherever there are industrial regions. Opinions, however, differed on the point whether this would be a blessing or a curse.

In the Second Five-Year Plan where main stress has been laid on heavy industries which are yet to be built, we shall be getting up-to-date plants with recent automatic techniques so far applied to these industries in the countries which shall be helping us with the erection of these plants and hence we may not have to face much difficulty for several years, but we have a few important industries which have served the country since the first decade of this century, *viz.*, jute and textiles, which require innovation with the most up-to-date machineries and labour-saving devices to enable them to compete in the market with the materials produced in technically advanced countries. Even in industries not very old, due to continuous research and development, changes in processes may be required to be made quickly. "And with each change, certain jobs, certain skills and sometimes whole plants or companies are made economically obsolete."

This would naturally create problems—problems for individual workers and individual companies, problems for those industrialists who lack in sufficient capital to automate the plants—in other words problems which will inevitably arise in making the adjustment to the new technology.

There are limits to the weight one can lift, to the calculations one can complete, to the distance a man can walk and to the information one can absorb. During the industrial revolution means for extending man's physical capacity were developed resulting in creation of machines. Today means for extending man's mental capacity are being linked to these earlier devices. The expansion of man's activity has developed a series of bottlenecks each of which has been solved leading from industrial revolution and technological progress following that to automation.

It will, therefore, be worthwhile to make a study of automation, its advantages, disadvantages, limitations and scope, the problems it will create, whether those can be removed and such other points.

Automation is a new word to us and hence no concise and accurate meaning is yet ready. Some are of opinion that this is a "second industrial revolution"

while others say that "the word is new, not the principles involved." It is the natural outgrowth of scientific research and development in the field of mechanisation and means the general technological progress that has been taking place in industry for many years but the word was coined not very long ago.

To a layman it sounds like something where everything is done automatically and calls up a spectre of robot and workerless factories and consequently produces various sorts of fears in various sorts of individuals—fear of change, fear of technology itself, fear of displacement, fear of unemployment, fear of machines, fear of science in general.

The most common statements in this respect are that "automation is merely an extension of mechanisation," "the use of machines to run machines," "the automatic handling of parts between progressive production processes," "relegation to a machine of the functions of performing operations previously performed manually." These concepts do not give all the requisite conditions of automation. To be more exact we can speak of automation as any continuous and integrated operation which uses electronics or other mechanical devices to achieve optimum use of all production resources and yield faster, better and greater quantity of mass-produced products at less cost. It is a technology arising from electronics and electrical engineering. It is applicable to a great many industrial and clerical operations.

Here are some special features of automation. "It is a departure from the older methods of machine production by machine operators since it represents the automatic operation of machines on four major principles—mechanisation, feedback, continuous process and rationalisation." It is both cost-reducing and labour-saving. "It normally results in increased productivity, lower rejection rates on finished goods, lower costs, wider acceptance of products and prompter customer services." Its application differs widely from industry to industry.

In U.S.A., automation dates back as early as 1784 A.D. There is mention of an automatic flour-milling plant built near Philadelphia in the book *The Millwright's Guide* written by Oliver Evans near about 1784. In railroad industry, it has been in use since 1872 and in metal-working industry for over 100 years.

There is a difference between "Automation" and "Rationalisation." Of course, the two are interrelated. "Rationalisation means the application of reason to the solution of problems or to the search of knowledge."

In a production system it means that the entire process from the raw material to the final product is carefully analysed so that every operation can be designed to contribute in the most efficient way to the achievement of clearly enunciated goals of the enterprise." When we use "Rationalisation" we pass over from the primarily technological to the primarily economic meaning of automation. To a man who is displaced due to either of them, both words carry the same meaning.

The history of the effort of man is to harness and utilise more and more energy to free him and his progeny from manual labour and hence automation is inevitable. With every technological change our standard of living increases. To meet this increase we would crave for wider and better variety of goods and services at reasonable cost. A rapid and continuous growth of market where these materials can be had at competitive prices, is, therefore, essential. Automation starts with marketing. Competition forces automation. If the producer does not keep his price low, his sales drop. He will find market invaded by a more progressive competitor. To keep his price competitive he should try to have more output at less cost and the machine is the answer to this. Production in aggregate and per man hour is enormously increased without any increase in the number of production workers. It makes possible better utilisation of capital equipment and all the components of production, —labour, capital, natural resources and management—higher productivity and a greater rate of return though it is a costly affair.

The advance of automation depends upon two essential conditions, viz., full employment and mass purchasing power. A dynamic balance between our ability to create greater and greater economic wealth reflected by expanding productive power and the ability to expand purchasing power in the hands of millions is to be maintained to get the maximum benefit of automation. If the demand does not keep pace with growing productivity, the goods will pile up unsold, production will be interrupted and automation will cause serious unemployment. If, on the other hand, the consumer shares in the benefits through lower prices, and workers share by higher wages and greater purchasing power, then we are keeping in balance the greater productive power and purchasing power.

The first goal, full employment, is now generally accepted as both an economic and political necessity. There is, however, difference of opinion as to whether automation would achieve this goal. On the one hand, automation has been deplored as a trend which will disrupt entire economy, on the other, it has been claimed that the machine will one day relegate man to a life of plenty and leisure. Let us now see if this will help us and society as a whole.

According to the proponents society as a whole will be benefited, for—

- (1) It will create employments;
- (2) It will give increased production at lower direct labour cost, improved quality, lower accident rate and higher wages;
- (3) It will create more leisure and wealth for cultural and educational activities and thereby there will be an all-round progress of the standard of living.

According to Union people, it would create countless problems, (1) for individual workers and older workers who will be displaced, (2) for entire communities when plants move to a new area, (3) for small business concerns that cannot compete against automated giants, and these in turn endanger the economy as a whole.

Let us go through them in more details.

(A) IT WILL CREATE EMPLOYMENTS

Though it will displace some direct production jobs for a very short period, its introduction would extend activities in other fields which will create many employments. "The machines cannot buy components, cannot receive them, cannot inspect and test them nor deliver them to the production floor. It does not pack the final product, does not ship it and certainly does not market the product. The mechanised part accounts for a small portion of the total working force." The increased production, therefore, is to be marketed, skilled workers are required to operate, maintain and repair the machines. The service industries will expand. There will be shift to industries, viz., retail trade, construction, professional and related services, public administration, manufacturing of machinery, wholesale trade, transportation, metal manufacturing, finance, insurance, real estate, repair services and telecommunications. It creates a demand for new skills of a higher order necessitating increase in salary.

A concrete example is electronics industry. The increased demand for and availability of the products of the electronics industry has brought a great expansion of the basic material industries: metals, glass, chemicals, plastics. Electronics distribution and service industry has increased enormously whose distributors, jobbers, dealers, servicemen and others do a heavy volume of business.

"It is not a case of putting a machine to work in 1 or 2 plants. It is a case of creating an entire set of industries, hundreds of thousands of jobs that did not exist, millions of dollars of personal incomes, of buying power, new life-blood for the entire economy. In industries yet unborn, it will offer job opportunities of a number and nature which only future can determine." The static unchanging industries are not the sources of growth in employment.

Such extension of activities will bring vast new opportunities to those, especially those displaced by

machines, who are willing to work and learn. There is, therefore, no reason to fear long-run mass unemployment.

Good timing for automation is extremely important because losses occur from premature modernisation as well as from delayed replacement. If a company fails to modernise in time it will lose business.

(B) PRODUCTION ADVANTAGES

Though it implies an increase in capital cost, due to a decrease in direct labour and higher output, the cost is reduced. It would also counteract the effect of higher wages levels on the cost of manufactured goods. In other words, it amounts to less capital investment per individual unit of output. The production of new and better goods of more standardised quality becomes possible. It welds together production steps. There is an increase in the quantity and accuracy of information and the speed with which it is obtained. No excessive down time or maintenance work may be necessary. In a few cases high operating speeds may waste materials but even here the loss is usually justified by saving other resources including even time which is a valuable component of production. Mistakes which could be very expensive in customer relations can be eliminated. It would pay for itself in a relative short period. Automated machinery and equipment often cost more, therefore, increased depreciation charges may nullify savings otherwise obtainable, but still it would be advantageous because of savings in materials from combining several operations in one machine and indirectly because of reductions in floor space, lighting and heating requirements.

Automation has supplanted heavy, dangerous and unpleasant work with easier, more pleasant and more interesting work. Monotonous repetitive jobs will be done by untiring, unfeeling machines. There will be fewer people using their strength and many more behind the scenes. It will cause gradual shift of employment, from menial labour to higher skilled, better paid and safe jobs and from direct production works to various service trades. Works which will require the most manpower will be semi-skilled and highly-skilled maintenance, repair and operation. Such works are fully within the ability of most people provided they are properly trained and motivated. What is needed is a genuine interest in the work. It also increases the need for personnel trained in the design, construction, supervision and maintenance of automatic equipments. On the whole, it will create greater stability of jobs. Man will be the master of machine, rather than servant.

With high investment in machinery, industry has one more incentive to keep those machines running as steadily as possible. This provides a great stimulus for better planning, more professional marketing and all the other techniques for maintaining steady demand and employment.

The plant could be located closer to its markets and its sources of raw materials and fuel. Because it requires less direct labour it need not be placed in concentrated labour markets. It has actually met labour shortage.

From the point of view of good labour management relation too, there should not be more than a few hundred people in one plant since one man cannot know individually more than several hundred people. Automation, because of minor emphasis on labour, helps in this respect by enabling erection of small plants in small towns. It may also be cheaper to build a new automatic plant in a new area than to automate an old plant.

It permits tasks to be performed which could never be done by human labour alone. The greatest industries including atomic research simply could not exist without mechanisation and automation. We cannot make chemicals, gasoline and electricity by hand.

(C) IT WILL RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING

It holds forth the promise of great advances in living conditions and leisure. It will give increased leisure opportunity permitting the worker to develop his inherent human capacities. The worker of the future will require better basic education and better training than he gets now.

In spite of these advantages it can create dislocations in society.

"What should be done to help the worker who will be displaced from his job, or the worker who will find that his highly specialised skill has been taken over by a machine? What about the businessman who lacks sufficient capital to automate his plant, yet has to face the competition of firms, whose resources enable them to build new automatic factories? Will automation mean the creation of new communities in new areas while others are turned into ghost towns? If automation destroys unskilled jobs what about training large numbers so displaced?"

Questions of such nature are to be gone through and if we feel that automation will really bring prosperity and raise the standard of living, we should see that these dislocations and displacements are taken care of from the very beginning to avoid another slump of 1930. In the course of reaching a higher standard of living we will not take one step backward in order to take two steps forward.

It is on the employment of labour that automation has its greatest impact. Local displacements tend to be masked by the net growth in employment. For a fixed amount of work there may be a net reduction of total personnel required. It affects skills, job security, earnings and working conditions of the employees who are dislocated because either some skills are rendered obsolete diluted by further specialisation or jobs are totally abolished. Also the new

skills require executive training and education workers may not be able to move easily into the new jobs. When they cannot they are often downgraded in work which is a displacement in disguise. There is a chance of wage cut. His status and seniority might be affected.

The training cannot be done automatically. Besides, there are those who cannot learn new skills because of physical or mental limitations. What would happen to old workers, not old enough for normal retirement but too old to learn new skills or adjust to the demands of the new technology? The factors such as age, temperament, etc., of the worker are also to be considered.

Human resources depreciate with time rather than use and they depreciate in an accelerated rate when they are unemployed because of the decline of knowledge, skills and morale. Social cost of unemployment far exceeds the economic cost since unemployment also contributes in large measure to crime, disease, family disintegration, race and religious prejudice, suicide and war.

The working class suspects that there are some who view the automation as a means of disciplining labour.

Industrial location is affected due to shifting to non-industrial areas. It causes great hardships and dislocation to communities who are affected. Women workers, who play the role of worker, household manager and mother, suffer most when solution is attempted by making transfers of displaced workers.

The population growth would increase labour force. How to find employments for them? Of course, a certain percentage would be absorbed due to deaths, retirement, enrolment in colleges for advanced study courses, etc. There are no built in electronic devices that will automatically produce economic and social adjustments.

It may be argued that because of limited scope of expansion of automation and limitations it will not progress as fast as the proponents of a completely automatic society have predicted and hence the picture would not be as dark as above. Still it will be a little comfort for any person currently unemployed to be said that 15 or 20 years hence things are going to be just wonderful.

Automation cannot be engineered into every job indiscriminately since it is not always feasible or profitable. It will also be limited where human interaction is of primary importance as in distribution, service business and in professional fields. The following are other limitations, though temporary but significant:

- (i) High initial cost. It cannot be installed if capital needed is not obtained.
- (ii) The time that is taken to effect automation is a long one. The problems are to be

analysed, these are to be equated, computers to be programmed and the answers to be translated into useful data. It takes many many years of work to develop equipment in determining proper machine characteristics and following up with design. Then there is the time for construction.

(iii) Shortage of highly trained operators and analysers.

(iv) Depreciation allowances allowed by tax authorities.

(v) Decrease in the flexibility of a given industrial production which would increase cost of a change-over. Hence, automation is best applicable when a given product or a given design is going to be made in large quantities and for a very considerable period. Management must work out some way to assume the wider and steadier market which will justify the investment in new machinery and methods.

(vi) There is a risk that a competitor will obsolete the product or process or both long before the investment has been amortised. The faster we automate, the relatively more secure become the promising opportunities for further automation due to cost.

Automation is best suited to those industries in which production can be reduced to a continuous flow process, e.g., oil refining, flour milling, chemical production.

A second class includes industries in which some automation is possible but full or nearly complete automation is not likely. In this category would be found industries which require substantial information handling and accounting functions but in which the method of production or the nature of the product is not adaptable to continuous flow techniques. Such industries would include transportation, large-scale retailing and the manufacture of certain non-standardised consumer product like furniture.

The third group is the one in which no significant application of automation seems likely because of the highly individualistic nature of the product, the need for personal services, the advantages of small-scale units or vast space requirements, e.g., agriculture, professional fields and most construction works and retailing.

Advantages of automation can only be ensured if there is a continued expansion. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Economic Stabilisation of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Congress of the United States, rightly remarks that

"We have not had one witness to appear before this Committee who resisted automation or genuine progress. Everyone has been in favour of it. They just want to make sure that the dislocations and displacements are taken care of in such a way that the workers will be provided for on the theory that

society is being benefited generally by automation and progress and the society, therefore, should make the impact less severe." (p. 270 of the *Report*).

Society means industry and the Government. If business is going to benefit, it should assume some share of social costs—in retraining workers. Government must be prepared to fulfil its responsibilities in the field of human welfare by providing vocational training facilities, improved education, industrial laws, etc. The Union should assume its share by not impeding the progress. A great opposition will, however, come if automation is introduced blindly and irresponsibly with the only aim of achievement of largest possible quick profit for the industrialists. To remove

job dislocations, labour and industry should join together to form a recruitment board to deal with problems of unemployment.

Automation will grow and if the problems are tackled by a dynamic and aggressive management, there may be unparalleled advance in our industry and society as a whole. As automation advances, national economy becomes like a rocket which must continue to accelerate or else fall from the sky bringing disaster.*

* Condensed from "Hearings before the Sub-Committee on Economic Stabilisation of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Congress of the United States, 84th Congress." Hearings held on October 14, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25; 26; 27 and 28; 1955.

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CLASSICAL SAMKHYA PHILOSOPHY: ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES

By DR. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.,

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THE Samkhya, one of the oldest philosophical enquiries of India, has been shaped and re-shaped in different ages. Materials available for the study of Samkhya are scattered in various works like the Mahabharat, the Gita, the Puranas, etc. A study of the history of philosophy of a country reveals the truth that no system of philosophical thought can claim to be the work of one generation only. This is all the more true in regard to Indian philosophy. Most of the systems here had early beginnings. Then through continuous development in different ages, they have been moulded repeatedly into different shapes and have become more and more determinate and coherent. The Samkhya system falls under this category.

PURUSA AND PRAKRITI

The nature of Purusa and Prakriti and their relationship forms the central doctrine of the Samkhya philosophy. The most important point in the Upanisadic philosophy is the doctrine that the innermost self is of the nature of pure consciousness and that it is the ground of all our experiences. The Atman is identical with the Brahman. The diverse power of nature has no reality, independent of it. But in the Upanisads, an attempt to show how from the one reality, the empirical world has sprung up is no more visible. We are simply told that this universe has originated from Brahman and that ultimately, it will return to it. The Samkhya doctrine explains how this world of multiplicity has gradually come into existence through the process of evolution from Prakriti. In

this glorious act of creation, Nature is supposed to be moved to action through the influence of spirit. True knowledge implies seeing one in many and many in one and unless diversity is understood as well as unity, no philosophic outlook can be truly formed. Multiplicity proceeds directly from nature and not from the spiritual principle. The spiritual reality is self or Purusa which is of the nature of pure consciousness. The realisation of the pure nature of the self and also of its destruction from Prakriti is the goal of this ceaseless cycle of births and re-births.

The peculiarity of all philosophical systems of India lies in the fact that they do not seek to satisfy merely the intellectual curiosity of man; rather they aim at enlightenment of life and thus hope to help man in his attempt to get rid of the sufferings of the worldly existence. Hence, in India, a philosophical system is also called *Moksha-Shastra* or the science of liberation. The worldly life is a life of misery and pain, desires and frustrations and despite best efforts that a man can put forth, he is unable to secure permanent happiness. A man is therefore required to rise above the shifting scenes of this world to attain liberation. The lust for worldly pleasures and profits can be destroyed only by divine knowledge which consists of *Tattva Jnana*. Knowledge of reality destroys the effect of Karma and thus puts an end to the cycle of births and deaths.

The Samkhya says that this *Tattva Jnana*, a man can attain only when he succeeds in realising the distinction between self and not self or Purusa or

Prakriti. Manas, Buddhi and Ahamkara which constitute the psychological selves and which, therefore, really undergo experiences of pleasures and pains are not eternal. They disappear with the advancement of knowledge. What remains behind them is called in the Samkhya Prakriti (the mother of this universe of sufferings and pains). There is no real contact between Prakriti and Purusa: Purusa is perfect and independent and completely aloof from everything else.

LIBERATION

Our life on earth constantly swings like a pendulum between pleasures and pains, happiness and misery. Even if it is possible for a man to shun all other pains and pleasures, it is impossible for him to resist decay and death. Of course all men earnestly strive to remove all kinds of pain and misery, but so long as we remain on the empirical level only we cannot enjoy unmixed and pure pleasure or happiness. This is the most important truth regarding our life on earth. So if a man is to rise above the level of this sorrowful existence, he must, first of all realise that all worldly pleasures lead to sorrow and that no worldly means can remove for ever the sufferings of this empirical life. The Samkhya system has started with an analysis of three kinds of misery that generally destroy the pleasures of life. These are the Adhyatmika pain, Adhibhautika pain and Adhidaivika pain. The first is caused by the disorders of the mind-body system, such as fever, anger, greed, fear, etc. The second is produced by external agents like other men, beasts and natural forces. The third kind is produced by supernatural causes, e.g., the pains inflicted by ghosts and demons, etc.

All these evils of life cannot be removed either by science or by religious practices and other known means. The performances of sacrifices, according to Vedic rites, may remove pain for a short period: but as these actions involve the sacrifice of animals, they must ultimately produce pain and not pleasure. Again, physical disease can be cured by medicines and mental pain by indulgence in pleasures. But this sort of relief, too, is short-lived, as there will be recurrence of such mental and physical ailments. The knowledge of science and performance of religious sacrifices cannot, therefore, lead to the final annihilation of sufferings and pains: though these ordinary means have a limited value in making life at least tolerably happy on this earth. Hence the question arises: how are we to attain absolute freedom from all pains and sufferings? The Samkhya says that all our misery

is really due to ignorance. Buddhi and Purusa are distinct and different, but through ignorance a seeming unity between the two is wrongly established by us, as a result of which sorrows and sufferings, pain and misery which really belong to Buddhi seem to follow us from birth to birth. It is necessary, therefore, that through discriminatory knowledge, we should form in Buddhi the true conception of the nature of Purusa and then with the help of this saving knowledge, we shall be able to attain liberation from the sorrows and sufferings of this world.

It would therefore be obvious that the Samkhya teaching of the classical school leads us to the discrimination of spirit from nature—the two ultimate principles of radically distinct character. Prakriti is accepted as the fundamental matrix of the world which evolves the universe out of itself and also re-absorbs it at the time of dissolution. This Prakriti is active and ever-changing but blind and unconscious. In the unevolved state, Nature is an equilibrium of the three *gunas*—*Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. When these three *Gunas* are thrown out of balance by the transcendental influence of the Purusa, evolution of the *Mahat* and other categories proceeds. What then is the Purusa? According to Samkhya, Purusa is the permanent, changeless and pure consciousness and that its two purposes “enjoyment and liberation” are served by the evolutionary function of Nature. But this function is not performed by Prakriti knowingly and intelligently. Hence, there are not merely charges and transformations in the world. There is also the permanent principle of consciousness which manifests all these changing events of life and experience. The spirit does not control the process of creation directly by any real contact.

It may be stated that Samkhya thoughts and ideas have influenced various forms of Hindu religion and philosophy. Indian art and literature too are not immune from the influence of dual concepts of Purusa and Prakriti. Kalidas's *Kumar Sambhava* contains an account of the theistic Samkhya. Even in Sahajiyā Buddhism, Prajna and Upaya are conceived as female and male counterparts of the ultimate reality. In Saivism, these two aspects of reality have been conceived as Siva and Sakti and in the Vaishnava school, these two counterparts have appeared as Vishnu and Lakshmi or Krishna and Radha. Later, Vedānta also displays some influence of the Samkhya thoughts as the three *gunas* of *Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* are often mentioned in this philosophy.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA, Vol. 1: Published by the Society, Madras. 1955. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 6.

Prefaced with an Introduction by its present President (Justice A. S. P. Ayyar) and with a Foreword by one of its former Presidents (Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliyar), this first issue of the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* (started as far back as in 1935) makes its debut in the scholarly world with eight papers, all of great interest and one or two of outstanding importance. The place of honour is given to the paper *Temple and Pyramid and Obelisk* by Sri T. G. Aravamuthan, in which the learned author discusses acutely the problem of the ancient builders in raising huge blocks of stone to great elevations and fixing them up in position (as in the case of the Egyptian Pyramids and the Tanjore temple of Rajaraja I) and in setting upright the long and slim obelisks (as in the case of "Cleopatra's Needle"). In a second paper Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra gives a popular and all too brief account of the part played by Indian epigraphy in revealing India's past and in containing lessons for her future. A third paper that of Sri S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari, contains a brief descriptive sketch (illustrated with tables and plates) of the types of South Indian coins from the earliest times to those of the Pandyas. In a fourth paper Dr. T. V. Mahalingum traces, with adequate notices of the types and functions of these bodies, the history of the South Indian village assemblies down to their decline and complete disappearance in the fifteenth and following centuries. The fifth paper, that of Dr. Klaus Fischer, contains a good description (with technical details and excellent bibliographical notices) of some important but almost unknown archaeological monuments visited by him in the course of his recent study-tour throughout the country. The list includes mediaeval temples from remote villages of Orissa, the Deccan and South India, "post-mediaeval" (really, post-16th century) Bengal temples from villages in Sonthal Parganas and Hooghly districts, and some Jaina antiquities near the site of Ancient Vijayanagar. The author, after noting four unique features of the Bengal temples in general, observes that in contrast with the rest of the country restricting themselves to the copy of past models Bengal created new forms which developed from the original square and one-storied shrine to the highly decorated type with 25 towers. In the sixth paper, Dr. V. Raghavan describes with a few adequate illustrations a number of Indian antiquities (stone sculptures, bronze figures and paintings) deposited in various

European museums visited by him in the course of a recent tour. Summing up his observations he points out that the museum authorities, though forced for lack of space to keep much of their collections in the magazines, periodically arrange for exhibitions of a particular school or area amid their natural setting, how the collections have been enriched by means of special expeditions organised by the States and the learned Societies, and how the arrangements of the exhibits, the lighting, facilities for visit and study in those Museums are incomparably superior to those prevailing in India. An exhaustive and well-documented description of the antiquities of Tulu-nad (North and South Kanara districts) forms the subject of the seventh paper by Sri P. R. Srinivasan. The most stimulating paper in the whole volume which should be of value to advanced students of Ancient Indian religion and iconography, is the last one entitled *Origin and Growth of Religion: Indian Evidence* by Sri T. G. Aravamuthan. Here the author taking as his text, a few unique finds of Sri Srinivasan, explains some early developments of Vaishnavism and Saivism as well as the mutual reactions of the biomorphous forms of the Rigvedic poets, the zoomorphous forms of the Harappan seal engravers, modellers and sculptors, and the figures of the primitive cult of disembodied spirits (*bhutas*).

The future issues of this promising journal will be awaited with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN EASTERN INDIA (The First Phase): By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. World Press, Calcutta. 1956. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 7-8.

In this age of cheap and mass production of historical research, it seldom falls to the lot of a reviewer to come across a genuine piece of research mainly based on Contemporary Records as embodied in this small book by Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal. The author has already been known to fame for his weighty research papers on various phases of the social history of Bengal in learned monthlies, English and Bengali.

This book consists of eight short chapters, eight Appendices exclusive of "Bibliographical Notes." It is not a book to be hurriedly read and readily judged. To the reading public this book may have as little appeal as the groundwork beneath the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University in the eyes of a tourist looking for a specimen of the imitation Doric style of architecture in Bengal. But it is surely an indication of the strength of the foundation of an enduring edifice of research evidently contemplated by the

ambitious author in the coming phases of this work. The Appendices are no less interesting than the chapters of the text. Any future worker on this topic will be saved the trouble of exploring again the dim beginnings if he carefully reads and appraises the value of the extensive extracts from original documents.

A perusal of this book takes us from the over-enlightened age of our grandchildren, *Nelly, Poli* and *Babi* back to the dim pious antiquity of our grannies, *Hara-siddha, Katyayani, etc.*, names as formidable as their dark prejudices against the Western education of girls. Women's education in Bengal was started with the foundation of a Baptist Mission institution, "The Female Juvenile Society" at Gouri Bere, Calcutta in 1819. Three years after their school had 32 pupils, one as old as thirty, and only a few of five! Of these, 2 were Brahmans, 4 Kayeths, 7 Boshnavs (possibly casteless Bostoms), 4 Baghdis and 4 Chandals. What a change within one hundred years when hardly 4 per cent of untouchables were found in any school of female education, primary or secondary!

The aim of the Christian missionaries was an assault upon the inner citadel of the Hindu idolatry and superstition, so essential for the spread of Christianity in this country. This aim was not directly fulfilled, because recruits to Christianity became fewer with the growth of female education. Nevertheless out of this seeming evil came permanent good to our society, and for this we ought to be grateful to the Christian Societies forgetting all rancour. We admire the courage and enthusiasm of our much-maligned *Pundits*, like Pandit Gaurmohan Vidyalankar in the cause of female education in Bengal (pp. 12-13). It is interesting to note how in 1828 A.D. Bengali language was as helpless as Modern Hindi in 1956 A.D. seems to be in groping for appropriate equivalents for English words. "Plan" is translated (p. 34) as *pandulipi* (manuscript); as in modern Hindi a "restaurant" becomes *jalan-griha* where anything but *jal* (water) is drunk; "Additional Judge" is found to be *Fallu Jaz* (superfluous judge); Chairman of a Municipality—no matter if even a male—turns his gender and comes out as *Naqar-palika*; and most recently, "protective food" appears as *alaukik khadya* (miraculous food). However, there is no reason to despair of the future of Hindi or Bengali for these lapses.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his learned Foreword to this book rightly sums up its worth as "a piece of sound historical work and a source indispensable to every student of our social and cultural history." But what about the future of such un-minted gold? We think it is high time that our Universities should devise some means of recognising research in the private sector as that of Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, Si. Rājendranath Banerjee of lamented memory and others.

K. R. QANUNGO

NEW DEPTHS IN PHILOSOPHY: By Swami Madhavtirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashrama, P.O. Valad Ahmedabad. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 2.

Swami Madhavtirtha is a learned monk of Gujarat, and the popular author of as many as one hundred religious books out of which 85 are in Gujarati and 15 in English. He was the President of the first All Religions Conference held in Ahmedabad in April, 1947.

Though the book under review deals with *maya*,

ignorance and other aspects of Vedanta philosophy, yet it boldly tackles the puzzling problems of our country. Rightly he explains Vedanta in the light of modern science which has metaphysical implications. He denounces the craze for over-activity and pleads for a secluded life of religious study and meditation. He cites the bright examples of two great sages of modern India—Sri Aurobindo and Sri Ramana Maharshi. "In his early life," observes the author, "Sri Aurobindo was a great politician and social worker, but he saw the mistake of over-activity and retired to Pondicherry and passed forty years in solitude at one place. Sri Ramana Maharshi, too, remained in one place for a long period of fifty-four years and conquered time and death."

The author suggests that the modern life in India should be modelled on the basis of ancient ideal of four stages: first, period of secular and religious education, second, of marriage and service, third, of semi-retirement, and fourth, of complete withdrawal from the world. The last stage is meant for giving whole-time attention to God with a view to conquer death of which everybody is afraid. If these four stages are introduced in the life of a modern Indian and the last stage is deeply imprinted on the mind in the first, worst evils of modern age can be successfully overcome; for this purpose, the author thinks that a new State-approved religion is necessary.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PUBLICITY—ART AND LITERATURE: By K. Lahiri. M.A. Published by Calcutta Book Club Ltd., 39, Harrison Road, Calcutta-7. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 4.

This is a book on Theory and Practice of Publicity written not by a man of the publicity profession but by a University lecturer who has a good grasp of the subject he is discussing. The author claims no specialized knowledge and in his own words these "chapters are the results of amateur study and observation."

The subject is treated in fifteen chapters, viz., Press Commission on Publicity, Publicity in Progress, Defence of Publicity, Making Publicity Pay, Principle of Publicity, Publicity Campaign, Press as Medium of Publicity, Publicity Signs, Visual and Auditory Appeals, Language of Publicity Literature, Style, Fundamentals of Layout, Public Relations, Personnel Management, etc.

While presenting this subject the author has borne in mind the background of socio-economic conditions of the country and as such the book has become a pleasant study. There is a dearth of Indian publications, so it is a welcome addition to the literature. The Bibliography provided at the end of the book and the Index will be helpful to students and others interested in the subject. Dr. Saroj Kumar Basu, Dean of the Faculty of Commerce, University of Calcutta, has written an introduction to this book.

A. B. DATTA

129 SONGS, SAD AND SWEET: By Kaibhusri M. Cooper. K. & J. Cooper, Educational Publishers, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.

"Only a lyric cry

From depths of a bursting soul"

that is what the poet wanted to utter and has uttered herein. Delicate and spontaneous, sad and sweet, these little poems resemble, perhaps, the evening dew-drops falling in a faint music under deepening shadows.

"Some say that in the grave below
Undisturbed we can dream,"
these and similar lines in some other poems of the book assume special significance in view of the poet's passing away in 1938.

GOLDEN POLLEN: By K. C. Chatterjee.
Messrs. P. Ghosh & Co. Price Re. 1.

Some 44 pieces of "readable verse" in the form of a decent booklet.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

PRAMANAVARTIKABHASYAM of Prajnakaragupta: Deciphered and edited by Tripitakacharya Rakula Sankrityayana, Kasiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Vol. I. 1955. Price Rs. 15.

The most outstanding work in the service of Indology during recent years is the discovery in Tibet of a numerous Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist works by Mahapandita Rakula Sankrityayana. Works, which were known through quotations, references and in some cases through Tibetan translations are now available in original Sanskrit. Some of these important works have already been published while others are awaiting decipherment and critical edition.

The *Pramanavartika* of Dharmakīrti is by far the most important work on Buddhist Logic. It is not only the highest authoritative work to the Buddhist logician but it commanded respect even among the orthodox schools. The work naturally attracted a host of commentators. The commentary of Manoratha Nandin has been edited by Rahulji and published in the journal of the Bihar Research Society. The Svathanumana chapter of this work with Dharmakīrti's own elucidation in prose and Karnagomi's commentary as edited and published was noticed in *The Modern Review* (July, 1949). The volume under review gives us the commentary of Prajnakaragupta called the *Pramanavartikabhāṣya* or the *Pramanavartikalamkāra* on the *Pramanasiddhi*, *Pratyaksha* and *Parathanumana* chapters along with the original *Karikas*. The *Vartikalamkāra* is the 'most extensive, authoritative and illuminating' commentary on the *Pramanavartika*. Prajnakaragupta started the religious school of interpretation of this work and the importance of his *alamkāra* can be guessed from the number of quotations from it in the later philosophical literature.

The introduction to the volume is highly informative. The text of the *Sambandha Pariksha* as appended here seems to be taken from the *Prameyakhyanamantanda* as out of the twenty-nine verses of the latter we get here as many as twenty-two. About the chronological chart as given in the introduction one may differ with the learned editor on a few points. Dharmottara is said to have been referred to by Prajnakaragupta (F.N. 2, p. 229) and yet the latter is placed earlier (700 A.D.) than the former (725 A.D.). Jnanasrimitra and probably his disciple Ratnakīrti also were criticised by Udayanacharya in his *Abhinavavivēka* and hence Udayana cannot be placed earlier than either of them. These are after all minor points. The volume, on the whole, is a welcome one and students of Indian philosophy will derive immense profit from it.

Both the learned editor and the Kasiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute deserve congratulations for the edition and publication of this important volume. A

verse index added to the volume would have been of much use to scholars.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

MANDIRER CHABI: By Kalikinkar Sen Gupta.
The Book Co. Ltd., 4-3B, College Square, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2.

A book of poems invoking political and social liberty. Under the British Government it was proscribed in 1931. The ban has been lifted only in 1948. The poems relate to the different phases of our national movement and some of them voice the demand for social equity. The poet feels that without social justice, political independence will be of little significance. His patriotic fervour and love for the oppressed find bold and sincere expression herein. Particularly, "Dinesh Gupta's Last Letter" is interlarded with appealing. It recalls to our mind those glorious days when many such selfless young revolutionaries gladly laid down their lives for the liberation of their motherland.

SONNET: By Satyendranath Mukhopadhyay. To be had of M/s. D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price six annas.

Sonnét, as a poetic form, has come to stay in our literature. First introduced by Madhusudan, it has now become perfectly naturalised and poet after poet has modelled it in various shapes, of course keeping in view its inviolable limits.

Here in this booklet there are some fourteen sonnets, thoughtful and neat in composition.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

BHASHA: By Madan Gopal. Hindustani Culture Society. Allahabad. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1-8.

More heat than light has been generally shown in the approach made by the majority of the people to the prickly problem of the National Language for India. The protagonists of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani have all presented their cases with a fervour not seldom amounting to fanaticism, thus unwarily drowning the "still small voice" of scientific truth. The author, therefore, deserves undiluted praise for articulating this "still small voice." His wide reading on the subject and deep thought enable the reader to assess aright the claims of the trio—Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani—in the triangular struggle for supremacy. How one wishes that our constitution-makers had profited by the wisdom of the writer of the book under review!

MAHATMA GANDHI KE BALIDAN KA SABAO: By Pandit Sunderlal. Pp. 65. Price As. 12.

CHINA KI AWAZ: By Pandit Sunderlal. Pp. 43. Price As. 4.

Both available from Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad.

The first booklet (now in its second edition) is an essay in the significance of the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi, while the latter is an account of the New China, which the author—an ardent advocate of Goodwill to Men and Peace on Earth—visited recently. Pandit Sunderlal is, indeed, an ideal ambassador of Love and Light.

G. M.

GUJARATI

VATRAKNE KANTHE (On the Banks of the Vatrak): By Pannalal Patel. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ltd., Ahmedabad. Printed at the Shisht Sahitya Press, Mohla Ankadia. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a collection of 28 short stories, written in Pannalal Patel's best style. 'Village Life' portrayed in them, in the dialect of the villager, is real, vivid and therefore appealing. While reading a story, the reader faces as if the drama of life depicted therein, is being enacted before his very eyes. Its charm is inimitable and soothing.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Swami Sivananda—*The Prophet of Divine Life*: A souvenir in commemoration of the Sivananda Jayanti Celebrations at Calcutta on 8th and 11th September, 1955. Illustrated. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 2.

Swami Sivananda—*The Dynamic Monk*: By Prof. K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., M.L., Principal, University Law College, Jaipur. Pp. 78. Price Re. 1.

Studies in the Personality of Swami Sivananda: By Swami Omkarananda. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1.

Symposium on Sivananda's Palm: By eminent

palmists. Edited by Sri Yogesh. Illustrated. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 2.

All the above books are published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, Ananda Kutir, P.O. Sivananda Nagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

Thus Spake Buddha: Published on 24th May, 1956, 2500th Birthday of Lord Buddha. Compiled and published by V. S. Narayana Rao, Bichara Sahitya, Ltd., Bangalore-2.

A very attractive tiny pocket-book with a beautiful tricoloured picture of Lord Buddha on the cover. It contains under classified heads the teachings and precepts of Buddha in a succinct form.

Dhammapada (Holy Text of the Buddhists)—Pali Text in Devanagari with English Translation: By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Professor of Sanskrit, Andhra University, Waltair. Pp. 123. Price Re. 1-8.

Dhammapada—Pali Text in Roman with English Translation: By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Pp. 123. Price Re. 1-8.

Dhammapada—English Translation: By Dr. Kunhan Raja. Pp. 55. Price Re. 1-4.

The above books are published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20

The book is of invaluable service to the followers and lovers of Buddhism. A perusal of the Dhammapada will be of incalculable benefit to the readers.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Industrialization and Happiness

The Aryan Path writes editorially:

"The only statement that has to be examined, is whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress."—Gandhiji.

The Government of India has made industrial enterprise its first concern. Large-scale industries are receiving primary attention. The motive is noble: the democratic Welfare State is being built for the masses; whatever is undertaken is for the betterment of the citizen. But in what does betterment consist? It seems to be taken for granted that industrialization spells prosperity. But what is prosperity? These two questions should receive primary attention and pertinent answers. What is the philosophy underlying industrialization?

In trying to make of India an economically "forward" nation like the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., is the Government of India guarding against some of the giant ills which industrialization has created in the U.K., the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere? India may achieve complete success and become financially as rich a nation as any other, but should she try to do so at the price of mental confusion and moral degradation?

In spite of sanitation and hygiene the U.S.A. is not enjoying real physical health; in spite of splendid progress in education she is suffering alarmingly from mental ailments, venereal diseases, juvenile delinquency and the like; in spite of great luxury there is widespread moral obuseness. The U.S.A. is conquering the whole world, but to some she seems to be losing her own soul. The people of the North American continent, however, are a young and growing race; so they can and will conquer their weaknesses and vices very quickly. Moreover, G. D. H. Cole showed insight when he wrote: "We shall need leaders who are masters of themselves, as Gandhi is, but masters after the Western fashion, which is not his, or India's." Young and vigorous North America is likely to beget such true leaders.

But Gandhiji is for India—his philosophy and technique will prove most suitable for us. Is industrialization as planned suited to India? Is it according to the Gandhian teachings? Will India's best interest be served by running in the race of industrial planning? What steps are being taken to infuse into the people the power of right morality when granting industrialization on an aged civilization in which millions of fatigued and famished villagers are toiling on an impoverished and exhausted soil?

These thoughts come to us as we read a report of the Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities, inspired and presided over by the Duke of Edinburgh. The Conference was held at Oxford for three weeks in July, when some 230 citizens from all parts of the British Commonwealth gathered to study a few problems at first hand, to listen to

lecturers, to ask questions and get answers. These were employers and technicians, workers and trade unionists, and others engaged in different activities; they represented a cross section of tomorrow's industrial leadership in the Commonwealth. We quote from the Report of the Conference prepared for *The Aryan Path* by our good friend, Mr. J. C. Hunt:

"It is rare to find modern society question the axiom that industrialization is necessarily good and therefore should be encouraged. The solution to many of the most glaring discontents of our time is supposed to lie through the advance of technology. Even the ideological struggle between Communism and Capitalism, and the problem of race relations are often reduced to these terms. Upholders of one side or the other claim that their methods are the most suitable for bringing about the greatest possible enjoyment of the fruits of technology and industry. Blemishes in a given society are put down either to an unfortunate legacy of the past, when men were less wise and more selfish, or to the unavoidable consequences of the attempt to hasten the process of industrialization.

"How refreshing it is therefore to find the Duke of Edinburgh saying, 'I see no advantage in a prosperous, powerful State if it is to be achieved at the expense of human freedom and happiness.' The Duke made the point at the opening of his Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities within the Commonwealth. He made it clear that during his travels he had seen sufficient through the facade of splendour specially prepared for such occasions to impel him to use his unique authority to convene such a conference as this devoid of political overtones.

"The Conference was not conclusive, nor was it meant to be. It dealt generally with industrial relations, the atmosphere in factories, the happiness of ordinary people and how to help them lead fuller lives. Much has been written on these matters, but the attempt is seldom made to deal with them on a personal level.

"The Duke established two premises for the examination of these matters. First, he stressed that industry was not an end in itself, adding "It may not be very easy to decide what we are aiming at in this modern world of ours, but whatever the target we must take into account that all people are primarily citizens and not just workers with a bit of private life." Secondly, he argued that environment was by no means the determining factor in the happiness of workers. Delegates to the Conference learnt this for themselves when, apparently to their surprise, they found the London sewer-men to be amongst the most contented workers that they met.

"The spiritual and moral needs of modern society were thus the guiding principle of the Conference. Twenty-five background papers developed his theme in specific terms. A paper on the Rhodesian copperbelt discussed the consequences of the break-up of tribal structure; another considered the priority required, where resources are limited, as in India or West Africa,

for the training of an industrial elite at the expense of general education; three papers deal with model communities, such as the Tata steel town of Jamshedpur, and showed how they tended to become isolated; and several papers showed how little had been achieved in the way of adapting religious ideas and popular morality to the results of advanced technology. These are on the whole negative points; they concern the lack of roots in modern society and the way traditional roots snap in primitive communities which are now learning new methods of producing things. Nevertheless, it is good we have achieved so much as this. The Conference, it may be hoped, will contribute to a more mature approach to a key problem of our time. This effect will be of value no matter whether the methods adopted are expressed in religious, political, industrial, institutional, managerial or personal terms."

The Conference is a sign of the times. But a further step needs to be taken. G. D. H. Cole, whom we have quoted above, wrote in 1933 about the idea and teachings of Gandhiji's *Hind Swaraj*:

"Gandhiji's case against the West looks, then, infinitely stronger than it looked, to us Westerners, thirty years ago. For it does seem as if all our material advances in machine mastery were unloosing upon us, not the plenty for which we hoped, but an overwhelming capacity for destruction. Nor is it merely that we have grown more efficient in dealing out death and mutilation. We have also grown more cruel—or some of us have; and those of us who untouched by the recrudescence of cruelty know not how to prevent its spread without dire risk of falling ourselves under its spell."

And our esteemed friend Hugh I' A. Fausset, commenting upon the same book in 1938, said:

"This in fact is a profoundly revolutionary little book and the fact that it is addressed to Indians and concerned with their specific problems does not make it less relevant to Englishmen, though it may be harder for them to accept it. For the whole purpose of the book is to save India, not from Englishmen, but from the modern civilization which is eating into the vitals of the West."

Gandhiji's message has value for the entire Occident. Should not our leaders in India at least take heed from such a warning?

If the Duke of Edinburgh were to use his royal influence to convene another conference of Commonwealth thinkers to consider the applicability of the principles of Gandhiji to modern industrial conditions great benefit would accrue to every country in the world.

India is copying the West; the Gandhian philosophy on a machinemade civilization remains to be adequately examined, not only elsewhere, but in the land which proclaims Gandhiji "the Father of the Nation." Will India take the lead?

After the above was in type came to hand the following interesting piece of news. The New York Correspondent of the *Hindu* sent the following message on the 30th of August. To us it looks like a strange coincidence! Are the first fruits of industrialization in India to be psychosomatic patients? "Anxiety Neuroses" are already reported. Is there no message in this for industrial plan-makers and social welfare organizations?

"Anxieties similar to those which have caused the high incidence of psychosomatic illnesses among Ameri-

cans may soon be a penalty which Indians may have to pay for industrialization, according to Dr. Olati, a research scientist of Lederle Laboratories. He said: research reports from India indicated that 'anxiety neuroses' were developing among urban populations and this trend might intensify as the country advanced towards full industrialisation. 'Competition between individuals will tend to rise leading to sharpening of anxieties in susceptible individuals or in these classes bearing the brunt of the change,' declared Dr. Olati.

"In the opinion of the scientists the cause for this increase in anxiety neuroses might lie in the difficulty experienced in adjusting traditional living patterns to the radically new framework of developing an industrial society. 'This is a particularly difficult adjustment for Indians who were brought up to live at a much slower pace,' he said."

The Three Inter-Oceanic Canals

Prof. K. R. R. Sastry writes in *The Indian Review*:

In the sound generated by the Suez Canal Crisis, it is natural that echoes are heard near the Panama Canal. Though Suez and Panama have important agreements, there is a vagueness regarding the rights and duties of the territorial sovereigns and users of the Canals during war. The Kiel Canal stands as a case *sui generis*.

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ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চা ও কেদারীবিচারের সুত্রাবলী

শ্রীনরেন্দ্রনাথ বাগল জ্যোতিষশাস্ত্রী

(বিভিন্ন দিকান্ত পঞ্জিকার জ্যোতিষী)

ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চার গবেষণামূলক ইতিহাস ও কেদারীবিচারের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ জ্ঞানের বহুপত্রাবলী সহ গবেষণার ভিত্তিতে ২১ অধ্যায় ৫০০ পৃষ্ঠায় (ডিমাই) সমাপ্ত। মডার্ন ব্রিটিশ, অমৃতবাজার পত্রিকা, অরবিন্দ, হুগলীর সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্য, আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, বৈদিক বহুমুখী সভ্যতা পত্রিকার গ্রন্থধর্ম উচ্চাঙ্গের সমালোচনা ও প্রশংসনীয় সমাদর লাভ করিতেছে।

মূল্য বাধান ১০.—রেজিন ১২, টাকা।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান—ইন্ডিয়ান এস্টেটিং এন্ড ট্রেডিং কোম্পানি (প্রাইভেট) লিমিটেড

৯৩নং হারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

The law relating to these inter-oceanic canals is *conventional* in origin but it has been modified by the growth of internal practice and hence of custom as evidence of a general practice. Sooner the position of these waterways is brought under an uniform pattern guaranteeing freedom of navigation under United Nations, the better.

Under the most important article (Art. 1) of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, "The Suez maritime canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce or war without distinction of flag." Subsequent articles provide for securing the *neutrality* of the Canal in time of war. Practice during the two world wars warns us that the territorial sovereign could close it to the vessels of the enemy.

The Panama Canal, 47 miles long, connects the Atlantic and the Pacific. On November 18, 1901, Great Britain and U.S.A. concluded a treaty called the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. While there are various stipulations relating to the neutralization of the Canal substantially as embodied in the Suez Canal Convention, there is no clause guaranteeing the free passage of the canal in time of peace without distinction of flag and without reference to the possible belligerency of U.S.A. Nor is there any clause forbidding U.S.A. to erect fortifications commanding the Canal. The phrase "in time of war as in time of peace" which appears in the Constantinople Convention, was not repeated in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

On November 18, 1901, the Hay-Varilla Treaty was concluded. Under it, the Republic of Panama granted to the United States, "in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a Zone of territory for purposes of the canal together with the use, occupation, and control in perpetuity of any lands and waters outside of the Zone which might be necessary and convenient for the same purposes." It further granted to U.S.A. in such Zone and in the auxiliary lands and waters, "all the rights, power and authority which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the Sovereign of the territory." The Treaty further ceded to the United States "the right to police the specified lands and waters with its land and naval forces and to establish fortifications for such purposes."

Practice of U.S.A. during the two World Wars was just like Britain's closing the Suez Canal to enemy shipping.

Connecting the Baltic with the North-Sea, the Kiel Canal was constructed by Germany mainly for strategic purposes. It was finished in 1895, 61½ miles of waterway.

Under Article 380 of the Treaty of Versailles the Kiel Canal was to be kept free and open to all vessels of nations at peace with Germany.

On November 1st, 1936, Germany *unilaterally* denounced these articles (380-386) of the Treaty of Versailles.

A judgment was delivered by the Permanent Court of International Justice in reference to the passage of a British Ship, the *S.S. Wimbledon*, carrying arms to Danzig through the Kiel Canal. The Court emphasized that even the passage of a belligerent warship through Kiel Canal would not compromise the neutrality of the state in whose jurisdiction the waters lie.

Under conventional and customary International Law, the territorial Sovereign can always take all legitimate measures for the protection of his waterway and his own neutrality. They may involve some

inconvenience on ships using the waterway. Thus Egypt, the territorial sovereign of Suez Canal, can place restrictions as exercise of the rights of visiting and searching ships bound to and from Israel which has a relationship of belligerency with Egypt.

While she was projecting military adventure in 1937, Germany closed the Kiel Canal to warships of foreign states. It has to be concluded that under conditions of modern warfare, the territorial sovereign can put *restrictions* on *freedom of passage* through inter-oceanic Canals as Suez, Panama and Kiel.

Dangers of Radiation

Roger Pearson observes in *Careers and Courses* :

It was not until 1895 that the discovery of X-rays was made. Although scientists had for some time been aware that radiation existed in the form of heat and light, the identification of rays which had the ability to penetrate normally opaque substances uncovered entirely new vistas for research.

In the course of a few years it was further revealed that certain heavy elements in the earth's crust such as uranium and radium also produced forms of radiation and, following this discovery it was only a matter of time before science was able to harness this new knowledge in the development of the X-ray for hospital use, in the use of radiotherapy for the treatment of the sick, and in the invention of television, for entertainment in the home.

Little did the people who came to accept these benefits as everyday utilities realise that radiation was capable of effecting serious biological damage to living organisms—in particular to man and the higher animals.

Radiation leaves in its track a number of electrically charged particles called "ions" and the processes associated with the formation of these ions are injurious to living tissues. The highly delicate molecular structure of living organisms can be substantially disturbed by exposure to radiation, and the extent of the injury increases with the amount of radiation to which the organisms is exposed over the entire life-period.

In short, the effect of radiation is cumulative, and even if the dose is insufficient to harm the individual as an organism, it may, over a period of time, create disorders of the skin, of the flesh or even of the bone.

In human beings certain diseases such as cancer and leukaemia can also be induced although the effects will not necessarily be immediate, and the case of Japanese war-time victims were actually found to appear as long as nine years after the date of exposure.

Not all living tissues, however, are affected by radiation at the same rate. Amongst mammals, for instance, the dose of radiation to the entire body which would be required to kill fifty per cent of an animal population varies between 200 and 1,000 roentgen (a unit of measurement of radiation) according to the species, and within this wide bracket it has been calculated that the dose which would be fatal to man is approximately 450 roentgen.

The reason why radiotherapy has been found useful in the eradication of malignant tumours is that the dose of radiation prescribed under the treatment is too small to result in damage to human tissues, but is sufficient to destroy the cells of the tumour.

Most susceptible of all living tissues would appear to be the delicate mechanism of the reproductive system. Even where radiation is inadequate to destroy normal living tissues it requires only a relatively small dose to produce sterility or to bring about malformations which will cause eventual sterility. Failing this, radiation can, and does, bring about mutations—changes in the genetic characteristics of the individual which once induced, become permanent and are passed on to all future generations.

The death of the individual or simply of a single germ cell within that individual has no significance for the species as such, for with the death of the individual the race will not be effected. But the inducement of abnormal modifications in the genetic endowment of otherwise healthy individuals can have far-reaching and permanent effects, for these changes will be passed on to the offspring, and by intermarriage will tend to spread throughout the entire species. Because of this and the extreme susceptibility of the reproductive organs to the influence of radioactive deposits, the study of radiation in its effects on human tissues assumes a new and pressing significance.

Theoretical knowledge would suggest that since the human species has always been exposed to a certain degree of cosmic radiation, protected though it is by the blanket of the earth's atmosphere, there are no grounds for supposing that new types of mutation will occur if it is now exposed to increased radiation from man-made sources. This opinion finds corroborative evidence in the case histories of the Japanese war victims, whose offspring reveal no new types of mutation, but do show a markedly higher percentage of mutations than those born of normal parents.

The frequency of defects and diseases amongst persons exposed to high doses of radiation may, in fact, be supposed to vary in direct ratio with the duration and intensity of exposure to radiation over the entire life-span of the parents prior to the conception of the child. Of these induced diseases, mental illnesses already account for nearly half the hospital and nursing home beds in Great Britain—a fact which is not widely appreciated—and if the dose of radiation to which parents were exposed during their lifetime were doubled, then hereditary mental diseases might also be expected to increase.

To make matters worse, the harmful genes thus created by radiation might in many cases be "recessive," and would not appear in every generation, so that their presence in the individual might pass unnoticed until after marriage, when the children will be found to suffer from complaints from which the parent appeared to be free.

In hospitals in the U.K. diagnostic radiology (e.g. X-ray examinations) has been calculated to add as much as 22 per cent to the natural dose of cosmic radiation—so serious an addition that the Medical Council has advised the restriction of the use of the X-ray as far as possible.

Radiotherapy, although not so frequently used as diagnostic radiology, adds a heavier dosage to the individual undergoing treatment, but since those who undergo this type of treatment are mostly above the age of reproduction it does not constitute an important threat to the genetic endowment of the nation.

Besides the medical uses of radiation, the fitting of shoes by X-ray has been calculated to add one per cent per annum, spread over the entire population, while television may be assumed to deposit a somewhat similar amount.

LUMINOUS WATCH

Even wearing a luminous wrist-watch probably adds something like .01 per cent of electrically charged ions per year to the reproductive organs of the individual concerned, and so, in its minute way, increases the chance of producing mentally or physically abnormal offspring.

Briefly, then, atomic war aside, the danger of radiation is not to the individual alone so much as to the future well-being of the race and to the health and fitness of the unborn generations who have yet to come.

Long exposure to radiation of low intensity will produce the same effect on the genetic mechanism as would shorter periods of exposure to radiation of a higher intensity, and to protect the health of future generations we must ensure that no individual is permitted to become exposed to dangerous levels of radiation either in the course of his work or in his private life—and, more important, that the dose of radioactive ions received by the heredity equipment of the nation as a whole does not rise above the danger level, at least in the case of that portion of the population which is still within childbearing limits.

Nurses in hospitals and workers in the luminising industries, to quote two examples only, are clearly exposed to greater risks than are office or farm workers. Valuable experience is being gained by observation amongst workers in the atomic research stations, and the International Committee on Radiological Protection is pressing research forward as rapidly as possible.

Patriotism and Civic Virtue

In the International Seminar organized by the World Universities Service, B. G. Kher Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, spoke on 'Patriotism and Civic Virtue' on July 3, 1956. The speech as published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi* is reproduced below :

Derived from the Greek word 'Patriotes,' patriotism is the sentiment with reference to one's fatherland. As you know, historically the concept of the fatherland has assumed different forms at different times. We do not, cannot, live in isolation. Man is a gregarious



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animal. Throughout his life he lives in some form of relationship with the members of his family, with the members of the profession to which he belongs, with the members of the club where he joins with others in social recreation, with the fellow citizens with whom he is joined with reference to the municipal organization of the town in which he lives, and so on with the whole human race, in one way or another, directly or indirectly. One such, and the most significant group to which an individual belongs, is the national community presided over by the governmental authority of the national sovereign State of which he is the citizen. In view of the fact that the sovereign State exercises pleziary authority over all groups and individuals within the frontiers of its jurisdiction, an individual citizen naturally owes loyalty to his own State, overriding all others. Patriotism in the sense of recognition of such loyalty, has obviously an important place in a proper scheme of values to an individual citizen in modern society.

Here it is, generally speaking, enough to say that citizenship consists in the right ordering of our several loyalties, viz. to the family, group, trade union, nation, humanity, etc. to which reference has been made. At the same time, we must remind ourselves of the dictum of Spinoza that the true aim of Government is liberty.

The main feature of democracy lies not in the fact that consent is more willing on the part of the persons governed, but in the fact that to provide that it shall be willing, that consent is to a considerable though limited extent repeatedly challenged and requested by the Government. In no human effort is perfection attainable. Even the wisest of individuals charged with the duty of government are subject to the inherent weaknesses or failings of humanity; a democratic constitution provides that they shall be checked and controlled even by persons less wise than themselves, but alive to their own rights and interests. Hence every three, four, or five years we hold elections and choose our Government.

I will proceed to consider in what circumstances one may find it necessary to obey a higher law than the man-made laws of one's sovereign State. In that sense, patriotism represents a loyalty which may have ultimately to be subordinated to the highest of the loyalties to which man is subject, namely, the loyalty to his own conscience, or in other words, obedience of the moral law. Before, however, proceeding to say a few words about this, I want once again to repeat that this advocacy of a superior loyalty above that of patriotism is necessarily limited to very rare cases where on an important issue of wide public significance the conscience of an individual is genuinely involved. It is a right to be invoked only under the strongest moral compulsion and only by persons qualified to do so. The exercise of this contingent right to disobey cannot be regarded as an everyday occurrence or as a general licence for the common man for the flouting of the law of the land on flimsy pretexts. It is also subject to certain conditions and limitations. No one has written and spoken more about the ethics, method, justification and limitations of the duty or right to disobey the laws of a State, in modern times, than Mahatma Gandhi. Such disobedience can either be individual or by the mass. In either case, the first condition the Mahatma insisted upon was the purity of both end and means.

I wonder what the Father of the Nation and the inventor of Satyagraha will think when he knows how it is now a weapon freely used by dismissed employees, failed candidates, all and sundry, for redressing their grievances and obeying their conscience. The dangers of the abuse of this weapon are familiar to all by now. They are particularly grave in this country with its political freedom only 8 years old, its religious, communal, linguistic and other divisions threatening the life of the nation itself.

The civil laws derive their ultimate sanction from authority and coercive powers. The moral laws have no such coercive armoury at their command; the sanction for the moral law lies directly in the conscience of the individual concerned. Religious creeds and systems of ethics and worship are intended to reveal to an individual the God that resides within himself. In the final analysis, therefore, there can be no question but that the loyalty of the man is to the moral law in cases where it conflicts with the civil laws.

Patriotism, which is a very complex feeling built out of primitive instincts and intellectual conviction with a religious element mixed up in them, can never take the place of the supreme moral law or of religion. It lacks universality. The good at which it aims is a good for one's own nation only, not for all mankind. So it is said: "A world full of patriots may be a world full of strife." Do we not find this to be so now?

In reality the individual is the centre to ever-widening circles in the form of the family, the city, the nation and mankind, which are not intersecting but concentric, and there should be no conflict—no difficulty in reconciling the loyalties owing to all. What is needed is an enhancement in individual worth. Forms of government or of international relationship are only the mechanics through which the peace and goodwill which dwell in the breast of men all over the world could be canalized.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Soviet Union is for Peaceful Settlement of Suez Issue

By N. Nesterov

Since the very outset of the Suez problem, i.e., since the moment of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by the Egyptian Government, two approaches to the settlement of this problem have clearly taken shape.

The Western Powers, Britain and France in the first place, as well as the United States, their backers, are attempting to settle the problem from "the position of strength." They do not want a fair settlement, which would take into account the legitimate interests of Egypt as the sole owner of the canal. They are artificially creating an aggravated situation in the canal's region and are doing everything they can to prevent a peaceful settlement. By means of blackmailing and military threats these powers intend to take the canal away from the Egyptians and to place it under foreign control. It goes without saying that by this foreign control they mean British-French-American domination over the Suez Canal. The drive for this end is a dangerous game fraught with serious consequences.

The Soviet Union, which from the very beginning of the problem has shown itself to be a consistent champion of a peaceful settlement, approaches this problem from quite a different angle. The Soviet Government's statement of August 9, this year, points out that the British-French threats and military preparations connected with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt are incompatible with the UNO principles. The same statement laid down the Soviet point of view on the legal nature of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt.

The Soviet Union accepted the British invitation to take part in the London Conference, although neither by its composition nor by its character was it possible to regard it as an international representative conference authorised to adopt any decisions with respect to the Suez Canal.

In accepting to take part in this conference the Soviet Union proceeded from the premise that, given the good-will on the part of the states concerned, even that kind of a conference could be conducive in searching an approach to the settlement of questions pertaining to the Suez Canal, which would promote a peaceful settlement of this question. Guided by these principles, the Soviet delegation to the London Conference was consistently upholding the idea of a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue. The position taken by the Soviet delegation was in full agreement with the UNO Charter principles and with the indisputable sovereign rights of Egypt as the sole owner and comptroller of the canal. This idea was supported by the representatives of a number of countries taking part in the London Conference. Many political leaders of European and Asian countries which did not take part in the conference also expressed their desire for a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue.

On September 16, this year, the Soviet Government made another Statement on the necessity for a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue. This highly important document condemns the military preparations carried out by Britain and France, with the support of the United States, for the purpose of exerting pressure on Egypt in the Suez problem. The statement indicates that these measures run counter to UNO principles.

It is to be remembered that UNO had been set up for the purpose of ensuring a peaceful existence of the populations. Its task covers the examination of conflicts and frictions among states, which may lead to violation of peace.

The UNO Charter prohibits downright the use of force against one or another state, with the exception of cases of self-defence against an armed attack or threat of force and makes it obligatory to seek for peaceful means in settling arguments. As to an eventual recourse to force, provided by the Charter, it refers only to emergency cases when it is necessary to repulse an aggressor and to ensure the maintenance and the restoration of peace. This case, stipulated by the Charter, has nothing to do with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt, without mentioning the fact that the question of using force must be decided not at the discretion of this or that country, or group of countries, guided by their narrow calculations, but in accordance with a decision of the Security Council. Hence the British and French Governments have no grounds whatsoever for resorting to the use or threat of force with respect to Egypt who has exercised her rights of a sovereign state with respect to the Suez Canal Company. The Soviet Government appraises the military preparations of Britain and France against Egypt as an act of aggression against Egypt. The Statement also points out that the Soviet Government is of the opinion that freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal must be guaranteed to all countries and that this purpose can and must be achieved through peaceful means only with due regard both to the inalienable sovereign rights of Egypt and the interests of the states using the canal.

The Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that the Suez issue can and must be settled through peaceful means, moreover since, Egypt expresses full readiness to take part in such a settlement. The Soviet Government has received with satisfaction the note of the Egyptian Government of September 10, this year, and expressed readiness to take part in an international conference, proposed by the Egyptian Government, which would revise the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and discuss the question of the conclusion of an agreement confirming and guaranteeing freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal.

Speaking on the question of who must be invited to the conference, the Soviet Government expressed itself for inviting all the countries who signed the convention of 1888, including their legal successors, the Arab countries which are situated in the immediate proximity of the canal and which are vitally interested

in a peaceful settlement of this issue, and other countries using the canal.

The Soviet Union has already adopted a number of measures promoting a just settlement of the Suez issue through negotiations.

The Soviet Government has also pointed out that the USSR, as a great power, cannot keep aloof from the Suez issue and help displaying concern with respect to the situation obtaining now. In this connection, the Soviet Government has declared that, in its opinion, UNO cannot but react to the obtaining situation—to the threats of use of force against Egypt, to which certain member-states of UNO are resorting. These threats are in flagrant contradiction with the principles of the UNO Charter.

The attention of the world Press is likewise focussed on the recent answers of Nikolai Bulganin, Chairman

of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the questions put by Kingsbury Smith, Director of the American Telegraphic Agency. In order to facilitate the peaceful solution of the Suez problem the Soviet Government is ready to take part in a conference of heads of governments of six countries—Egypt, India, France, Britain, the United States and the USSR.

The provocative and adventurous policy of the Western Powers which are trying to seize the Suez Canal by force is doomed to failure. The Suez issue can and must be settled by peaceful means. The Suez problem can be settled only by peaceful means, in full conformity with the legitimate interests of the Egyptian people and with the interests of peace and international co-operation. The Soviet Union is in favour of such a decision.— *News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

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The River Nile

There is no river in the world except the Nile that provides a country fortune and life.

The Nile is the most important factor for the prosperity of Egypt. The study of it is still the most important subject for the progress of the country.

From the river Kgera (in East Africa) to the Mediterranean Sea the Nile is 4150 miles long. This indicates that the Nile is the second largest river in the world if we accept Mississippi's Missouri river as the first being 4240 miles long.

The first records of gauges showing the water level are dated thousands of years back. Some gauges were found out on the rocks of the cataracts in Upper Egypt. Written records were found 620 years ago. But useful and continuous observations which are obtainable are being published for the benefit of public since many centuries.

The flow of the river Nile differs from season to season and from month to month. During the flood the water of the river is much more than the demands of irrigation and navigation, while during the summer it is much less than the demands. Therefore controlling the water of the river to get the maximum utilization, and to meet the irrigation demands all over the year, has always been a problem for the Egyptians to solve. Egypt in the very old days was just a continuation of adjacent deserts. The prosperity and charm in the country is all due to the right usage of the Nile waters since the times of the Pharaohs.

The Pharaohs (the ancient Egyptians) in trying to solve the irrigation problem were storing the flood water of the Nile in Lake Morris (East of Delta) by a diving canal with high embankments and regulators. They had constructed a seventy-mile-long canal for this purpose. It is also learnt from our old history that the ancient Egyptians were well aware of the science of irrigation engineering.

The river Nile starts from Lake Plateau near the Equator. On its way towards north the Nile passes through Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Congo, Belgué, Abyssynia, Sudan and Egypt.

Egypt is the only country that took the pain of discovering the source of the Nile. It was Egypt only that arranged and collected the Hydrological dates for the Nile and its tributaries since the last century while the attempts to discover the source of the Nile were made centuries ago. At present here are departments in Sudan and Uganda that are called the Hydrological Department and they are co-operating with the Egyptian department for the same purpose.

The main branches of the Nile are:

(a) White Nile: It starts from Lake Plateau in East Africa and supplies the river with 83 per cent of the yearly flow and 68 per cent of the flood flow.

(b) Blue Nile: It starts from Lake Tana in Abyssynia and supplies the river with 17 per cent of the yearly flow and 10 per cent of the flood flow.

(c) Atbara: Its resources are also in Abyssynia. It supplies the river with 22 per cent of its flow during floods.

The maximum discharge of the river occurs usually in May and starts increasing in June and July during which the natural flow is approximately sufficient for irrigation demands. The floods start towards the end of July and reach at the top in August and September.

The yearly flow of river Nile ranges between 151000 and 42000 million cubic meters while the

cultivated area in Egypt and Sudan regularly needs about 55000 million cubic meters yearly.

To meet the irrigation demands at the time of necessity the river water was controlled. It was based on two main aspects.

(a) Yearly Storage: The flood water which is stored in the Nile basin is released only at the time of necessity, when the natural flow is less than the demands. Aswan Dam, Gabel Aulia Dam and Senneor Dam were built for this purpose.

(b) Over Year Storage or Century Storage: In the yearly storage system flood waters cannot be stored completely because of silt problem. If in any year the natural flow of the river fails to fill the yearly storage dam the water can be supplied through over year storage. So it is essential to ensure certain amount of discharge every year regardless of the natural flow of the river which may be more or less than the demands. It is essential to ward off high flood dangers. The flood water which was wasted and run into Mediterranean Sea every year can be saved through this system now. Series of projects have been suggested; main amongst them are the following:

(a) Lake Victoria Dam: This was constructed in the year 1954 with the co-operation of the governments of Uganda and Egypt. The capacity of this dam is 67000 million cubic meters.

(b) Lake Albert Dam: It is still under discussion with the concerned authorities in Cosgo Belgué, Uganda and Egypt. The capacity of this dam will be 5300 million cubic meters.

(c) The Aswan High Dam: This will be constructed six miles south of the existing Aswan Dam with a height of 160 meters above the bed level. The storage level of this dam will be 60 meters above the present level of Aswan Dam. The capacity of this reservoir will be 130000 million cubic meters.

The Aswan High Dam is the most important and biggest multipurpose project under construction nowadays in the whole world. The generated power will be 8300 million kilowatt yearly in the last stage, and the cultivated area due to this tremendous project will be increased 30 per cent more than the existing area.

The idea of this project started in the year 1952 immediately after the revolution and one may wonder that investigations, planning and designing of such a gigantic project did not take more than three years. The construction of this dam will start shortly.—*Culture of Egypt.*

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Tibet—Land of Rich Resources

Tibet is a vast land of immense resources situated on the southwest border of China. Being the highest and biggest plateau on earth, averaging over four thousand metres above sea level, Tibet is known as the "roof of the world." Inhabiting this part of China are more than one million industrious and intelligent people of Tibetan, Han, Hui and Mongolian nationalities.

The ice and snow-covered Himalayas stretch throughout southwestern Tibet. And the prominent mountain ranges of the Kailas, Tangla and Karakoram run through northern and central Tibet.

Tibet is also the source of a number of big Asian rivers. The well-known Tsangpo, Nukiang and Lantsang Kiang Rivers originate on the grasslands of northern Tibet. Flowing in a south-easterly direction, they run through snow-covered mountains combined with the torrential rivers and the wide grass-lands give this plateau of China a magnificent scene.

Northern Tibet covers an area of about 250,000 square kilometres. It is the chief live-stock breeding area, where over ten million cattle and sheep are raised. Meat, butter, hides and skins which Tibetans need are mainly produced in this region. Millions of kilogrammes of wool are sent elsewhere from the grass-lands each year. Yaks which can each carry a twenty kilogramme load over thousands of kilometres are the chief means of transport peculiar to Tibet. Formerly, animal epidemics prevalent in the live-stock breeding areas brought great distress to the cattle-breeders. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, veterinarian hospitals and stations and animal epidemic prevention agencies have been set up in the principal cities and towns near the live-stock breeding areas. In addition, mobile animal epidemic prevention teams often make visits to the live-stock breeding areas. In the Chamdo area, epidemic stations have been established along a stretch of five or six hundred kilometres to prevent and treat animal disease for the herdsmen.

On both banks of the middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo, Lantsang Kiang and Nukiang Rivers are wide valleys where the climate is comparatively warm. According to Tibetan classics, Tibetans began their farming life along the middle reaches of the Tsangpo River before the Tang dynasty. Over a long period, they fought against river floods and droughts in the winter and spring seasons. They build scores of kilometres of ditches to direct the water melted from the snows on the high mountains to irrigate the farmland. Cold and drought resistant barley, wheat, peas and vegetable oil seeds are produced here. In areas where the climate is warmer, rice and maize are grown. These agricultural areas transport tens of thousands of animal loads of grain to the major cities and towns in various parts of Tibet. Herdsmen on the Tibetan grass-lands come to these areas to trade their animal products for grain.

In the past, Tibetan peasants lived a miserable life. Some of the peasants had to leave their land uncultivated because they had no seeds. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, they have received loans of seed from the state without interest every year. Peasants in the Chamdo area were given iron farm implements free of charge. Some of them discarded their wooden ploughs and used iron implements to till their land or reclaim wasteland. And crops begin to appear on a vast expanse of land which had been barren in the pre-liberation days. The reclaiming of uncultivated land by civilian and People's Liberation Army personnel from outside Tibet has set an example for the Tibetans.

Tibet is a wide area sparsely populated. There are large plots of cultivable land along the river banks which await reclamation. There are approximately 70,000 hectares of arable land in areas around Chushul and the banks of the Lake Yamdrok Tso alone. Many varieties of new crops have been successfully planned on the plateau by agronomists who have come to Tibet to help the people with farming. There have been experiments in planting of drought-resistant spring wheat and high-yield Soviet winter wheat in wide areas this year. Cabbage, sweet potatoes and more than ten other kinds of vegetables which had been unknown to Tibet have begun to grow in the vegetable gardens of the Tibetans.

Tibet is also a virgin land of rich mineral resources. According to the findings of preliminary prospecting and surveying, there are over thirty mineral products of great economic value. In the Tangla Mountain areas bordering Chinghai, there are iron ore and coal. In addition, Tibet has vast deposits of graphite, asbestos, soapstone and other fire-proof materials, as well as granite, black shale, gypsum and other building materials. No one ever discovered these resources in Tibet in the many past centuries.

Prospecting and surveying teams sent by the Ministry of Geology are now working in the Tangla Mountain areas.

Tibet rivers have rich potential hydraulic power. They have distinctly advantageous features. The water sources have great velocity with little variation, sharp gradients and good topographical conditions. They can be fully utilised for useful purposes. According to an estimate made by the surveying teams working in Tibet, if the potential hydraulic power of just the Tsangpo River is fully utilised in the future, southern Tibet can have electrification. The middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo River alone can generate more than 62 million kilowatts of electricity.

Large extent of virgin forests cover the Himalaya areas and the middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo River basins. The highly prized fir and pine of the Himalayas and Himalaya cypress and birch grow there. In the Tsangpo River basin, the area covered with virgin forests is equal to one-third of the forest area of the Great Khingan Mountains in north-east China. Peaches, apricots, bananas, pears and other fruit trees grow in the warm river valleys of Tibet. Many of the precious medical herbs which China has been using for centuries come from the snow-covered mountains, grass-lands and forests on the plateau. According to the results of some analyses, the medicinal substances contained in the herbs produced in Tibet are more than those contained in the herbs produced elsewhere in China.

Wild horses, wild oxen, goats, bears, tigers, leopards, mynahs, deer and other animals can be found in the mountains, dense forests and wide grass-lands. These produce large quantities of valuable skins, bear's gall, deer's antler, tiger bones and musk. On the Himalayas, which are covered with snow all the year round, there is a special product called snow fish, which, according to preliminary appraisal, is a valuable kidney tonic.

Formerly, lack of communications was the cause of great difficulties to the Tibetans. Travellers have hitherto regarded the road between Sikang and Tibet as a dangerous road. Now the main lines of Sikang-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet Highways are linked up with Peking. The Lhasa-Shigatse, Shigatse-Gyantse, Gyantse-Yatung Highways which were completed last year and this spring respectively have made traffic

throughout central Tibet possible. Yaks and mules are no longer the chief means of transport from Tibet to other parts of China. Large numbers of motor trucks are now transporting supplies from other parts of the motherland to Tibet to support the construction there.—*News Bulletin of the People's Republic of China*, May 31, 1956.

All About Writers

By S. J. HARRY

THE *Oxford Companion to American Literature*—in a newly revised edition—reveals perhaps more than any other recent book on American literature much of the scope and variety of American writing. At the same time, it gives pertinent information on authors, books, magazines and literary trends through the hundreds of its entries.

James Hart, chairman of the department of English at the University of California, who compiled this book, has accomplished his scholarly task with taste and imagination. For he not only assembled in 900 pages an excellent guide to almost everything of literary importance that has been written in the United States, but he also managed to place that writing in its social frame-work.

"The printed word," writes Professor Hart in his preface, "does not exist in a vacuum . . . the understanding of works of literature depends upon an informed knowledge of the entire social atmosphere of their place and time."

Suppose the reader turns to the listing of Walt Whitman—America's poet of the independent spirit. Whitman's most famous collection of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, was first published in 1855. And although comparatively unappreciated at the time, Whitman expressed the social feeling of his era. Whitman, as Professor Hart tells the reader, wanted "to show how man might achieve for himself the greatest possible freedom within the limits of natural law—for the mind and body through democracy, for the heart through love, and for the soul through religion."

Whitman went to the people for his sources, Professor Hart points out, "becoming intimate with drivers of omnibuses and ferryboat pilots, joining the crowds at the bathing beaches." And this concern with the story of ordinary people was to become a strong American literary tradition.

Whitman was extremely lyrical. But his method of going to the people for his material was adopted by writers of a different style. Stephen Crane, who obtained his knowledge of war by reading Tolstoy, published *The Red Badge of Courage* in 1895. This was the story of one young soldier in the American Civil War, told from his viewpoint. The style, however, was unlike Whitman's. It was a realistic style which Crane later used in writing about life in New York.

A few years later, just after the turn of the century, Frank Norris emerged as a major American novelist with the publication of *McTeague*. The book was a realistic—or, some would say, naturalistic—picture of lower and middle-class life in San Francisco. Norris was best known for *The Octopus*—a novel first printed in 1901—which was a stark tale of wheat raising in California and of the struggle of the ranchers against the encroaching railroads. Norris was truly a reflection of his times. And he felt, as he put it, that the best type of novel "proves, something, draws conclusions from a whole

congeries of forces, social tendencies, race impulses, devotes itself not to a study of men but of man."

A contemporary of Norris was Theodore Dreiser who also painted what was considered an accurate picture—outwardly, at least—of American life at the time. Dreiser was not a polished writer or stylist by any means, but he has been acclaimed, as Professor Hart notes, for his "sincere and profound consciousness of the tragedy of life as he saw it in America."

Whitman, Crane, Norris, Dreiser, and other writers of the true-to-life or naturalist school left an inviting legacy to other American authors. One can see echoes of their work in the present-day writing of Carl Sandburg, the poet, and novelists like John Dos Passos, John Steinbeck, James T. Farrell. These authors, too, were mirrors of their time, reflecting the new importance of the workingman in American life.

All of his information is included in the highly readable *Oxford Companion to American Literature* (published by Oxford University Press). Professor Hart, in a miracle of condensation, has covered practically every important literary movement in America. In addition to paragraphs, and sometimes entire pages, about specific writers and their works, about the times in which they wrote, he has also paid special attention to literary and political journals, important organizations, and to foreign authors who, in some way, have influenced American writers.

It would seem that Professor Hart has managed to prove that an encyclopaedic work such as his can be perused not only for research and study, but for a great deal of pleasure as well.—*American Reporter*, October 10, 1956.

\$1,000,000 Supply to Flood, Cyclone Victims

New Delhi.—To meet the emergency caused by flood, drought, cyclone and earthquake in parts of India in recent months, 3,000 tons of dried skim milk is being distributed in all catastrophe areas as a gift of the United States.

Including the transportation charges the gift amounts to over \$1,000,000, and was made at the request of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health, Government of India.

The agreement presenting the 3,000 tons of milk was made effective on September 27 at the Ministry of Health. Participating in the exchange of letters making the agreement effective were the Indian Minister of Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Frederic P. Bartlett, *Charge d'Affaires* for the United States, A. C. Bose, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Miss Evelyn Hersey, Social Welfare Adviser for the U.S. Technical Co-operation Mission, Shri V. K. B. Pillai, Secretary, Ministry of Health and Lt-Col. C. K. Lakshmanan, Director General of Health Services.

Distribution is following swiftly in the wake of the Bihar and U.P. floods. The milk is being taken from stocks of United States private agencies and UNICEF, and will be replaced with shipments from the U.S. in coming weeks.

This is the biggest emergency gift of dried milk to be tendered to the Indian Government, and will supplement the normal programme of the U.S. voluntary agencies and the UNICEF. Last year, the private groups from America distributed nearly 15,000 tons of dried

mils. along with other food commodities totalling over \$15,00,000. This is separate and distinct from the recently signed agricultural commodities agreement between the two countries which will bring over a third of a billion dollars worth of reserve grain to India.—*American Reporter*, October 10, 1956.

The Bengali Film, "Pather Panchali"

There was some surprise a year ago when M. A. M. Julien, founder and organizer of the Paris "International Festival of Dramatic Art," included films in the series of events to which he invited the theatrical world for the second time. In so doing, the organizers of the Festival intended to bring the theatre and the cinema together, and they did not hide the fact. To this film people replied by saying that they did not see what the films could gain by such a procedure. The cinema has no victories to win over the theatre, or vice versa. Despite endeavours to draw comparisons between them, the actual forms of expression of the two arts differ as greatly as those of painting and sculpture. But there could be no doubt after seeing a film like *Pather Panchali* that the Paris International Festival of Dramatic Art was right in giving the film a chance to contact a public which is not its usual public, and with films which are not likely to reach it by ordinary channels.

Pather Panchali is a Bengali film which was entered for the recent Cannes Festival and received an award not included in the original prize-list, for its value as a human document. This suffices to convey something of the impression it made at Cannes, an impression all the greater since no one there had any idea that there was such a thing as an Indian, or more precisely Bengali, film art.

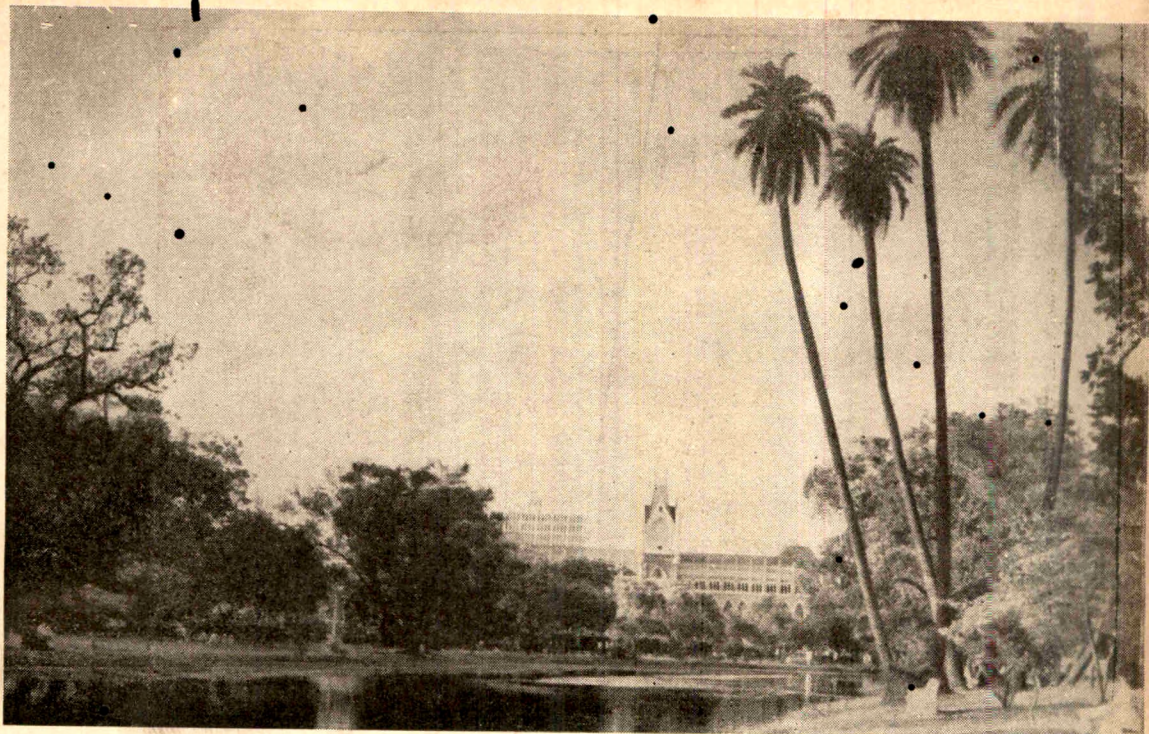
Yet the enormous populations of India are the keenest filmgoers and for some time they have not been content to see just what is sent them by American or European studios. They demand films that reflect their lives, customs, traditions, and legends. Thus came into being a film industry which is the largest after Hollywood, and with its 400 films per year comes ahead of Japan. But we cannot deal with this industry as a whole, but simply with *Pather Panchali*, which it has been possible to see in Paris thanks to Charles Ford, organizer of the film section of the Festival of Dramatic Art, and Denis Marion, his assistant.

Pather Panchali presents the life of a Bengali family—a series of pictures with a genuineness that has only been equalled by Georges Rouquier's *Farrebious*. Satyajit Roy who made it is not a film man by profession. He is a painter and went to the place where we are taken in *Pather Panchali* to find subjects for illustrating the look of a writer friend. Fascinated by the beauty

of the scenery, the picturesque life in which he suddenly found himself and by all the unknown humanity in that primitive life, the painter felt that he could not express himself as adequately and sensitively as the subject demanded with brush and paints and that only the camera could do it. A painter who places his confidence in film rather than in painting is hard to come by. But Satyajit Roy had been assistant to Jean Renoir who had left Hollywood in 1950 to pay a long visit to India, during which he produced his film *The River*. The busy, inspiring weeks he has spent with the man who had made *La Grande Illusion*, left a lasting impression on Satyajit Roy. He could not forget that the camera has a far more sensitive eye than human eye and that it reproduces what it records on the screen with a fidelity which, although automatic, nonetheless, creates poetry in the hands of a Jean Renoir, the Jean Renoir of *One part of campagne*. It is precisely with this union of realism and poetry a union so close that they should be combined in a single term and called poetic realism—that *Pather Panchali* impresses from the first pictures that are some of the loveliest ever composed in films anywhere in the world, the pictures of a painter, similar to those in *La Règle du Jeu* for instance, where Jean Renoir, the son of a painter, was inspired by the Sologne country. This does not imply of course that the Bengali producer has copied or imitated the French producer's style. Indeed not. But at the same time one cannot help feeling that without Jean Renoir, Satyajit Roy would never have been attracted to the camera and there would never have been a *Pather Panchali*.

For a quarter of a century there has been delight in proclaiming that the art of the film is an international art and that it knows no frontiers. This is only a generality, for while there is no international and artistic barrier between the peoples, there are economic ones and ideological ones too, and as a result of trade agreements and the workings of censorship, nothing is actually less easy to bring over frontiers than productions for the screen. But it is true that the mind knows no barriers and that influences are carried over from one country to another, from one school to another, if one can speak of schools in connection with present-day cinema, from one man to another and that it suffices to sow a seed in the mind, for a film to be brought into being at the other end of the world, making a new step forward in the development of film art. Especially, if the seed be of high quality like the one deriving from Jean Renoir. And there is indeed something moving in that sort of filiation crossing oceans and civilizations, between a man and a work.—*News from France*.



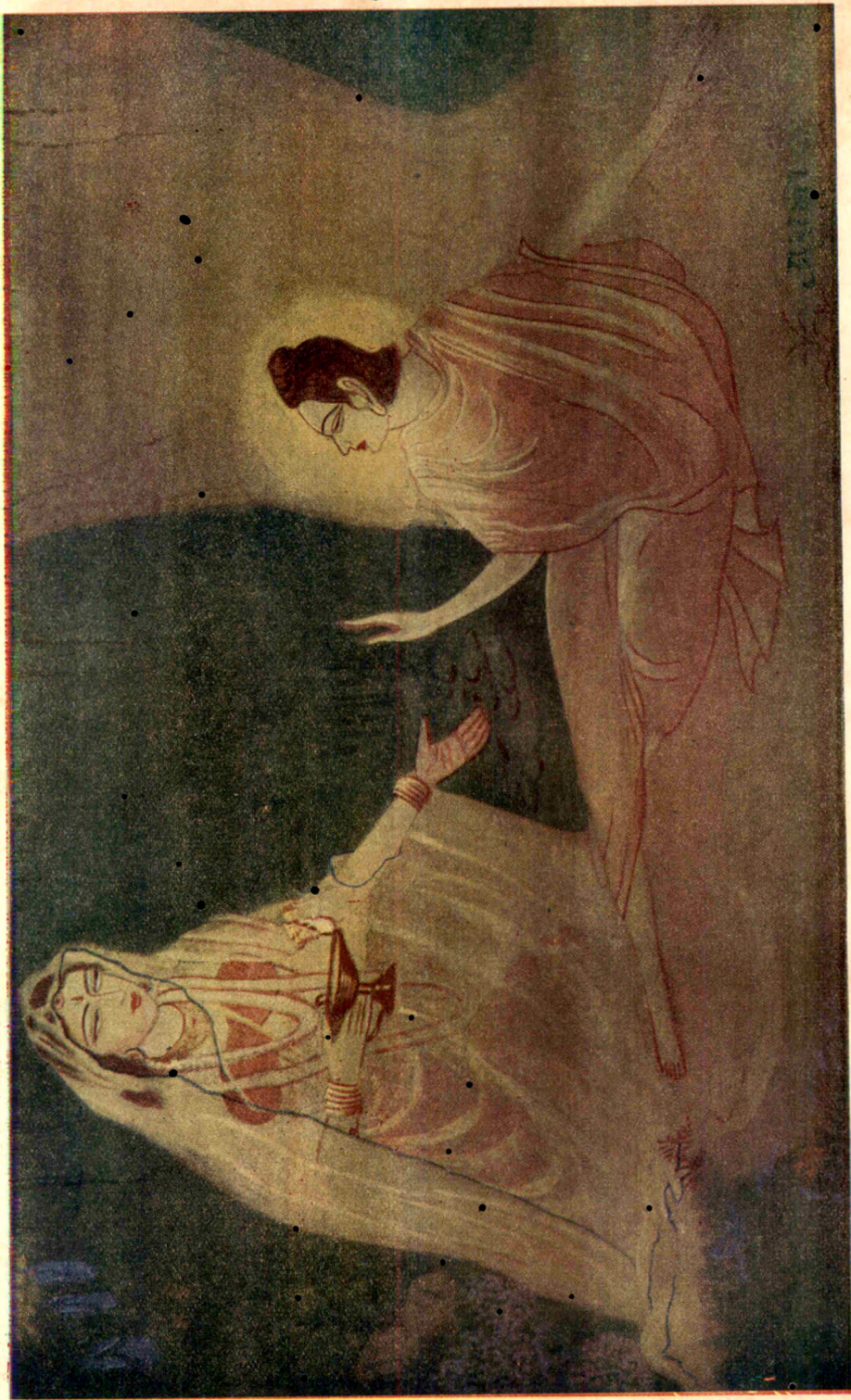


Eden Gardens, Calcutta

Photo : Jharna Ganguly



The River Jamuna in spate. People rescued by the Army from marooned villages



VASAVADATTA AND THE BUDDHIST MONK UPAGUPTA

By Jayasree Bandopadhyaya

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NOTES

The Year's End

The storm clouds, that had overcast the skies of the West, are still there, as the year draws to a close. Perhaps, they are a little less threatening now, since the voice of the U.N. has made itself felt. Pandit Nehru is meeting President Eisenhower this month, and the results of that meeting may influence those whose powers for good or evil count for a lot in World Politics.

We have today in this country the representative of one of the greatest of nations of the world, a nation with whom we are bound by bonds of brotherly amity for nearly two thousand years. This friend, the Premier of the People's Republic of China, we have had with us before, and his visit at this crucial moment of World affairs is an augury for good.

The world is having a breathing space, although it is an uneasy interlude.

Nearer home our neighbours of Pakistan, or rather those who hold the reins of State at present in Pakistan, are trying the same old game of baiting India by poisonous outbursts of hatred and malice. It will do no good, either to them or to us, but then this seems to be an incurable disease where that particular Pakistani group is concerned. What is more serious is that some influential papers in the U.S. have joined in this game of building up a case against India, through the marshalling of distorted facts and pieces of absolute figments of fiction. Elsewhere in these notes we have commented on that. It seems that India's refusal to toe the line at the bidding of the West, still rankles in the mind of some people

in the U.S. However, we have to face the world as it is.

We have to make up our mind regarding the group in Pakistan, whose hostility towards us is now more manifest than ever. We have to be prepared for all eventualities from that source, and we cannot depend on outside aid in this matter, unless we are fully prepared to face the storm. We have friends, no doubt, all over the world, but then the world is divided into camps, and no one can venture to aid a friend in distress, therefore, without due deliberation as to *pros* and *cons*.

Our own strength depends on many factors, and it would be disastrous to rely solely on our moral force, whatever that intangible might be. Indeed, there are so many forces of disruption at work in the country—the greatest being discontent and want, aggravated by illiteracy and ignorance—that it would not be safe to count on unity in the nation as a whole, at a time of crisis.

But the most disquietening factor, in this matter of national strength and solidarity, has been the deterioration of our human resources, which constitute a nation's fundamental power. The attention of all our public men, and of all our Ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, seem to be devoted either to the question of material advancement or to the World Status—in the terms of international politics—of India. In this way we are losing sight of the problems that are bringing about a rapid degeneration, of our peoples, mentally, morally and physically.

The Railway disasters, and the lamentable failure of our youth in games and athletic contests are pointers in letters of fire.

The Egyptian Impasse

The situation in Egypt dangerously resembles past United Nations' achievements and threatened to continue the *status quo*—the invading Anglo-French troops entrenching themselves on Egyptian soil.

The attempts of the Security Council to act in the emergency having proved abortive as a result of the Anglo-French veto the General Assembly of the United Nations met in an emergency session and adopted a resolution on November 2 calling upon an immediate cease-fire in Egypt. The resolution, which was moved by the USA, was accepted, 64 votes to 5 with seven abstentions. The opponents were the three invading countries, Britain, France and Israel, and two Oceanian countries, Australia and New Zealand. The resolution also called upon the belligerent forces to withdraw behind Arab-Israeli Armistice line demarcated in 1949 and urged all member-nations to "refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of this resolution."

Here was the unmistakable voice of the world demanding unequivocally the cessation of hostilities. What was the reaction of the upholders of democracy and international rights? How did they respond? The Governments of Britain and France in a joint statement on November 3 rejected the Assembly's resolution. The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, instead laid his terms for the stoppage of war. He said that if the U.N. was ready to instal an international force in Egypt to ensure peace between Egypt and Israel and if Egypt and Israel would unconditionally agree to a cease-fire then only could the Government of Great Britain agree to a cease-fire. In the front the British offensive redoubled and British forces made their first landing in Egypt on November 4—two days after the world body's call for a cease-fire. The British occupied Port Said on November 5.

The United Nations General Assembly met again on November 4 and passed a Canadian resolution asking the UN Secretary-General to submit within 48 hours a plan for an emergency United Nations force to "secure and supervise an end of hostilities in Egypt." The vote was 57 to nil with 10 abstentions. Egypt signified

her acceptance of the resolution on November 5, while the resolution of the Assembly met the points raised by the British Prime Minister it was not until after a Soviet threat of massive intervention in the Middle Eastern war delivered on November 5 in an identical note to the Governments of Britain and France that the British Government thought it necessary or expedient to abide by the resolution of the UN Assembly. The Soviet warning to Britain and France was delivered on November 5. On November 6, Sir Anthony Eden announced in the British House of Commons that he had ordered for a cease-fire with effect from the midnight of November 6-7.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammerskjöld, submitted his final report on the organisation of a UN emergency force to the General Assembly on November 6. The Assembly adopted two resolutions the following day. In one of the resolutions, the Assembly called upon Britain, France and Israel to withdraw their troops from Egypt. The vote was 65 to 1 (Israel) with ten abstentions including Britain and France. In the other resolution, adopted 64 votes to nil with twelve abstentions including Egypt, Israel and the Soviet bloc, the Assembly decided upon the setting up of an emergency international police force.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on November 7, the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, said that he could not give an assurance that British troops would be pulled out of Egypt if British and French troops were not included in the international force (as a matter of fact, British and French troops were eventually barred from participation in the international force). The following day the British Defence Minister declared that no date could be given for British withdrawal.

On November 19, the Egyptian Government in an *aide memoire* to the UN Secretary-General accused Britain, France and Israel of defiance of the UN resolutions. Mr. Hammerskjöld was evidently in agreement with the Egyptian point of view. On November 20, Mr. Hammerskjöld asked Britain, France and Israel to explain their failure to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory in accordance with the resolutions of the UN. After such strong representation from the Secretary-

General the British Government offered to withdraw one battalion "as a token of good faith," as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd put it. Mr. Butler, who was deputising for the Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, who in the meanwhile had gone to Jamaica to recover from "overstrain," told in reply to a question in the House of Commons on November 22 that Britain would not withdraw "until we consider that this (UN force) is competent to discharge the tasks which the (UN) Assembly has given it to do."

On November 24, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted one more resolution, sponsored by India, Egypt, Pakistan and eighteen other members of the Anglo-Asian group, calling upon the three invading powers to quit Egypt forthwith. The voting was 63 to 5 (Britain, France, Israel, Australia and New Zealand) with ten abstentions, Nicaragua was absent. In another resolution the Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to go ahead with plans for clearing the Canal under United Nations auspices.

Speaking on the British Foreign Minister's remarks before the Assembly that the British could not withdraw forthwith, Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, leader of Indian Delegation, declared: "India refuses to acknowledge the right of the aggressor to dictate terms."

Even after such unmistakable and persistent demands of the world body the aggressors did not withdraw from Egypt up to the time of writing. Instead there was a reported build-up of French armoured divisions in Port Said. Mr. Krishna Menon demanded on November 27 an immediate United Nations investigation about the truth of those reports.

The continued occupation of Egyptian territory by the troops of the Western powers posed a great threat to the security of the world in general and of Middle East and Asia in particular. The daily press was full of reports of strategic manoeuvres and counter-manoevres in the various countries of the Middle East. There was a further real danger of the extension of that threat of war farther East. The Government of India and the conference of the four Colombo Powers (Pakistan choosing to be absent) unmistakably pointed to that.

The present crisis further brought into sharper relief the utter inadequacy of the

United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of world peace and security. Up till now it had no solution of any important political question to its credit with the dubious exception of the case of Israel. Every major conflict in the post-war world failed to be resolved by the world body: Take for instance, the question of Pakistani aggression in Kashmir; Korea; the question of racialism in South Africa; the independence of Cyprus; and the latest Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. In no case the UN could take suitable action envisaged in its Charter.

The time was, therefore, ripe for a reconsideration of the organisational pattern of the world body—the basic aims could hardly be questioned—so that no single Power could cover up its evasion of responsibility under any legal pretext. The UN at the time of its inception was a predominantly Western body. Significant political changes had occurred since then—most important of them being the emergence of a number of independent States in Asia and Africa. The reconstituted world body should reflect these important changes in world scene. Only in that case the world body could have any chance to act more effectively.

Indian Contingent in Egypt

The United Nations General Assembly in an emergency session adopted, on November 4, a resolution, sponsored by Canada, Norway and Colombia, to create an international force, under the command of the United Nations, with the duty of supervising the cease-fire between Egyptian and the invading forces of Great Britain, France and Israel. The vote was 57 to nil with 18 abstentions. Among the countries that did not vote were Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Egypt and the Union of South Africa. The resolution was adopted in record time on a report submitted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammerskjöld. The nucleus of the U.N. force would be formed by the members of the U.N. Truce Supervisory Commission in Palestine and would be under the overall command of Major-General E. L. M. Burns of Canada, Chief of the U.N. Truce Supervision Commission. The Secretary-General was instructed to adopt all administrative measures "for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in this resolution" and report to the Assembly within forty-eight

hours. The permanent members of the Security Council—the USA, UK, USSR, France and China (Formosa)—were expressly excluded from contributing any contingent to the U.N. force.

In a second resolution on the matter the General Assembly decided on November 7 that the U.N. command would be a temporary police force to patrol the area of fighting from the Suez Canal to the old Egyptian-Israeli truce line established in 1949. The proposal was adopted—64 votes to nil—12 countries (including the Soviet bloc, Egypt, Israel and the Union of South Africa) abstaining.

India has offered a battalion to the U.N. command force which made its first landing on Egypt on November 13. The *Hindu*, referring to the problems of the U.N. force in Middle East, writes editorially on November 18 that on the face of Anglo-French obstinacy the U.N. force faced a difficult task there. It would require a rare combination of great tact and firmness to tackle the job. It could be safely predicted that the Indian battalion would be a source of great help to the U.N. command in achieving this task, it says. Recalling the splendid work done by the Indian troops in Korea and Indo-China as ambassadors of Peace and friendship, the *Hindu* writes that the whole country shared the confidence expressed by General Shrinagesh in the ability of our men to acquit themselves creditably in Egypt.

Up to November 26, 23 countries had offered to participate in the U.N. force. About 2,400 men in all had been moved into Egypt by the night of November 27. By the middle of December the strength of the U.N. force in Egypt would total about 4,100. Up to November 26 the countries, whose men were already part of the U.N. force, were Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Colombia, India, Canada and Yugoslavia. Other countries which had pledged specific contributions or had promised general participation were Pakistan, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, New Zealand, Burma, Brazil, Iran, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Ecuador, the Philippines, Peru, Afghanistan and Chile.

The United States of America, Canada and Italy were providing airlifts for the international force while other countries, such as, Yugoslavia were supplying some of their own air transport.

In a statement on November 28, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Dag Hammarskjöld said that the second week of December the U.N. force would be "an organized military force, with a headquarters and staff . . . two armoured car companies and necessary supporting units." These units would include "medical, engineer, transport, signal, supply workshop, provost and post-units and other army service elements." He added that the U.N. force had been well received by the people of Egypt.

The Egyptian attitude to the international force was made clear by Mr. Aly Sabri, Chief Political Adviser to President Nasser, in a conference with the newspaper editors in Cairo on November 28. Mr. Sabri said that the international force had been to Egypt with the latter's approval and the continued presence of those troops were bound by agreement. "We have the right to ask the force to withdraw if they fail in their mission," he said.

Asked to comment on India's role in the Egyptian crisis, Mr. Sabri said that India had consistently upheld Egypt's legitimate interests. "India's stand is very clear from her full support to the Egyptian case," Mr. Sabri said.

Intellectuals and the Communist Press

One of the favourite Communist slogan is freedom of speech and truthful information. How do the Communists themselves practise it? The present crisis in Eastern Europe has currently focussed some light on the technique of Communist propaganda. The Communists everywhere suppressed the true reports—even if sent by their own representatives. Thus Mr. Peter Frer, Communist *Daily Worker's* ace foreign correspondent, resigned his position in the London paper (though not from the Communist Party of Great Britain of which he was a member) as a protest against the editor's suppression or material distortion of the dispatches he had been sending from Budapest. The Communist daily instead had printed dispatches from its correspondent stationed in Moscow to describe the happenings in Hungary.

Throughout the world the Communist press, while not fully able to suppress the facts from the people, endeavoured to present the events in Hungary in a thoroughly distorted manner. The followers of the Communist press were

given an impression that the events in Hungary were wholly a Western machination against the people of Hungary. Another familiar strain was the blind support of the Soviet intervention there.

While the majority of the non-Soviet Communist world, in spite of some uneasiness, have remained relatively quiet, a handful of intellectuals have come out with a demand for fuller truths about Hungary. More than one hundred and fifty Communist intellectuals in Italy have condemned the Soviet interference in Hungary—though the Italian Communist newspaper *Unita* refused to publish that statement. A group of ten French intellectuals headed by the world-renowned artist, Pablo Picasso has condemned the French Communist Party for lack of news on Poland and Hungary and has demanded the convocation of a special national party congress to discuss "truthfully and realistically the innumerable problems facing the Communists."

The statement of the ten French intellectuals, not officially published but as quoted in Paris *Le Monde* said:

"The weeks that have just gone by have posed for Communists' burning questions of conscience that neither the Central Committee of the French Communist Party nor *L'Humanité* (the Party's Central daily newspaper) have helped them to solve. An unbelievable poverty of news, a veil of silence, ambiguities produced more or less on purpose, have disconcerted the people's minds, leaving them either disarmed or ready to yield to all the temptations held out by our adversaries."

The French party leaders, M. Maurice Thorez and M. Roger Garandy have dismissed the appeal of the intellectuals stating that they had fallen prey to bourgeois propaganda.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, which alone among the non-Soviet parties, had shown some real integrity during the controversy on Khrushchev's disclosures on Stalin, has, however, openly declared that it was not in a position to give any judgment on the happenings in Hungary (this was an indirect way of disagreement from the official world Communist line preached by Moscow and Peking and relayed by Togliatti, Thorez, Ajoy Ghosh, et al).

It is really a matter of great pity that in

India few of the Communist intellectuals found it necessary to criticize Soviet barbarities in Hungary. Significantly enough, Prof. Hirendranath Mukherji, who is Deputy Leader of the Communist group in the Parliament and is generally regarded as the representative of the intellectual wing of the party, found no better argument for the justification of Soviet aggression against the Hungarian people than an assertion that the Soviet troops had been called in by the Hungarian Government under the terms of the Warsaw Treaty—conveniently ignoring the fact that the Warsaw Pact envisaged such deployment of Soviet force only in the event of external aggression. (Moreover, Prof. Mukherji apparently contradicted even his own party line—Prof. Mukherji's speech was made on the floor of Parliament on November 20 whereas the Party's Central weekly organ, the *New Age*, editorially came out on November 18 against all military pacts including the Warsaw Pact). It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a greater mental serfdom.

The Communist Press in India also has followed a twisted line. Instinctively reacting against the initial Soviet intervention the Party's General-Secretary wrote in an article in the weekly *New Age* virtually condemning the use of Soviet troops. That was done before any pronouncements had been made either from Moscow or Peking. However, no sooner had Moscow and Peking proclaimed that the Hungarian workers were "fascist gangs" attempting counter-revolution the Indian Communists ate their earlier criticism and came out in full support of all the Soviet brutalities in Hungary. In his speech before Parliament on November 20 Prof. Hiren Mukherji said: "I do not see what other steps could have been adopted provided we remember that the Soviet thought that a very serious situation hostile to the very existence of Socialism had arisen." An effort is also visible to buttress the stand taken by the Indian Communists by quoting Chinese Communist comments—conveniently disregarding the Yugoslav comments—another authoritative Communist source.

However, in suppressing truth and distorting facts the Soviet press organs, notably *Pravda*, have made performances which it would be difficult to equal. The non-Soviet Communist press, in many places, has no reliable

direct source of information. Some confusion on their part is understandable—considering the past attitude to Moscow line. But the Soviet press was in possession of full facts. But what it served before the public was something quite different from what were facts. This double-faced character of the Soviet press was, however, not new. Instances are well known when in the past the Soviet press materially distorted even the writings of leading non-Soviet Communists before publication in the Soviet press.

Another pet theme of propaganda was the denunciation of the former leaders of the Hungarian party alone conveniently overlooking the responsibility of the Soviet party. It would be sufficient to recall in this connection that one of the top Soviet leaders Mikhail A. Suslov had gone to Budapest in June 1956 to reaffirm Rakosi's hold on power in Hungary. But, as they say, the king (Soviet Union) can do no wrong.

"Proletarian" Internationalism

The Declaration of the Government of the USSR on October 30 dispelled much of the confusion about Soviet Union's relationship with its neighbours in Eastern Europe. The statement clearly confirmed the fact of economic exploitation and political-military domination of Eastern-European States by the USSR. Later Soviet conduct indicated that the Soviet Union greatly regretted having made that pronouncement. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Government made the pronouncement apparently in a moment of great confusion when they were being criticized on all hands for their rough treatment of the Polish situation and the subsequent armed intervention in Hungary. They thought that a partial admission of their guilt might restore their international prestige, at the same time serving as a weapon in the propaganda campaign to demonstrate their superior morality. Tito said "People in Hungary were absolutely against the Stalinist elements. Gero in no way differed from Rakosi. Gero called the demonstrators (in Hungary) a 'mob' and insulted nearly the whole nation. This was enough to set fire to the keg of powder and to bring about the explosion. At a time when the demonstrations were still in progress, to call upon the army of another country to teach a lesson to the people of one's own country is a serious mistake.

"The justified revolution and uprising against a clique turned into an uprising of the whole nation against socialism and against the Soviet Union."

He declared that the first Soviet intervention had been unjustified but considered the second intervention right. But, he added, the need for military intervention would not have arisen had the Soviet Union had done everything that was necessary to do. President Tito said that the error of military intervention by the USSR "came unfortunately as a result of their idea that military power resolves everything. But it does not resolve everything. Just look how a barehanded and poorly armed people offers fierce resistance when it has goal—to free itself and to be independent."

Tito said that he had never advised the Soviet leaders to use armed force in Hungary and added: "Even now, when they are in crisis in this grave situation, we can tell them nothing else except they should take care to rectify the old mistakes." He, however, declared his support of the Kadar Government in Hungary.

President Tito added that the root of a Soviet mistake lay in the distrust of the Soviet Government in the smaller socialist States.

Used as it was to perennial glorification by the world Communists Tito's frank comment naturally exposed the "Soviet" way of correcting mistakes. The statement thus admitted "violations and mistakes which belittled the principle of equal rights in the relations between the Socialist States." The Soviet Government promised to correct the mistakes and even agreed to discuss the question of withdrawal of Soviet troops from East European States.

This was before the second Soviet attack on Hungary. When it became apparent to the Soviet Government that nothing short of full-scale Soviet intervention could save Soviet position in Hungary, the five principles proclaimed in October 30 were thrown into the winds and it was declared that Soviet troops would stay in the Eastern European countries as long as North Atlantic Treaty would remain.

Nevertheless the Soviet statement was seized upon by the Communists throughout the world to launch a propaganda campaign to praise the selflessness of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Government promptly came out in its

support on November 17. And the statement was made one of the chief planks for supporting the second Soviet aggression in Hungary—the line of argument being that the Soviet Union had been there only to save the “workers’ state and interests” and would leave Hungary immediately as the “Fascist invaders” (the Hungarian workers?) were completely liquidated.

Yet it would not be wholly correct to say that the statement had no beneficial effect. After having made public a statement of principle it was difficult even for the Soviet Government to contradict it in all respects. So that the Soviet Union had perforce to agree to certain concessions to Poland in the talks held between the delegation of the two countries in Moscow between November 15 and 18. The Soviet Government agreed to cancel the Polish indebtedness to Russia as on November 1, 1956; to grant a long-term loan amounting to seven hundred million roubles to enable Poland to purchase Soviet goods; and further agreed to deliver during 1957 1.4 million tons of grains on a credit basis. The Soviet troops would, however, continue to be stationed in Poland.

However, the Soviet Government found it difficult to live up to all the promises made in the statement. While admitting in principle that under the Warsaw Pact foreign forces could be stationed in a country only with the consent of the State concerned the Soviet Government could not accept Imre Nagy’s proclamation of Hungarian neutrality of the Power Blocs and his call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

Meanwhile, a fresh clash between the USSR and Yugoslavia was impending. During September, 1956, there was a frantic Russo-Yugoslav effort to thrash out an agreed line on intra-Communist relations. Referring to the Russo-Yugoslav hush-hush talks during September the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston wrote editorially on October 1: “The future of government inside the Soviet Union itself and relations with and inside all of Eastern Europe are up for decision.” The differences between the outlook of the two countries could not, however, be bridged inasmuch as the Soviet Union was not agreeable to relax its controls over the Eastern European countries.

The difference between the standpoints of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was further

highlighted by the different attitude of the two governments on the happenings in Eastern Europe, especially in Hungary.

While the Soviet Press and Government were extolling the greatness of Soviet intervention in Hungary, President Tito of Yugoslavia said in a speech at Pula that “It is a grave error to call upon foreign troops to teach one’s people a lesson.” It proved too strong for the Soviet party. The party’s organ *Pravda* took up the cudgel and accused Tito of interference in the internal affairs of other Socialist countries. *Pravda*’s remarks amounted as much as to saying that Tito was no longer a Communist but had fallen a prey to bourgeois ideology. The newspaper was “surprised” and asked: “What is Tito calling for in his speech? To go it alone? But what, one may ask, does this way offer to the socialist countries? Nothing. A call for estrangement from the other socialist countries (read Soviet Union) from the entire close-knit family of socialist nations cannot benefit the cause of socialist construction. Loyalty to the great banner of socialist internationalism (read blind obedience to Soviet Union) and unity of all champions of socialism is the major condition of the success of our great cause.”

The *Pravda* concluded with an exhortation to world Communists to keep their mouth shut and not to indulge in criticism of the Soviet Union. “Is it not clear,” *Pravda* asked, “that it is impermissible for the Communist parties to start quarrelling, to resort to mutual recriminations, to revive the climate of differences which our common efforts have made a thing of the past?” How?—one might very well ask.

The Yugoslav Communist newspaper *Borba*, in an editorial comment on the *Pravda* criticism of Marshal Tito, wrote on November 27 that the Soviet regime must choose between the “Stalinist policy of hegemony or the creation of such relations of equality as have already developed between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and which are developing successfully between Poland and the Soviet Union.” Such a choice posed a fundamental question. “However, *Pravda* seems not to see this.” Criticizing the Soviet paper’s exhortation to stop criticism *Borba* wrote that *Pravda* perhaps really wished to say that “because of the existence of inter-

national reaction there must be no open discussion, no constructive criticism."

The Yugoslav newspaper further accused that "*Pravda's* polemics with Tito's speech have retained much of the old Stalinist method. The article is full of incorrect things, arbitrary interpretations of attitudes and distortions of certain statements. . . . *Pravda* avails itself to the same forgery which *Tass* used already in its comment on Tito's speech."

"Why, in arguing against the Yugoslav attitude, do they not argue over the thesis that the roots of the personality cult lie in the bureaucratic apparatus, in bureaucratic management—namely, in a disregard for the role and aspiration of the working masses, in leaders who became divorced from the working masses and who, despite the discontent of the masses, kept their positions of leadership and pursued the same policy?" *Borba* asked.

Israel and the Middle East

For the last eight years there has been almost a complete deadlock in the Middle East. This rather started in 1936 with the Arab rebellion in 1936. The situation has been progressively worsening with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. Standing near the border of Soviet Russia and possessing enormous mineral wealth, the Middle East has become the hot-bed of international politics. Israel is regarded by the Arab world as a beach-head for western expansion into their region. The Arabs and the Jewish people approach the problems of Israel from completely different angles and their conclusions are therefore different. Israelis and Zionists regard the establishment of the State of Israel as a great act of historic justice. The Arabs, however, regard the Western act in setting up the State of Israel as a great disaster whereby nearly 750 lakhs of Arabs have been uprooted from their hearths and homes. The Arabs demand the return of all Arab refugees to their homes in Israel and the withdrawal of Israel from all areas not granted to it by the original partition plan of 1947.

The Israelis, however, point out that it was the Arabs who were responsible for the rejection of the 1947 plan and they attempted to prevent its implementation by force. The Arab States fought with the Jews of Israel and they lost the fight. The Israelis now claim that the Arabs now accept the partition plan peacefully. The Arabs,

however, retort that the whole of Palestine, Jewish national home since 1917 was theirs. The Arab world do not regard the Jews of Palestine as fellow-Semites returning to their motherland. They regard the establishment of the State of Israel as European invasion backed by British and American imperialism. Both sides go back to the earliest days of settlement in Palestine and they claim and counterclaim.

In days of bygone memory the Jewish people might have been the original inhabitants of Palestine, but later on they were either exterminated with the rise of Arab powers or had to migrate to European countries. It is, therefore, no use going back to history as historical reference does not always solve present problems. The Arab world is agitated over three important factors: firstly, there is the problem of the Arab refugees; Secondly, the Arab feelings remain wounded since the defeat of the Arabs in the war of 1948. The Arabs lost the Palestine war because they lacked political unity and military experience to make victory possible. After all, the Jewish people were backed by Anglo-American military experience and supported by their war materials. Thirdly, the Arabs regard Israel as the beach-head for western expansion into Arab world and they contemplate that it should be wiped out before it makes further inroads into their territory. The Arabs think, and they think it correctly, that Israel shall not remain content with its present boundary. There have been continued Jewish immigrants into Israel. There have already been 750 lakhs of new immigrants and their numbers are progressively increasing. The present Israel Government is busily engaged in the expansion of area and the Herut party openly demands Israel's expansion across the Jordan.

In the recent Suez Canal dispute Israel was used by the British and the French as their spear-head of attack on Egypt. Israel is backed by monetary resources of the world Jewry. The American Export-Import Bank gives loans to Israel and the United States Congress makes it an annual grant. These events lead to the union among the Arab people against Israel and they intensify their blockade to Israel. Last December's Lake Tiberias incident was an act of aggression by Israel against Syria. The Arab countries realised that the Israeli attack had been instigated by the Imperialist powers. The idea was to bring pressure to bear upon Syria to force

her into the Baghdad Pact. In the recent Suez Canal incident, Israel was used to force Egypt to reconsider her decision of nationalisation of the Canal. As regards the Lake Tiberias incident, Major-General Burns, Chief of Staff of the U.N. Palestine Commission, stated in his report that the Israeli raid on Syrian territory was carried out on an 11-kilometre front by several landing parties and two infantry battalions with the support of armoured cars, artillery and machine gun fire from patrol ships on the lake. The landing operation was preceded by an artillery and mortar barrage and the shelling of the nearby Dukan settlement by Israeli ships. Israel is a stooge of the Colonial Powers who want to preserve the colonial possessions in the Middle East. The Middle East is a rich and strategically important area and here the power politics among big nations will continue.

Whither Indian Economy ?

Rising prices and falling exports are the two formidable problems that face the Government of India. The price situation during the year 1956 was characterised by an almost continuous uptrend, in contrast to the sharp decline in 1955. The general index of wholesale prices, with year ended as August 1939 as base, rose by 16.7 per cent from 345 at the end of June 1955 to 419.8 at the end of September 1956. In 1954-55 there had been a net decline of 10 per cent in the price level. The rise in price has been reflected in the living costs, the All-India working class consumer price index, with 1949 as the base year, having recorded an increase from 93 in June 1955 to 107 at the end of July 1956. The price rise is not, however, general or uniform; it is mostly confined to agricultural commodities and semi-manufactures, the prices of industrial products remaining relatively steady. The rise in food articles is the largest being 35 per cent, and the prices of almost all the commodities in the group have showed an increase. In 1955, the prices of food articles, industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures experienced sharp declines in prices. The present rise in prices is, therefore, partly a corrective movement to the previous fall. In fact, the various governmental measures that were taken in the latter half of 1954-55 to stabilise prices at reasonable levels themselves may have contributed to some extent to the subsequent rise.

However, the persistent rise in price levels during the year 1956 has gone much beyond the corrective level. The rise is mainly due to the decline in agricultural output, larger exports of certain industrial raw materials and an increase in demand resulting from the large increase in investment expenditure and rise in incomes. The rise is also considerably responsible for the budgetary policies of the Government of India. The disaster was started by Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, the former Finance Minister, with the imposition of taxes on essential consumer goods including food materials. The position was further aggravated by another act of blunder by the present Finance Minister immediately on assumption of his post. The imposition of excise duties on cotton textiles just on the eve of the last Pujas created havoc in the price structure generating speculative deals. At that time we sharply criticised the Government policy as that would make the price level shoot up. Actually our apprehensions have now come to be true.

Governmental measures to curb the rise in price level have included the banning of exports of foodgrains, and arranging for imports and release to the market of substantial quantities of rice and wheat. But once the rise in price level has started, it is very difficult to call a halt to the upward tendency. In the absence of an effective machinery in this country for price control, all the banes of underdeveloped economy are having free play, the most important being speculations by the wholesalers and hoarders. In May and September of 1956, the Reserve Bank of India issued directions to member banks controlling their advances against foodgrains and textiles. But meanwhile the Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, raised the plea of shortage of funds in the money market and as a result, the Reserve Bank had to withdraw its restrictions formerly imposed on the banks as stated above. Immediately following the withdrawals of restrictions, the price level recorded an increase by several points. The withdrawal of restrictions was an ill-advised measure.

At the Export Advisory Council meeting held in November 1956, the worsening position of India's exports was revealed. In 1953-54, India had an adverse balance of trade to the extent of Rs. 50.05 crores; in 1954-55, the adverse trade balance rose to Rs. 62.72 crores and in 1955-56 it shot up to Rs. 81.54 crores. According to

the figures published by the Reserve Bank, India's balance of payments became adverse to the extent of Rs. 506 crores during the first Five-Year Plan. The trade balance was adverse as follows: 1950-51, it was Rs. 3.5 crores; in 1951-52, it was Rs. 232.8 crores; in 1952-53, Rs. 31.1 crores; in 1953-54, Rs. 52.1 crores; in 1954-55, Rs. 85 crores and in 1955-56, Rs. 105 crores. In the first six months of 1956, the adverse balance of trade was nearly Rs. 121.86 crores. Mr. D. P. Karmakar, the Central Minister for Commerce, stated that export trade in the first nine months of the current year had not been altogether reassuring. During this period, India had earned in all only Rs. 439 crores. This compares unfavourably with earnings for the same period in 1955, amounting to Rs. 457 crores.

The reason for this falling exports lies partly in the fall in the external price level of some of the commodities figuring in export trade. This is brought out by the fact that while the volume index for the first half of the current year was 109 against 108 for the same period last year, the value index of exports has declined from 94 to 91. This raises the problem of maintaining prices at home. The Minister expressed apprehension that if the domestic price level rises, India's export promotion drive would be hampered.

The Government of India are also much concerned over the dwindling foreign exchange reserves of the country. Since the end of March 1956, the foreign exchange reserves held by the Reserve Bank have declined from Rs. 746 crores to Rs. 543 crores—a fall of over Rs. 200 crores. Although this decline has taken place as a result of the large imports required for the second Five-Year Plan, it is obvious that this rate of drawal cannot be sustained for any length of time. The Finance Minister declared on November 30: "We are now fairly close to the minimum level of reserves we ought to maintain and I must tell the House and the public that a most determined effort to conserve and augment our foreign exchange resources is now called for. This consideration must, in my judgement, be given higher priority than the consideration regarding internal prices, although the latter is important. The requirements of foreign exchange for the Second Plan are proving even larger than we estimated, and it would be necessary not only to economise

on imports and to increase our exports, but also to secure the necessary quantum of supplemental resources from abroad."

But the Finance Minister seems to be labouring under some misconceptions. Firstly, the rise in domestic price level cannot be ignored in the least. Domestic price rise will influence the cost of living and in turn the cost of production resulting in the higher prices of exports. Secondly, exports cannot be increased without corresponding increase in imports. The foreign trade moves on the basis of reciprocity, you cannot expect to sell without buying. Formerly India's exports and imports exceeded nearly Rs. 700 crores. But with the drive towards import control and reduction, exports have also fallen considerably. It must now be admitted that devaluation has further worsened India's balance of payments position. After devaluation, India's export incomes have fallen and income payments have increased. Devaluation has been a hurdle in increasing India's export earnings and reducing her import costs. Devaluation was a blunder on India's part. It has not stepped up India's exports nor has cut down import costs. On the contrary, it has reduced our export earnings and increased our import payments.

The year 1956 witnessed a substantial monetary and credit expansion. Money supply with the public (excluding State Governments' deposits with the Reserve Bank) increased by Rs. 214 crores during 1955-56, or by 10.8 per cent to a total of Rs. 2,191 crores. The net rise over the entire First Five-Year Plan (April 1951 to March 1956) was also of about the same order, at Rs. 206 crores. This resulted from an initial phase of contraction to the extent of Rs. 214 crores in the first two years, followed by a progressive increase in the next three years by an aggregate of Rs. 420 crores. Of the increase in money supply during 1955-56, expansion in currency accounted for about four-fifths. The main expansionary factors were deficit financing by Government and the rise in bank credit, the balance of payments impact being slightly contractionist. To a certain extent, therefore, deficit financing is also responsible for the rise in prices. The rise in money supply has to be viewed in relation to the expansionary trends in production, industrial and agricultural, and the general level of economic activity. Besides, in an economy like India's where, under the impact of a major developmental effort, a

steady extension of the boundaries of the money economy is under way, the level of money supply may be expected to show some rise relatively to national income, if price levels are to remain fairly steady. However, recently the rise in money supply has tended to outpace the rise in production levels and economic activity.

The expansion in bank credit is following on the heels of rise in money supply. That is, the banks have taken the advantage of deficit financing in enlarging their advances. Bank credit during the year recorded a sharp rise and contributed to a large expansion of money supply. Scheduled bank credit increased by Rs. 149 crores over the year 1956 to Rs. 759 crores as compared to a rise of Rs. 60 crores in 1954-55. On the other hand, net deposit liabilities of scheduled banks increased much less than bank credit during 1956 by Rs. 98 crores. The higher level of banking activity during 1956 reflects largely the impact of growing economic activity under the Plan. The inadequacy of the rise in bank's resources was acutely felt in the busy season of 1955 when scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 180 crores, whereas the net deposit liabilities increased by only Rs. 38 crores. Even during the slack season of 1956, the banks borrowed from the Reserve Bank under the Bill Market scheme a large sum to the extent of Rs. 330 crores and this indicates an unprecedented expansion of bank credit, particularly in the field of agricultural products. It is high time that the Reserve Bank should raise its Bank Rate to not less than 4 per cent. In the face of deficit financing, a return to dearer money is all the more imperative. A higher Bank rate will not in any way affect the long-term investment programme in the private sector. The influence of the Bank rate on long-term prospective yields is marginal, or almost nothing. The Bank rate will, however, influence the speculations in the short period and it is therefore desirable that the Bank rate should be raised. The inflationary spiral in India should be nipped in the bud by a higher Bank rate, by larger imports of consumer goods and by taxation of personal incomes. Increased supply of consumer goods, both by increased domestic production as well as by increased imports, will neutralise the larger demands for such goods and help stabilising the price level. Inflation is a costly affair. It brings with it grave social injustices and instability. It destroys not only the value of savings but also

confidence, and security and social values. Inflation results in the destruction of the value of money. It is the cruellest form of social theft—a theft with the greatest harm to those that are least able to protect themselves. It is a theft to the people with rigid income levels. Deficit financing therefore calls for strict price control which is not possible in a free economy like that of ours.

Eisenhower's Second term

Through his victory in the elections held on the 6th November, 1956, Dwight David Eisenhower, at the age of sixty-six, became the second Republican in this century to win two successive presidential elections in the U.S.A. (President William Mackinley, elected for a second term in 1900, was the other Republican to do so). In what has been described as the "most spectacular election victory since Franklin D. Roosevelt submerged Alfred M. Landon in 1936," President Eisenhower defeated his Democratic rival, Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson by over nine million votes. President Eisenhower rolled up the biggest popular vote in history (over 34.7 million according to incomplete figures) breaking his own 1952 record (33,927,441). The President carried forty-one States—two more than in 1952—and Mr. Stevenson seven. Mr. Stevenson's popular vote in 1956 was 25,427,361 against 27,314,992 in 1952.

President Eisenhower won 457 electoral votes against Stevenson's 74 (two hundred and sixty-six electoral votes were required for election). This marked an increase over his electoral votes in 1952 which were 442 to 89 for Stevenson but in electoral votes President Eisenhower still remained runner-up to the Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt's totals in both the 1932 and 1936 elections. In the 1936 elections, Roosevelt had polled the largest ever electoral votes when he defeated the Republican candidate Alfred M. Landon by 523 electoral votes to 8.

The elections were a personal victory for President Eisenhower inasmuch as while he polled record popular votes, his party—the Republican Party—failed to gain a majority in any of the two Houses of the Congress. The position of the two parties in the Congress was:

Senate: 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans,
House of Representatives: 235 Democrats
and 200 Republicans.

This was the fifth time in U.S. history—and first since 1848—that a President-elect failed to carry both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The forty-three-year old Richard Milhous Nixon was re-elected Vice-President to Eisenhower.

In his speech just after the announcement of his re-election President Eisenhower said that the results showed that "modern Republicanism has now proved itself and America has approved of modern Republicanism."

Modern Republicanism, President Eisenhower added, "will point the way to peace among nations and to prosperity, advancing standards here at home . . ."

"With whatever talents the good God has given me, with whatever strength there is within me, I will continue, and so will my associates, to do just one thing: To work for 168,000,000 Americans here at home and for peace in the world," the President concluded.

In a telegram to the re-elected President, the *osr*, Mr. Adlai Stevenson said: "You have won not only the election but also an expression of the great confidence of the American people. I send you my warm congratulations. Tonight we are not Republicans and Democrats, but Americans." He wished all success for the new President.

Dwelling on the results of the elections the *New York Times* International Edition, writes on November 7 editorially that the course of the campaign had clearly shown the elements of strength and weakness in the Republican Party at the end of the first Eisenhower Administration. "The chief element of strength, amply demonstrated in yesterday's voting, is the great personal popularity of the President and the wide measure of public confidence which he commands. Inevitably too, the Republican party has profited from the boom which many industries are currently enjoying and the present high level of earnings and employment. On the debit side of the ledger . . . is the lackluster record of the Republicans in Congress, the clearly revealed division within the party itself between liberals and reactionaries, and the continued presence in res-

possible congressional positions of Republican die-hards who are opposed to just about everything, either at home or abroad, for which the President himself stands," the newspaper writes.

The eighty-fifth Congress of the United States would meet on January 3, 1957. Efforts were already afoot to restore the bipartisan basis of the U.S. foreign policy which was jolted during the election campaigns. President Eisenhower had already discussed the matter in a conference of twenty-three congressional leaders of both parties at the White House. As things stood there was no chance of any major shift in the foreign policy of the United States Government in near future.

U.S.A. and Kashmir and Pakistan

The Kashmir Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution on November 19 for Jammu and Kashmir registering Kashmir's irrevocable accession to India. This was perfectly in keeping with democratic traditions; even a former British Prime Minister—Earl Attlee—admitted that the affairs of Kashmir were being democratically administered; nothing could be objectionable in such a procedure. But there were some for whom it was not very convenient to look at facts. Truth was not at all palatable to them—so that they lived in an imaginary world where everything could be viewed in a distorted manner. In this category might be placed a section of the Pakistani politicians and the American press. It would be an idle effort to put the utterances of those Pakistani politicians under scrutiny (since they would bear no scrutiny at all)—the denunciation of India and Indians had for them become the staple weapon in the struggle for capturing power in Pakistan. It would, for example, indeed, be difficult to find a responsible political leader in any other country of the world denouncing a friendly neighbouring country in such malicious terms as were used towards India by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, President of the Pakistan Muslim League. Speaking before a League Youth Convention in Lahore on November 26, the Sardar reportedly said that India was Pakistan's only and the greatest enemy and the Leaguers would be ready to conclude any agreement with any country that would help Pakistan fight India. The basis of Mr. Nishtar's charges

against India was not reported by the news agency. But it was unthinkable that any major point made by him would have gone unreported. Obviously enough Pakistan could not seriously bring any charges against India—there was no ground for that. The only conclusion to which one was thus driven was that for some reason or other a section of Pakistani politicians found it profitable to indulge in occasional diatribes against India. There was, however, no lack of evidence that such was not by any means the general attitude of the Pakistani leaders—many of whom would not approve of such hostility towards India. As a matter of fact, Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani gave a rebuff to the redoubtable Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, who, the other day, had declared India to be Pakistan's greatest enemy. Maulana Bhasani said that whatever differences might there be between India and Pakistan, the people of Pakistan could not regard Indians as their enemies.

Every sane man would agree with Maulana Bhasani. But truth was not palatable to some. However, while one might understand the fulminations of the discredited leaders of the Muslim League in Pakistan, it was difficult to appreciate the stand taken by responsible sections of public opinion in the U.S.A. with regard to India and Kashmir. For example, the *New York Times*, International Edition, devoted an editorial article on November 3 to denounce the new Kashmir Constitution and the Government of India. Materially distorting facts the *New York Times* wrote: "Some idea of the extent to which the popular will was either suppressed or denied may be had from the fact that just before these actions (adoption of the Constitution, etc.) were taken several important members of this Kashmir (Constituent) Assembly were put under arrest, or rearrested after previous release, because they had formed a group that urged a plebiscite in Kashmir rather than this unilateral action (i.e., the adoption of the Constitution and accession to India). Under such conditions it is impossible to accept the Indian thesis that the will of the Kashmiris has been expressed. It has not had the chance to make itself vocal."

The newspaper strongly urged for a "popular plebiscite" in which Kashmiris could freely express their will either to join India or Paki-

stan. The *Times* added: "The unilateral action on the part of India does not, in our judgment relieve the United Nations of its responsibility in this case. The Kashmir issue is still before the United Nations and the international body has committed itself not merely to a cease-fire in the hostilities that have taken place but the larger framework of a free, popular ballot under external supervision. Pakistan has accepted this mode of solution. India has blocked it and has now attempted to circumvent it."

The hint to Pakistan was not lost upon its Government who were out to create distrust and hatred between the peoples of Pakistan and India. The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr Suhrawardy, in a statement on November 17, threatened a "deterioration" and "further aggravation" in the situation in Kashmir. Simultaneously a letter was sent to the UN Security Council over this matter.

Leaving aside Pakistan's attitude we might say a few words on the points raised by the *New York Times*. The newspaper referred to the "commitment" of the UN over Kashmir but conveniently forgot to mention the failure of the international body to name the aggressor in spite of clear and abundant evidence so that even after about nine years the Kashmir "question"—if it was ever really a question—could not be solved by the world body. Ever the *New York Times* would not say that India was responsible for that failure. India's reasons for giving up the idea of plebiscite were well known—not less important in this connection were the machinations of certain world powers to convert Kashmir into another focus of the world conflict. Pakistan's entry into military pacts made the situation more complex so that in the interest of world peace and tranquillity and the well-being of the people of Kashmir India was left with no other alternative than to declare her renunciation of the earlier offer of a plebiscite (which India was under no legal obligation to institute but had agreed to as a measure of goodwill and grace). As for the newspaper's charges of Indian domination and its questions about the competence of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly to voice the people's opinions the *Times* would do well to turn to the article on Kashmir in the London *Evening Star* of the 25th November, 1956 which was written by Earl Attlee, former Prime

Minister of Great Britain. In that article Lord Attlee stated that Kashmir had unequivocally indicated her desire to be united with India and that at every level of administration in Kashmir there was democracy and local self-government. Lord Attlee also referred to the tremendous progress made by Kashmir in the field of education under the present Government. Lord Attlee, by the way, could not be called a blind supporter of India when it was recalled that largely through the double-faced policy of the British Government that the Kashmir questions had assumed many of its present complications. Yet, the objective reality was so compelling that even Attlee could not miss the truth and, it must be told to his credit, he did tell it.

As for the Kashmir Government's capacity and willingness to face its own people, the Government announced on November 29 that it would institute countrywide elections on the basis of adult franchise early next year after the promulgation of the Constitution.

Train Accidents in South India

A second major railway disaster in the South within the little span of three months has at last brought it home to the Government of India that, it has a duty to acknowledge its responsibility to the people in whose name it rules. The Minister for Railways, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, has resigned and his resignation has been accepted. The acceptance in practice of the principle of ministerial responsibility, though belated and rather halting, one must say, is nevertheless welcome, many Congress members of Parliament reportedly opposed Shri Shastri's resignation presumably on the ground that Shri Shastri's personal responsibility in the accident was nil. This is true but it was and is certainly the responsibility of the Government, and the Railway Ministry in particular, to ensure complete safety to the travelling public. Whatever the reasons, there can be no doubt about the Ministry's failure to perform its duties. The accident, which occurred on November 23 near Ariyalur about 170 miles from Madras, cost 155 lives so far and resulted in the injury of a hundred more. The engine and the first seven bogies, with a total seating capacity of 300, it is reported, capsized on the embankment of the bridge over

the Marudayar river and telescoped into a 15-feet deep and 70-feet wide ditch.

Giving the details of the accident, the Railway Minister told the Lok Sabha on November 26:

"The 603 Down Tuticorin Express, which was involved in this accident left Madras (Egmore) at 21-50 hours on November 22 and arrived at Ariyalur station 84 minutes late, mainly due to cautious running on the section. After halting at Ariyalur for three minutes, it left at 5-21 hours. Having crossed Bridge No. 252 safely, at 5-30 hours, the engine and seven coaches behind it capsized and fell into a breach caused by the erosion of the right approach bank behind the abutment. The eighth bogey was derailed and four remained on the rails.

"It is most painful to report that as a result of this accident, the death-roll amounts to 144 passengers. This includes two who subsequently died out of the 117 injured who were taken to Tiruchirapalli and admitted in the civil and railway hospitals there.

"Medical relief was rushed both from Tiruchirapalli and Villuparam, by special medical relief trains which arrived at the site at 9-45 and 10-05 hours. Meanwhile, six or seven local doctors from Ariyalur had also arrived at the scene and had already started rendering first aid to the injured. The medical relief train carrying the injured persons left the site for Tiruchirapalli at 10-30 hours but, unfortunately, this train had to be held up at Pullambadi station as the track further ahead was under water and was not considered safe for the passage of trains.

"Instructions have been issued by the Southern Railway to all station masters to afford full facilities to the relations of the dead and injured for travelling to the scene of accident and the hospitals. Arrangements have also been made for the free conveyance of these relations from Tiruchirapalli by bus due to the interruption in rail communications.

"Clearance of the debris at the site is in progress. Two or three dead bodies are still to be extricated.

"Bridge No. 252, which was constructed in 1928, is a plate-girder bridge consisting of eight spans of 62 ft. X 3 ins. The foundations are on twin-screw cylinder piles. Previous to this

accident, the highest flood level ever recorded was 9 ft. X 0 in. below the rail level. There is no record during the 28 years of its existence of any important repairs having been needed on this bridge or its approaches. Stone-pitching had been provided around the abutments and the approach bank had also been pitched. The information gathered so far leads to the conclusion that a breach was formed adjacent to the Tiruchi side abutment into which the engine and the seven bogies plunged after the bridge had been safely crossed. This breach must have taken place within a very short time as four trains passed over this bridge after midnight, the last being the 605 Up passenger train at 3-09 hours without the engine crew noticing or reporting anything unusual.

"The entire bridge structure remains intact and safe, except for a portion at the Tiruchi end of the abutment, which was damaged due to the accident."

The Minister said that the bridge was being regularly inspected; he also gave details of the inspections carried out immediately before the accident occurred.

Turning to the measures for the prevention of such accidents in future, the Railway Minister, Shri Shastri, said:

"As regards the steps to be taken to stop such happenings, the Railway Board is initiating a survey of the bridges on the Indian railways, and of their catchment areas and an examination of the history of floods that have passed through such bridges. It is also arranging for the examination of the adequacy of the procedure for the patrolling of tracks during monsoons and floods.

"As the House is aware, a committee of three engineers has been set up to examine the bridges on the former Nizam State Railways. It has been asked to examine the design of bridges and the calculation of the waterway, with special reference to the terrain or any changes that have taken place in recent years necessitating the provision of increased waterway. It has also been asked to examine the adequacy of protection of approach banks and irrigation works affecting the safety of the line and examine the rules and regulations governing inspection of bridges and patrolling of track during monsoons and floods. Its conclusions will assist the Railway Board in the over-

all investigations which it is initiating. The accepted recommendations will have to be carried out as early as possible and the funds required will have to be arranged."

The Ariyalur accident was the 13th major railway disaster since February, 1952. Many of the accidents showed striking similarities. It was no wonder then that the railway administration would be subjected to severe criticism in Parliament. Several Communist, Praja Socialist and even one Congress member strongly criticized the functioning and attitude of the Railway Board. Mr. Frank Anthony, however, laid the blame mostly to the lower-grade servants, indiscipline among whom, he said, was a major factor in railways inefficiency.

The Railway Minister, Shri Shastri, vigorously defended the railway administration and staff. He said that the present Board was "the best Board he could have had." While admitting indiscipline on the part of some railway workers Shri Shastri asked the members to remember the heavy responsibilities borne by them.

It would be hard to agree with Mr. Shastri's way of support of the Railway Board. It is indeed a pity that he could not conceive of a better Board. Ultimately the responsibility for indiscipline among the lower ranks, while undoubtedly partly ascribable to the irresponsibility of the trade union leaders, also lay with the Board. If nobody was to blame in the whole railway administration for such frequent disasters then who should be held responsible? The *Statesman* makes some very pertinent points.

Writing editorially the *Statesman*, November 27, said: "It may be argued that a Minister's is a token responsibility. It is not a legal responsibility of the same sort as, for example, that of an editor, who is held liable for every word that appears in the paper he edits, advertisement columns and all. But if responsibility is of a quasi-symbolic character it requires that the symbolism should be carried to its logical conclusion. (Has the Health Ministry really understood this?) And there is more to it than that. After last September's disaster, if not after that of September 1954, the most urgent possible steps should have been taken to prevent further accidents of that kind. It was the Minister's duty to ensure

that these steps were taken. After the Mahbubnagar disaster the railway authorities were quick to assure an anxious public that existing rules and regulations for the inspection of bridges and keeping watch on them were adequate and that all concerned would be conjured anew to be on their guard. Mr. Shastri announced that a committee of experts would be appointed to examine bridges on the former Nizam's State Railway and further to revise the procedure for inspecting bridges elsewhere. A judicial scrutiny was ordered into the Mahbubnagar crash.

"What happened? Two months are not very long, it is true. But it was more than two months before the experts were even named and the results of the judicial scrutiny have yet to be published. Mr. Alagesan has lately spoken of posting a permanent watch on bridges during the monsoon as if this were a new precaution, whereas it is provided for in the revised Way and Work Manual. Why was such a watch not kept on the bridges in question? It may be that in spite of the Minister's most urgent reminders, the department procrastinated. But it was then his duty to insist that those responsible for delay should be removed and punished. If he failed in spite of that, then the conclusion was irresistible that, to bring about the necessary shake-up in the department, there must be a change at the top. Whether or not Mr. Shastri's mind worked in precisely this way does not matter. This is how the chain of responsibility works. And how it should work."

Lastly, one cannot but question the propriety of a Minister, who has been compelled to resign so to say, defending his administration in the manner in which Shri Shastri did it on November 27. His resignation had already been accepted. After admitting responsibility for the failure of his Ministry to do the right thing, how could Shri Shastri get the moral right to defend his administration?

We extend our heartfelt sympathy to families of the dead and wish a speedy recovery of the injured.

Ministerial Responsibility

The resignation of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Railway Minister, over the Ariyalur railway accident has created a new precedent in ministerial

responsibility in India. The ministerial responsibility implies three things: responsibility to the Head of the State, responsibility to one another and responsibility to the Parliament. The responsibility to the Head of the State is merely nominal, as a minister cannot be dismissed by the Head of the State so long as he enjoys the confidence of the majority of the Lower Chamber. The minister is responsible to the Parliament for his own decision which has not been approved by the Cabinet. The ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament for their collective decision. In the case of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, there was no decision involved. He resigned on the issue of a departmental failure or laches. In this respect it is a new precedent in that a minister should resign for no decision of his own but on account of the failure of his department.

A minister is responsible for his own decision. Where no decision is involved, practically he has no responsibility. It may be recalled that during the jaundice epidemic in Delhi last year, the Central Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did not admit that it was any fault of her own. She maintained that it was a case of negligence or lack of efficiency on the part of her department, namely, the Central Health Ministry. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's resignation has established definitely the primacy of the Prime Minister of India over his Cabinet colleagues. In England it took more than a century to establish the primacy of the Prime Minister; originally he was regarded as a mere *primus inter pares*. In India, although a minister is appointed legally by the President, *de facto* he holds office during the pleasure of the Prime Minister. The letter of resignation of Mr. Shastri was addressed not to the President, but to the Prime Minister and before it was accepted officially by the President, the Prime Minister affirmed that the resignation would be accepted. In fact then it follows that the ultimate control of the Cabinet rests on the Prime Minister. It depends on the Prime Minister to decide in which case an individual minister should resign.

However, the ministerial responsibility should not be directed towards evasion of public opinion on the gross negligence of department. The Ariyalur railway accident would have certainly evoked a strong criticism in the Indian Parliament, but the resignation of Mr. Shastri has put a damper on Legislative consternation.

on the railway department. But the basic fact remains the regional railway officers were grossly negligent of their duties and they were inefficient too. Public officers in this country should be made to realise that it is not merely a privilege to hold public offices, it entails a great obligation too. The officers responsible on account of their negligence should be punished, not departmentally, but through judicial process. The Government should give up the attitude to defend their officers even in the case of proved incapacity. Mr. Shastri's resignation should not put a gloss on the inefficiency of the department concerned.

Hydro-Power Resources in India

In 1953 the Central Water and Power Commission undertook a countrywide survey on a regional basis of India's available hydro-electric power resources. The Commission has estimated that India's utilisable hydro-power resources amount to nearly 35 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor. The survey takes into account only resources that are capable of development on technical and economic considerations in the context of prevailing cost, current construction techniques and other factors affecting development of river resources, including requirement of irrigation. The survey is essentially a preliminary one and a more accurate assessment would require topographical, hydrological and other data which can be obtained only by a systematic long-term programme of field investigations.

India has been broadly divided into six regions, namely: (1) the east flowing rivers of Southern India, (2) the west flowing rivers of the Western Ghats, (3) the rivers of Central India, (4) the Ganga basin, (5) the Brahmaputra basin and (6) the Indus basin. The advantage of regional classification is that demarcation according to regional characteristics has been possible. The common problems involved in the development of Western Ghats are "high-head" schemes, unaffected by conflicting requirements of irrigation, etc. The problems of developing east flowing rivers are different in that over-riding requirements of irrigation will have first priority and power development is generally of the "medium-head" class. In respect of West flowing rivers of the Western Ghats, there are twenty-six schemes aggregating

to 3.7 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor; in respect of east flowing rivers of Southern India, there are forty-three schemes aggregating 6.8 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor and in respect of rivers of Central India, there are 36 schemes aggregating 3.9 million k.w. at 60 per cent load. The report on the Ganga basin indicates a total potential of 12.98 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor of which 7.47 million k.w. lies entirely in Nepal. The survey for the remaining river basins are under preparation. The preliminary survey will be completed in 1958 and thereafter a long-term systematic programme of field investigation would be taken up.

At present only 2 per cent of the expected hydro-power resources of the country are being utilised. Under the second Five-Year Plan, hydro-power development accounts for over two-thirds of the expansion aimed at raising the total installed capacity of the country to 7 million k.w. The Planning Commission estimates that the power production would increase by 20 per cent per annum, as the demand would double itself every four years.

The Adverse Balance of Trade

The following report is taken from the *Statesman* of November 19:

New Delhi, November 18.—The growing adverse balance of trade formed the background to the discussions of the Export Advisory Council meeting today.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. Morarji Desai stressed the vital importance of exports for the successful execution of the second Plan.

The worsening position is revealed by the following figures:

		Rupees (in crores)
1953-54	..	50.05
1954-55	..	62.72
1955-56	..	81.52

In the first six months of 1956-57, the adverse balance was nearly Rs. 121.86 crores.

Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Minister for Commerce, quoted figures showing that export trade in the first nine months of the current year had not been altogether reassuring. During this period, India had earned in all only Rs. 439 crores. This compared unfavourably with the earnings for the same period last year, amounting to Rs. 457 crores, he said.

The reason for this lay partly in the fall in the external price level of some of the commodities figuring in export trade. This was brought out by the fact that while the volume index for the first half of the current year was 139 against 108 for the same period last year, the value index of exports had declined from 94 to 91.

This raised the problem of maintaining prices at home. If they rose, India's export promotion drive would be hampered, Mr. Earmarkar added.

Mr. Singhanía, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, sought deliberate change in the pattern of export by laying greater emphasis on finished and partly-finished goods in preference to raw materials.

In support of this suggestion, he cited a number of items which could be processed before export, for example, instead of exporting large quantities of cotton, silk and jute waste, converted abroad into high priced carpets, tapestry, blankets, etc., he saw no reason why India should not utilize these items to make machine-made carpets, among other items.

He was also in favour of processing grey unbleached cotton textiles which Britain imported for re-export. Some jute products also could be further processed. Earnings from tea could be increased by converting Calcutta and Coochin into international marketing centres.

Other items mentioned by Mr. Singhanía were vanaspati and oil instead of raw groundnut oil, leather instead of hides and skin, and finished products instead of crude metals.

He pleaded for simplification of the procedure for rebates of import and excise duties.

Mr. Singhanía welcomed the recent communiqué of the Colombo Powers recognizing the desirability of taking joint and co-operative action to meet the threatened dislocation in the economic sphere. This was a good opportunity to develop South-East and Middle-Eastern markets for Indian products.

Mr. O. T. Jenkins, representing the Associated Chambers of Commerce, laid stress on the quality of goods exported. While it was difficult to compete with Japan on prices, India could make her reputation by offering goods of serviceable quality.

One of the discouragements suffered by the

export trade, Mr. Jenkins said, was the transport position, which made it difficult for exporters to get their goods away.

Chinese Premier at Delhi

On the 30th of November, a civic reception was given to Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, at Delhi. The following report of his speech on the occasion, is taken from the *Statesman*:

"During his 12-minute speech, the Chinese Prime Minister was cheered by the crowd when he said that the relations between India and China were today much more friendly than ever before. He said solidarity between the two countries, with a total population of 1,000 million, would become a gigantic moral and material force in stabilizing the situation in Asia and Africa.

"He devoted a part of his speech to praising Indian efforts for peace and India's role in formulating the Panch Shila, on the basis of which the friendship between India and China had further strengthened. The Bandung spirit, he added, had strongly given expression to the common desire for peace and this spirit could not be suppressed.

"He affirmed his firm conviction that only through the solidarity of China and India and other nations could they eliminate the menace of war that threatened all.

"The Chinese Premier thanked the people of Delhi for the warm and affectionate welcome extended to him and said he would always remember it.

"Mr. Nehru said that India was entering into a 'new relationship' with China and this relationship was of 'historic significance.' The population of India and China, he added, comprises 40 per cent of the world's total and the friendship between the two countries could have 'great effect.'

"Mr. Nehru said that although he found public speeches and newspaper reports indicated the anger of Pakistanis towards India, he wanted to tell the people there that Pakistan being India's neighbour, India harboured no illwill against it and wished to be its friend. Mr. Chou En-lai, he added, was going to Pakistan and he requested him to take his message of friendship.

"Those who followed Panch Shila, Mr. Nehru added, had no cause for quarrel or right.

He had every hope that more and more countries would subscribe to these five principles."

Nehru at U.N.E.S.C.O.

The following report of Pandit Nehru's inaugural address on November 5, at the U.N.E.S.C.O. session at Delhi, is taken from the *Statesman*:

"Mr. Nehru, in his inaugural address, said it was found today that the high principles of Panch Shila were mere words to some countries, who claimed the right to decide problems by superior might.

"He said: 'We have bitter memories of the past when Asian and African nations were prevented from progressing and we can never permit a return to that past age.' Yet we find an attempt made to reverse current history and human developments.

"At present it would appear that the great countries think that the only reality is force and violence and that fine phrases are merely apparatus of diplomacy. This is a matter which concerns all of us.

"I beg of you to pay heed to this collapse of conscience and good morals that we see around us, for, unless we do so, all our fine ideals and the good work we have done will be shattered into nothingness.

"Countries of Europe and America are fortunate in some ways for they have attained a measure of well-being. We in Asia and Africa still lack the primary necessities of life. To attain these becomes, therefore, our first task and we cannot do with war and violence."

The Colombo Powers

Four of the Colombo Powers met at New Delhi to consider the international situation. The political correspondent of the *Statesman* gave the following report:

"New Delhi, November 11:—At a meeting lasting two hours this afternoon the Prime Ministers of India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon—four of the five Colombo Powers—began a discussion of the international situation which will be continued tomorrow morning.

"As a brief communique, issued at the end of today's meeting, states, their attention was devoted specially to the recent development in West Asia and Hungary, though it is clear that

these two items are regarded as the symptoms of a malaise spread over a larger area.

"This is the first time the Colombo Powers are meeting since the Bandung Conference 18 months ago, and also the first time they are meeting in less than their full strength—Pakistan being the absent member.

"Of the three previous meetings—at Colombo, Bogor and Bandung—only the first, at Colombo, was called during an emergency, namely the war in Indo-China, as the latest has been called to discuss a revival of the war temper.

"An additional element deserving notice this time is the sense of injury in Asia over the humiliation of military invasion inflicted by two Western Powers on a member of the Asian family and the resulting shock to regional self-respect and the peace consciousness of a large part of the world.

"Although a discussion on Hungary was decided upon only at a much later stage, the inclusion of this item in an informal agenda is in keeping with the aims of the Colombo Powers as an organization, which covers a broader field than purely regional interests.

"Starting with Mr. Nehru, the four Prime Ministers this afternoon made brief statements on Egypt and Hungary after which a discussion took place for nearly 40 minutes. Today's meeting, however, revealed no new approach from the more or less identical stand already taken by these four Powers.

"There will be a meeting of the official advisers tomorrow morning before the Prime Ministers resume their discussions. The advisers will get together to complete their agreed record of today's proceedings.

"The main conference may not end tomorrow.

"Pakistan's absence from the present meeting was regretted when the four Prime Ministers assembled today. The general unexpressed view was that Mr. Suhrawardy is pursuing certain other interests at the moment which may have been found to conflict with the pattern of thinking by the other Colombo Powers.

"He has informed Mr. Nehru that as he is again going abroad and as his Foreign Minister is in New York, he cannot spare another senior colleague to attend the Delhi conference. This is taken to mean that, for the time being any-

how, he is not an active member of the Colombo powers family.

"India's delegation at today's meeting was the largest. It consisted of Mr. Nehru and two other members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Central Cabinet—Maulana Azad and Pandit Pant. There were two other Ministers, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Mr. Anil Chanda.

"The Ceylon delegation comprised the Ceylon High Commissioner in India, Sri Edwin Wijayarathne; the Permanent Secretary for Defence and External Affairs, Mr. G. de Soysa; the Food Secretary, Mr. Kalva Pillai; and the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. D. de Alwis."

Kolar Gold Fields

The Government of Mysore took over the management of the Kolar gold fields on November 29 and thus became the world's first government to nationalize gold. But of a total compensation of 164 lakhs of rupees Rs. 123 lakhs had already been paid.

Three mines were in operation in the Gold Fields. In the period of seventy years up to 1955 these three mines yielded 22,466,944 ozs. of gold valued at about Rs. 185 crores.

Indians Residing in the Americas

An official statement before the Lok Sabha on November 27 put the number of Indians resident overseas as follows: U.S.A. 500; Canada 4,000; Argentina 126; Brazil 60; British Guiana—persons of Indian descent were 200 000 in 1954; Columbia 2; Dutch Guiana 70 000, forming one-third of the population; Ecuador 1; Panama 300; Peru 3; and Venezuela 7.

Mahendranath Dutt

Mahendranath Dutt, a saint and philosopher, and a younger brother of Swami Vivekananda, passed away at the age of eighty-nine at his ancestral house in Simla, Calcutta, on October 15. Born in 1869, Mahendranath went to England in 1896 to qualify himself for the bar, but on reaching there he had to give up the idea. He utilised to the fullest extent his stay in London by studying subjects like arts and architecture, religion and philosophy, in

the British Museum. For the next five years he turned a traveller, toured extensively through Europe, Asia and Africa, visited some less-frequented countries of the Middle East, and returned to India in 1902. We get a glimpse of this phase of his life in his treatise on *National Wealth*. A fuller account of his travels he never published. On apprehension of frequent house-searches by the police during the Swadeshi days because of his association with his youngest brother Dr. Bhupendranath Dutt, he had to consign to flames almost all his manuscripts. Among his published works in English and Bengali may be mentioned—*Status of Toilers*, *Lectures on Education*, *National Wealth*, *New Asia*, *Nation*, *Natural Religion*, *Homocentric Civilization*, *Principles of Architecture*, *Dissertation on Painting*, *Appreciation of Michael Madhusudan and Dinabandhu Mitra*, *Swami Vivekananda in London*, etc. A life-long bachelor like his other two brothers, Mahendranath Dutt was a Sanyasi without the yellow garb. He was closely associated with the Ramakrishna Mission. His wisdom, scholarship, vast erudition and genial personality attracted many a great artist and thinker who used to meet at his house. His conversation which bore the stamp of profound knowledge and deep thought was a source of inspiration to them.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO *THE MODERN REVIEW*

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MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.

PRICE TRENDS AND POLICIES IN FREE INDIA

BY PROF. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

INTRODUCTORY

PRICE-MECHANISM in a free and capitalistic economy is a potent weapon which determines the tempo and pattern of economic development. Prices regulate the channels of production and govern consumption. Their role in the democratic set-up of planned economy, as we have in India, is of a far-reaching importance. We have public enterprise, private enterprise and public-cum-private enterprise. While the first sector admits of complete and absolute control in the matter of production, pricing and distribution, the second may thwart such economic controls as may be imposed by the State and the third sector may adopt them only partially. The disequilibrium in production and consumption or maldistribution inherent in such economic structures may cause price fluctuations which, in turn, would have an impact on the general economic growth and development. India has been found in the grip of inflation as she embarked upon the Second Five-Year Plan in April, 1956. Serious apprehensions have been entertained by some Indian as well as foreign experts that the deficit financing of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores envisaged in the Plan will retard the pace of its progress. In fact, Mr. Eugene R. Black, Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has warned the Indian Government that action should be taken "promptly to curb any inflationary rise in aggregate demand, which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, could easily jeopardise the success of the whole development programme." Mr. Black is reported to have said that "the Bank will withhold support from governments which fail to deal effectively with inflation or the threat of inflation." This observation has awakened the Indian financial and monetary authorities from their state of complacency to which they had been lulled by the "depressive tendencies"

of a couple of years preceding the Second Plan. The formulation of a price policy in conformity with the objectives of the planned programmes and the basic ideal of "socialist pattern of society" is agitating the minds of the Union Government. A study of our past price trends and policies can serve as the signpost and searchlight for the future lest we, too, like the foreign rulers, are accused of the charge:

"In India, forethought had no place in the policies of the British Government and haphazard measures, improvisation, conflict of policies, etc., fell to the lot of the bewildered and unorganised people."

Confining our discussion of price trends and policies to Free India, we may divide our study into three main periods:

I. Pre-First Plan Period.

1. From August, 1947 to November, 1947.—Steadily rising prices.
2. From December, 1947 to July, 1948—Rising prices.
3. From August, 1948 to March, 1949—Slowly falling prices.
4. From April, 1949 to June, 1950—Steady but continuously rising prices.
5. From July, 1950 to March, 1951—Steeply rising prices.

II. First Five-Year Plan Period.

6. From April, 1951 to May, 1952—Steady and then steep decline in prices.
7. From June, 1952 to August, 1953—Recovery and rise in prices.
8. From September, 1953 to May, 1955—Steadiness followed by precipice fall in prices.
9. From June, 1955 to March, 1956—Recession is followed by rise in prices.

III. Post-First Plan Period.

10. From April, 1956 to September, 1956—Steep uptrend in prices.

I. PRE-FIRST PLAN PERIOD

This period of a little over three and a half years may be split up into five phases:

1. *American Reporter*, dated October 10, 1956, page 5, column 2.

2. S. K. Muranjan: *Shadows of Hyper-inflation*, p. 11.

(a) *From August, 1947 to November, 1947*: After the exit of the Britishers from India we had still to suffer the pangs of War and Post-war boom. High prices, high costs and low production marked the opening-year of India's emancipation from the foreign bondage. In August, 1947, the wholesale price Index Number (General Series) compiled by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India stood at 301.4 as against 244.1 in August, 1945, when the boomerang of guns had ceased. The indices in the subsequent three months showed, generally, an upward trend as per table below:

TABLE I

Showing Index Number of wholesale prices in India. (Base: Year ended August, 1939—100).

	Period			
	August 1947	Sept. 1947	October 1947	Nov. 1947
Food articles				
(Weightage 31)	297.8	296.2	295.3	294.8
Industrial raw material				
(Weightage 18)	366.5	371.6	376.6	377.9
Semi-manufactured articles				
(Weightage 17)	258.3	258.1	256.8	252.5
Manufactured articles				
(Weightage 30)	280.2	282.6	283.5	283.2
Miscellaneous				
(Weightage 4)	456.6	457.8	468.2	460.8
General Index				
(Weightage 100)	301.4	302.2	303.2	302.0

(b) *December 1947 to July 1948*: The general rise of prices gathered further momentum and within a year of our Independence, the rise was about 26 per cent over that of August 1947. This upswing was assisted by

- (1) short fall in foodgrains from the average production of 43 million tons during 1942-46* to 40 million tons in 1947;
- (2) the production of major industries, e.g., jute manufacture, cotton textiles, cement, paper, matches and chemicals had declined as compared with the previous year.

* The annual production was as follows:

Year	Production in million tons	Year	Production in million tons
1942	40.6	1945	46.1
1943	44.2	1946	40.8
1944	45.4	1947	42.1

TABLE II

Industry	Unit	1946	1947	1948
Jute manufacturers	Mn. tons	1.08	1.05	1.09
Cotton textiles	Mn. yards	4025	3762	4319
Cement	Mn. tons	2.03	1.45	1.55
Paper and Paper board	Mn. cwt.	1.93	1.86	1.96
Matches	Mn. gross	22.8	23.3	26.7

The fall in the year 1947 was essentially accounted for by the inadequacy of raw material, capital equipment, transport bottleneck and political disturbances. Industrial unrest was yet another cause of the mounting inflationary pressure. There were 1,811 industrial disputes in 1947 as against 1,593 in the previous year. This resulted in a loss of 16.6 and 12.7 million man-days respectively.

(3) The money supply spurted up sharply during the second half of the year 1947. In August, 1947, the total money supply stood at Rs. 2,448 crores and in March, 1948, it climbed up to Rs. 2,557 crores resulting in a rise of Rs. 109 crores. Also the cash balances with the public showed an increase of Rs. 108 crores to Rs. 2,213 crores at the end of March, 1948.

(4) Restrictions on imports to offset the adverse balance of payment was also responsible for the upward trend in the price-level.

(5) The economic and physical controls, which had been introduced during the War years, continued to perpetuate scarcities in controlled commodities. This situation had accentuated with the switching on of the war-time economy to the peace-time pattern. The unleashing of the pent-up demands partly due to the increased purchasing power and partly due to the rehabilitation expenditure also led to scarcities.

(c) *August 1948 to March 1949*: The period of continuous rise following the "Partition," which disrupted the very fabric of the country's economy, was followed by deflationary tendencies as indicated by the General Index Number of the wholesale prices given below:

TABLE III

Period	General Index Number of wholesale prices. Base: Year ended August 1939—100)
August 1948	382.9
September 1948	382.3
October 1948	381.7
November 1948	382.2
December 1948	383.6

January 1949	376.2
February 1949	370.0
March 1949	370.2

The reversal of the uptrend is attributable to the policy of decontrol of foodgrains announced on December 10, 1947, by the Union Government. The hoarded stocks of foodgrains were released and production of industrial raw material and of manufactures soared up. The cumulative effect of these was the lowering of the price-levels. The food articles registered a fall from 397.7 to 376.5; the manufactured articles from 352.8 to 329.4; the semi-manufactures from 330.7 to 322.4 (in this case there was a rise during September to November, 1948, followed by a decline) and the industrial raw material group manifested a rise of 24.7 points in the index number which stood at 462.8.

(d) *April 1949 to June 1950*: The price-trend took a new direction again with the onset of the financial year 1949-50. A steady but continuous rise began to manifest itself before India launched upon the policy of devaluation of her rupee in line with the sterling devaluation on September 19, 1949. The Economic Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices, given below, make this clear:

(See Table IV)

Price trends detailed in Table IV may be divided into three phases:

- (i) Rising trend from April to October, 1949;
 - (ii) The downswing from November to December, 1949; and
 - (iii) The uptrend from January, 1950 to June, 1950.
- (i) The General Index Number which touched the mark of 370.2 in March 1949 climbed to 389.8 in September 1949 approach-

ing closely the pre-decontrol peak level of 382.9 (in July, 1948). It further rose to 393.3 in October, 1949, implying thereby a rise of 6.2 per cent over the price-index at the close of the financial year 1948-49. In this rise all the group and sub-group indices moved almost in the same direction. Food articles rose by 8 per cent; industrial raw material by 3.3 per cent; semi-manufactures by 3.0 per cent; manufactured articles by 7.0 per cent and the miscellaneous group by 14.3 per cent.

(ii) The downswing during November and December, 1949, was mainly contributed by an 8 per cent fall in the "Food Group"; the price trends in industrial raw material were slightly upward and in the case of other groups they remained more or less unaltered. The improvement in the food prices is traceable to the intensive state drive directed to achieve self-sufficiency through increased production of 4.4 million tons by the end of 1951, better procurement policies and also by stepping up imports from 2.8 million tons in 1948 to 3.7 million tons in 1949.

(iii) With the dawn of the new year 1950 the short-lived fall in food prices was converted into a price-rise. While foodgrains and industrial raw material experienced a spurt in prices, the semi-manufactures and the manufactured articles were steady. The general index of wholesale prices in June, 1950, stood at 395.6 as against 378.3 a year ago and 370.2 in March, 1949. The price-line could not have been held in check but for the eight-point policy adopted by the Union Government with a view to offsetting the onslaught of devaluation on prices. The Reserve Bank of India observed in this connection:

3. Reserve Bank of India Report on Currency and Finance, 1949-50, pp. 46-47 may be seen for details.

TABLE IV

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
March 1949	376.5	462.8	322.4	329.4	515.2	370.2
April 1949	373.8	462.8	325.2	347.0	528.5	376.1
September 1949	403.1	468.5	335.0	351.4	547.1	389.8
October 1949	406.8	477.9	332.3	352.6	588.8	393.3
November 1949	405.1	472.4	333.9	344.2	612.0	390.2
December 1949	374.1	477.6	334.1	343.8	609.8	381.3
January 1950	379.1	486.2	335.5	344.6	614.9	384.7
June 1950	402.8	490.7	335.5	347.6	692.0	395.6

"It is noteworthy that devaluation was not followed by a general upsurge in prices. Though the general index rose to 393.3 in October, 1949, it is difficult to say how much of this rise represented progress of the upward trend in prices, which had begun in April, 1949, and how much was due to the first impact of devaluation."

(e) *July 1950 to March 1951*: The price-level attained new high-ups during this span of nine months as is revealed by Table V appended below:

(See Table V)

This period witnessed unprecedented spiralling up of prices primarily due to the outbreak of the Korean War. The speculative and hoarding activities dominated the economy of our country as also of those in the West. The index number rose to 438.6 in March, 1951, as against 397.1 on June 24, 1950. This works out to a rise of 10.9 per cent which is far less than that in many other foreign countries:

Countries	Rise in price-indices over the pre-Korean level
1. U. K.	27.4 per cent
2. U. S. A.	20.3 per cent
3. Australia	29.3 per cent

The abnormal rise in Indian prices is explained by the fact that import bottlenecks and the enhanced demand for India's export commodities required for the defence needs of the belligerent countries resulted in acute shortages. The prices of imported as well as exported products shot up. The price-indices of export commodities stood as detailed below:

Export commodities	Pre-Korean Price index* in March 1951	Maximum price index* during June 1950 & March 1951
Oilseeds	652	716
Black pepper	3030	3342
Leather	334	553
Hides & skins	358	701
Raw wool	701	931

* N.B.—Average of the weekly indices.

TABLE V

Period	Food articles (31)	Industrial raw materials (18)	Semi-manufactures (17)	Manufactured articles (30)	Miscellaneous (4)	General index number (100)
(Weightage)						
June 24, 1950	407.1	494.2	335.5	346.9	692.4	397.1
July 1950	422.8	505.9	339.6	348.2	708.9	405.2
March 1951	412.0	608.9	381.4	387.2	753.4	438.6

4. *Ibid*, p. 43.

II. FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

The year 1951 ushered in the era of planning and as such it marked the beginning of our struggle for economic emancipation under the aegis of the Indian National Congress which formed the spearhead of our political struggle against foreign domination. Our National Government declared a war, so to say, on poverty, unemployment, ignorance, death and squalor. And the weapon used for the triumph over these Five Giants was planned development. The entire economic structure had, therefore, to be geared to this new pattern of economic renaissance. The war-torn Indian economy with trails of potential inflation had to be switched on to a peace-time level. On the eve of planning, India had many economic ills, notable among which were food shortages, inadequacy of capital for feeding the existing or new industries, high prices and low production. It was a patent fact that inflationary prices eroded savings and disrupted our balance of payments. For accelerating the tempo of capital formation the Korean War boom had to be held under check. But even more important reason for "disinflationary measures" was that the poor Indian masses whose co-operation was deemed essential to the successful implementation of the first, democratic plan, were particularly tired of war-time controls and inflation. To ensure public co-operation it was inevitable that a minimum amount of food consistent with the needs of health and efficiency was guaranteed. The planners therefore rightly held:

"Foodgrains occupy a pivotal place in the price structure, and if this latter has to be safeguarded, as it must be, the prices of foodgrains must be held stable at levels within the reach of the poor sections of the community."

The Government, therefore, directed its attention and resources to boost up production of the essentials of life and followed the policy of "progressive decontrol."

† *The Planning Commission Reports of the First Plan*, p. 173.

The price-pattern of the five years of planning (1951-52 to 1955-56) had to be so devised as to bring about an allocation of resources in the country in conformity with the targets defined in the First Plan. The structure of prices during this period, therefore, marked a distinct departure from that of the pre-Plan period. The price trends may be studied under four stages:

(i) *April 1951 to May 1952*: It was a good augury that the First Plan started with steady price-decline culminating in a steep fall in the months of July-August, 1951. This situation perpetuated in the subsequent months until in May, 1952, the Index number stood at 367.1 as against 456.8 a year before and 457.5 at the commencement of the Plan. This is evident from the data given below:

(See Table VI)

The general price-level over the financial year 1951-52 recorded a decline of 15.9 per cent as against a rise of 15 per cent during the previous year. During the months intervening those enumerated in the above Table the prices showed a stabilised behaviour. It will be observed that the maximum fall has been experienced in the group Industrial raw material while in the food group the fall has been of the order of 17.5 per cent as compared with the over-all fall of 20 per cent over the fourteen months' duration under consideration.

An important feature, which is inherent in the agricultural bias of our economy, is that while the prices in the Korean boom period maintained an upswing tendency in India, as in other countries, the rise in internal price-level was less pronounced than in many other foreign countries, while the decline has been relatively more marked (Table VII):

TABLE VII

Country	Percentage rise () between June 1950 and April 1951	Percentage rise () Fall (—) between April 1951 and March 1952
India	15.7	—17.6
U. K.	23.9	4.8
Australia	20.6	12.7
U. S. A.	16.8	—2.7

CAUSES OF DECLINE

The causes which contributed to the precipitate fall referred to in the preceding paragraph in the general price-level may be enumerated as:

1. *International Factor*: The stockpiling programme initiated by the United States with the outbreak of hostilities in Korea was abandoned or modified in March, 1951.

The growing impact of German-Japanese competition has had a restraining effect on prices.

2. *Commercial Policy*: There was a substantial decline in the quantum of exports of oilseeds, mica, hides and skins and jute manufactures during the latter half of 1951.

3. *Monetary Policy*: In mid-November 1951, the Reserve Bank of India had announced its decision to raise the Bank Rate from 3 to 3½ per cent. This increase in the Bank Rate restricted expansion of credit and the money supply dwindled to the tune of Rs. 172 crores from 1,979 crores. Tighter money policy slumped down the post-Korean boom in prices.

4. *Disinflationary Measures*: The following measures were undertaken by the Union Government with a view to bringing about a downswing in the price-spiral:

TABLE VI

Period	Food articles (31)	Industrial raw materials (18)	Semi-manu- factures (17)	Manufactured articles (30)	Miscella- neous (4)	General index number (100)
(Weightage)						
April 1951	412.5	683.1	387.8	411.7	751.5	457.5
July 1951	408.3	644.0	379.6	405.6	724.6	447.0
August 1951	408.8	590.6	376.1	399.1	729.7	437.6
February 1952	375.4	515.1	364.2	394.1	709.8	415.8
March 1952	342.7	424.2	343.2	383.8	625.6	377.5
May 1952	341.0	416.4	323.2	371.2	583.0	367.1
Percentage fall of (6) over (1)	17.5	40.0	17.0	10.0	22.5	20.0

5. As the year (1951-52) progressed the tempo of stock-piling was reduced while production showed increases in response to the earlier rise in prices, with the result that the boom petered out and a recession in prices followed.

- (c) The liberalisation of imports and restrictions on exports of certain commodities required for building up industrial potential ;
- (b) The various controls continued to operate *status quo* but in the latter part of the period under review, there was some relaxation in the production, price and distribution controls^a;
- (c) The fiscal policy had been modified, *e.g.*, export duties on coarse and medium cloth and on groundnuts had been altered upward from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 25 per cent *ad valorem* and from Rs. 80 to Rs. 150 per ton respectively. Export duties on oils had also been enhanced.

5. The increase in production level (except in foodgrains and oilseeds) also helped the prices to sag as the following Table VIII shows: (See Table VIII)

After the slight set-back noticed during 1949 and 1950, industrial production showed a marked improvement during 1951, the official general index of industrial output (base 1946—100) rising to 117.4 as against 105.2 in 1950 and 106.3 in 1949.

(ii) *June 1952 to August 1953*: The downward trend in prices which had set in since May, 1951, experienced a reversal in June, 1952. The rising tide continued slowly and steadily till August, 1953 when the Index Number of the Economic Adviser to Government of India stood at 410.4. In the two preceding months it was 405.4 and

407.7 respectively. This period was free from the sharp and sudden fluctuations which characterised the period from June, 1950 to May, 1952.

The 14 months' period under review (1952-53) may be sub-divided into five sub-periods as follows :

TABLE IX

Showing price variations in Wholesale Prices.

	General wholesale price index	Percentage variation over the pre- ceding period	Percentage rise of (7) over (2)
June 7, 1952	368.9	....	....
September 6, 1952	395.7	5.9	....
December 13, 1952	371.9	-4.8	....
March 21, 1953	386.6	3.9	....
April 11, 1953	382.2	-1.1	....
August 15, 1953	411.9	7.9	11.7

As is apparent from the above, the behaviour of prices has been of a hectic character. The international pulls which had greatly accentuated price variation in the post-Korean period had a subdued influence on the domestic economy largely owing to the new monetary discipline.

(iii) *September 1953 to May 1955*: The upward movement had steadied in June 1953 but in the latter half of that year visible signs of a recession in prices began to show themselves. In December 1953 the Wholesale Price Index Number slumped down to 389.4 from 410.0 in August of the same year. This ten-

TABLE VIII

Commodities	Unit	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
<i>Agricultural:</i>						
Cereals	Mn. tons	50.0	51.2	58.3	68.7	65.8
Raw sugar	Mn. tons	5.6	6.1	5.0	4.4	5.5
Raw cotton	Mn. bales*	2.91	3.13	4.19	3.94	4.2
Raw jute	Mn. bales**	3.28	4.68	4.59	3.09	2.93
Oilseeds	Mn. tons	5.07	4.95	4.86	5.29	5.88
<i>Industrial:</i>						
Cotton textiles	Mn. yards	3718	4134	4770	4906	5050
Jute manufactures	Mn. tons	0.89	0.93	0.91	0.86	0.97
Iron & Steel	Mn. tons	2.55	2.82	2.78	2.73	3.01
Cement	Mn. tons	2.69	3.28	3.51	4.03	4.41

N.B.—Figures for Agricultural commodities are from the Reserve Bank of India's Report on Currency and Finance, 1955-56, and for Industrial commodities from *India* 1956, p. 113.

6. It is interesting to quote here an observation made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister, at a meeting of the Pressmen held in Madras on October 6, 1956. It was wrong for the Government to have removed the zonal controls during the period of the Plan before the food production plan was ensured a success.

dency persisted till May 1955 when the Index touched the mark of 342.0—almost the same as post-decontrol level in February 1948, but lower than the pre-Korean War level.

The following data reveals the price-structure during the interval September, 1953 to May, 1955:

TABLE X

Period	Food articles (31)	Industrial raw materials (18)	Semi-manufactures (17)	Manufactured articles (30)	Miscellaneous (4)	General index number (100)
September, 1953	399.0	475.3	363.8	364.4	717.4	403.8
October 1953	385.6	447.7	353.4	364.5	721.9	393.6
January 1954	381.5	481.1	361.5	364.3	709.8	398.5
June 1954	343.2	441.0	355.6	378.7	647.3	381.6
December 1954	318.0	436.3	347.4	375.1	579.7	367.8
May 1955	276.1	396.4	329.6	374.6	544.6	342.0

The 'Food' group registered a phenomenal climb-down of 31 per cent, while the manufactured commodities, unlike other groups, showed an increase of 3 per cent. The general decline over the entire period was 15 per cent. This depression in prices is accounted for by the "substantial" rise in agricultural as well as industrial output as shown in Table VIII on page 446. The impact of the increased output had been "partially neutralised by the sharp decline in the volume of imports generally, and in particular, of foodgrains and of some industrial raw materials, like raw cotton. The quantity of exports, on the other hand, recorded a slight rise."

The policy of progressive de-control, as recommended by the Foodgrains Policy Committee was vigorously pursued. The *raison d'être* of controls was challenged by the business class, particularly, because of the improvement in the supply position. The Government abolished controls and withdrew completely food rationing schemes, although from the point of view of economic policy of planned development these steps were imprudent.

(iv) *June 1955 to March 1956*: The recession in prices during September 1953 and May 1955 was followed by a phase of recovery. In July 1955 the Index Number of Wholesale prices soared to the level of 355.6 as against 342.0 two months earlier. A year hence it went up still higher to 397.9. The price situation thus underwent a remarkable change up-

ward on the eve of the Second Plan. The rise in prices which had started with the dawn of June 1955 was of the nature of a corrective to the "slump" experienced earlier during September 1953 and May 1955. The food group showed the sharpest rise of 30 per cent in prices of all commodities included in the group.

This change in the trend was promoted^a by:

- the lower output of cereals in 1954-55 (See Table VIII);
- the increased exports of some industrial raw material during 1955-56;
- the "psychological depression" caused by unfavourable natural forces;
- the inventory build-up in anticipation of the accelerated industrial development;
- the expansion in consumption standards due to the increase in purchasing power; and
- the expansion in money supply necessitated during the year 1955-56 by the developmental schemes provided for in the First Plan.

Price policy: The rising trend of prices shifted the Government's policy from anti-deflation to anti-inflation. To achieve that end the Government adopted the under-mentioned measures:

- Imposed restriction on exports of foodgrains, particularly jowar, maize, pulses, etc.
- Government stocks of foodgrains were released for sale to the public at fair price shops.

7. Food imports in 1955 amounted to 7 lakh tons as against 47 lakh tons in 1951.

8. Mr. A. C. Guha said in reply to a question in Parliament that the recent rise in prices of food, cloth and other consumers goods may not all be due to deficit financing. The main reasons for the increase are the somewhat smaller production of foodgrains particularly of coarse grains and the increased tempo of developmental expenditure in the country. Speculative trading is also somewhat responsible for the rise in prices of foodstuffs. (Quoted in *Commerce*, dated August 25, 1956, p. 382).

3. Government decided to have imported food as heretofore. Burma agreed to supply 2 million tons of rice over a period of five years commencing from June 1, 1956. India became a member of the New International Wheat Agreement tenable for 3 years from August 1, 1956. The United States of America also agreed to give India foodgrains worth Rs. 175 crores over the Five-Year Plan period, 1956-61.

4. On May 17, 1956, the Reserve Bank of India gave an injunction to all the scheduled banks not to make advances for speculative purposes, especially against commodities, e.g., rice and paddy.

5. The international factors also helped sustain the boomish tendencies in our country. According to the Reserve Bank of India:

"The year 1955-56 was one of the most prosperous the world has enjoyed with all-round expansion in production, particularly industrial production, investment and personal consumption, associated with a worldwide boom of unique pattern and unequalled proportions. Unlike some earlier booms, the present boom is marked by an unusual rate of growth of consumption and investment relatively to resources. It was a year, therefore, of mounting inflationary pressures in many countries of the world, which led to the further and frequent use of monetary weapons."

III. POST-FIRST PLAN PERIOD

The Second Five-year Plan, which came into operation about six months ago, had to trudge its way through the travails of the price-spiral even in its early part of the long, and perhaps, arduous, journey. Since April, 1951, the prices have been soaring higher and higher as indicated below:

TABLE XI

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
April 1956	360.9	472.8	377.0	375.6	496.7	351.2
May 1956	350.5	478.0	384.1	376.8	501.8	390.2
June 1956	366.2	479.4	391.8	377.6	518.6	397.9
July 1956	380.3	492.1	395.3	385.7	560.4	409.2
August 1956	397.0	500.5	406.4	387.7	656.3	418.5
September 1956	....	....	....	....	....	419.8

Source: *Weekly Commerce*, 1956 and *Ambala*

It is demonstrably evident that the prices are mounting up. The rise during the last two

9. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director of the Delhi School of Economics, discounted the feeling common in certain circles that inflation was already with us and said that it was a mistake to synonymize rising prices with inflationary conditions. (*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 18.10.56, page 5, column 1).

months (August and September, 1956) has steadied at a level which is reminiscent of the Korean boom. The steady pace is due to the stern policy adopted by the Government to keep the inflationary potential in check. That the Government is very anxious to control effectively the domestic price-level is amply clear from that fact that the Government is considering the question of re-imposing certain "strategic controls," according to a recent statement made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister.

Controls Needed: The controls have become an imperative necessity of planned development of our economy cannot be gainsaid. It is high time that they are re-introduced as early as possible or desirable. Otherwise, the much-accursed deficit financing during the Second Plan period will impinge upon the prices lowering the already low standard of living. It has been estimated that the contemplated volume of 'created money' during the next five years would double the existing price level and halve the living standards. Poverty will thus accentuate and 'economic anarchy' will take the place of the 'economic order.' Hence, the need for controls.

Prof. C. N. Vakil, one of the leading Indian economists, has expressed the opinion in one of his articles:

"In the case of under-developed economies, fiscal and monetary weapons are relatively powerless by themselves to keep the inflationary potential under check. There will have to be of necessity a

Tribune, dated 22.9.56, page 7, column 3.

resort to direct controls including procurement and rationing."

PRICES AND DEFICIT FINANCING

A word may here be said about deficit financing because it will have a direct and

10. "Deficit Financing—II, Future Prospects," *Times of India*, April 17, 1956, p. 11, col. 3.

serious repercussion on the pattern and tempo of prices. Some economists like Mr. B. R. Shenoy and Mr. K. C. Neogy, Member, Planning Commission, have assailed deficit financing as a "dangerous measure" to finance the Second Five-Year Plan. There is no doubt that 'created money' has the seed of inflation in its womb, but we must remember that "the orthodox methods of finance will not industrialize India within a reasonable period of time. For rapid industrialization we must have unorthodox methods. We may choose one form of created money or another, but from created money itself there is no escape."¹¹

If, therefore, deficit financing or "pre-financing of output" is the only way (or let us say a necessary evil) to bring about planning, and through it economic emancipation, we should be out for it, whatever the price. For no price is too great for the liquidation of poverty rampant in India. We now stand committed to planning and planning without tears is impossible.

Again, if we were to compare our "inflationary" prices with that of Germany (where the purchasing power of the German Mark in December, 1923, sank to 1/162,000,000,000 of what it was in 1913) we find that all our fears about inflation are but fantasies. We, therefore, feel convinced that even if the country were 'soaked with paper currency up to the saturation point' our Plan cannot be wrecked, provided effective and timely controls are introduced.

Since physical or strategic controls will not alone help mitigate the crisis the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 has recently been further amended to invest the Bank with monetary and fiscal powers in order to keep the inflationary potential in check. The "armoury of instruments of credit control" has been strengthened by giving the Bank the power to vary the statutory cash reserves kept by the Scheduled Banks with the former. This flexible cash reserve will help check multiple credit expansion by banks. Similarly, the Reserve Bank is empowered to extend financial accommodation for industrial, agricultural and trade purposes and help thereby increased production.

PRICES AND MONETARY SUPPLY

Inflation is commonly conceived as a phenomenon resulting from "too much money following too few goods." In order, therefore, to formulate a price policy immediately applicable to India it is necessary to study the causal relationship, if any, between monetary supply and prices in the country.

We may recall in this connection Prof. Irving Fisher's Quantity Theory of Money, according to which if the quantity of money is doubled, prices will be twice as high as before, other things being equal. Similarly, if the money supply is halved, the prices will be one-half of what they were before, if other things remain unaltered. It would be interesting to study the validity of this doctrine with reference to India.

Money supply, as computed by the Reserve Bank of India, is taken to be the sum-total of the currency plus deposit money with the public.

Table XII gives an idea of the money-price relation:

See Table XII

It will be apparent from the percentage variations in money supply and the Economic Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices that there is no precise and mathematical causal relationship as the Fishery Quantity Theory would have us believe. In 1951-52, while the "Notes in circulation" and the "Money supply" registered a contraction of 8.9 and 7.2 per cent respectively, the General Index Number showed an upward trend. Similarly, while the "Money supply" increased considerably during 1954-55 and 1955-56 (by 7.1 and 13.7 per cent respectively), the price level declined.

This deviation in the money-price relationship was noticed in the case of certain Commonwealth countries, e.g., South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as shown below:

Country	Percentage rise in money supply	Percentage rise in price indices
U. K.	1.5	13.5
South Africa	1.1	19.3
New Zealand	3.9	18.4
Australia	14.4	21.0
France	17.8	25.9
Mexico	13.6	19.4
U. S. A.	5.9	1.9

11. Prof. Brij Narain's *Economic Problems—Pre-War, War and Post-War*, Vol. II, pp. 200-201, 1944 Edition.

TABLE XII

Year	Notes in circulation	Money supply with the public	Index number of wholesale prices (Base: Year ended August 1939-100)	Percentage variations [Rise (+), Fall (-)] of each successive year in		
				Notes	Money supply	Index number
	Rs. crores	Rs. crores				
1947-48	1304.36	2236.73	303.2	....	....	....
1948-49	....	....	376.2	....	....	+22.1
1949-50	1120.35	1865.26	385.4	....	....	+ 2.4
1950-51	1238.60	1979.49	409.7	+10.5	+ 6.1	+ 6.8
1951-52	1128.29	1803.79	434.6	- 8.9	- 7.2	+ 6.1
1952-53	1119.06	1764.71	380.6	- 0.8	- 2.2	-12.4
1953-54	1150.17	1793.97	397.5	+ 2.8	+ 1.7	+ 4.4
1954-55	1236.44	1920.63	377.5	+ 7.5	+ 7.1	- 5.0
1955-56	1424.23	2184.31	360.4	+15.2	+13.7	- 5.1

The above data show that the percentage variation in the price indices is more than the proportionate change in the money supply in the case of the countries listed against items 1 to 6. But in the case of U.S.A. it is just the reverse.

In the case of India the inapplicability of the Fisherine Theory may be explained by the fact that the velocity of circulation of money, which is an important determinant of the effective money supply, is not considered. That is so not because that factor is insignificant but because the information on that point is inadequate. It follows that we cannot calculate the required volume of money to bring about a given price-level. This is an added reason to supplement the monetary and fiscal measures with other "economic and physical controls" for stabilising prices at a given level.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the price trends in our country, since the dawn of Independence, have followed a zig-zag path. Before the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan the price-line has, for the major part, been moving upward, during the Plan period it has been downward and after the Plan again upward. Graphically

speaking, the prices have a double 'W'-shape. The ups and downs have made far-reaching influences on the economy of our country. But what is, indeed, tragic is that our Government has been following a slipshod price policy. The policy of 'control, de-control and re-control' has been the rule. Even now, when the financial demands of the Second Five-Year Plan are pressing seriously against the limited resources, and deficit financing is in the offing, the Government authorities are fighting shy of setting forth a firm price policy in the context of perspective planning. It is needless to emphasize that controls have to play positive functions in our planned economy so as to safeguard the minimum consumption standards of the poorer classes and to prevent excessive or ostentatious consumption by the well-to-do. Prediction about price trends at any stage of development is difficult and therefore our Government will have to be ever vigilant about prices and planning making adjustments in the price policy so as to catch up with the dynamic forces, political, seasonal and international. Only a comprehensive price plan, both long-term and short-term, can help resolve the complex forces governing the price-mechanism.



OUR HISTORIAN : SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

BY PROF. DHARMA BHANU, M.A., Ph.D.

WHENEVER I think of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, I am automatically reminded of the year 1934. That year Sir Jadunath was very kind to be our guest. He had declined the invitation of the Maharana of Udaipur to be the State guest, as one of his disciples, Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, was then at Udaipur and had requested the Gibbon of India to stay with him during his sojourn in Udaipur. I had heard the name of Sir Jadunath from my father when I was very young, and I still remember that I used to chant the names of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Sri Rakhal Das Banerji little knowing at that time the significance of Sarkar's works or about Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization.

I remember still that we had a big house at Udaipur and the first floor and the central wing of the ground floor of our house was vacated for the stay of our honoured guests. I cannot exactly tell the number of days Sir Jadunath and his party put up with us, but I do not err when I say that an unusually large number of visitors came to see him and have his *darshan*. The special arrangements made for his stay had created a little of dread in us—we very young children—and none of us dared to go alone to the first floor of the house so long as Sir Jadunath, Lady Sarkar and Miss Rama Sarkar were there. Not being even a dozen years old in 1934, my recollections of that occasion are faint indeed. However, this much is certain that in spite of the fear and distance at that young age I could never have realized that our guest was so great a person as he really happened to be, and as I regard him today. At that time I took him for an ordinary grey-haired historian—one like the many guests who normally visited my father from time to time. Since then he visited us many times; that was his first visit. I had the privilege of working in Sir Jadunath's library during May, June and July, 1952.

II

Jadunath Sarkar was born on December 10, 1870, in a rich Kayastha family of East Bengal.

His father Sri Raj Kumar Sarkar was an enlightened, though conservative, zamindar of Karachmaria in the interior of the Rajshahi district. The old gentleman was fond of reading and had collected a good number of books in his private library. It was this library which served as the source of inspiration and preparing ground for young Jadunath and his brothers. Our historian received his early education at the headquarters of his district. After matriculation he joined Presidency College, Calcutta, and secured from there a double Honours course Degree in English and History in March 1891. He also obtained a scholarship of Rs. 50 per month. In December, 1892, he took his M.A. Degree in English Literature and stood first in order of merit, obtaining a First Class and breaking all previous records.

As a student, Jadunath Sarkar took regular interest in the extra-curricular activities of his College. He was a good player of Football and also a member of the College team. Interest in games, specially Football, remained with him for a considerably long time, and in 1922 he acted as a Referee in the Football matches at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

Sri Jadunath Sarkar was appointed to the Lecturership in English at Ripon College, Calcutta, in July 1893, and he was a success from his first day when he faced the B.A. Final class consisting of students far senior to him in age. While serving at the Metropolitan Institution (Vidyasagar College), Calcutta, the young professor of English won in 1897 the coveted Premchand Roychand Scholarship of Rs. 10,000. Next year in June he joined the Provincial Educational Service as Professor of English and was posted at Presidency College, Calcutta. After many a change he was finally transferred to Patna College, Patna, in January 1902 (Bengal was divided in 1905), first as the Professor of English and later he was shifted to the Headship of the History Department.

Patna was the venue of his literary activities from January 1902 to August 1917. Patna provided the young scholar the time and facilities

for the preparation of his later work. It was at Patna that he created a position for himself in the academic world. While at this seat of learning he began the monumental work that he has done on the history of the Mughals and the Marathas. His life at Patna was very reserved, and he was derisively called an unsocial person. But the time others spent in gossip and loitering, this youngman was spending as usefully as he could. He tried to make the best use of every minute. He himself writes of these fifteen years at Patna that "no gentleman twice crossed my threshold" except his life-long friend Mathura Babu or Mathura Prasad Sinha, an advocate there.

When the Banaras Hindu University was established, Professor Jadunath Sarkar was offered the Chair of History, which he accepted and joined in August 1917. He was expected to build up the teaching and research Department of History at Banaras. The Professor did the work successfully and nourished the infant Department for two years. His own studies in Mughal and Maratha History continued uninterrupted.

In July 1919 the historian was admitted to the Indian Educational Service and posted as Professor of English and History at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. His only friend at this place was another great man of his day, Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi. The historian, who had earned name and reputation due to his labours all these years, was as reserved at Banaras and Cuttack as he was at Patna.

The election to the Honorary Membership of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain is considered a great honour and a recognition of one's services to the cause of learning and scholarship. This honour was conferred upon Professor Jadunath Sarkar in April 1923. Within a few months of this the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society awarded him the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal in July 1923.

The historian was finally transferred to Patna College as Professor of History in October 1923, and he enjoyed his work till his retirement in 1926. He had come back to the place from where he had earned name and fame as a real scholar of History. In 1926 he was made a C.I.E., and retired in August the same year, laden with honours.

The Calcutta University hastened to

requisition his valued services immediately and called him as its Vice-Chancellor. This job Professor Sarkar held for two years—1926-28, and during this period of two years he tried to clean the Augean stables of the University which was notorious for some types of corruptions and mal-practices. He was so serious and sincere in his duties that many a time he came into conflict with the people and the party in power. But he did not bend or accept corruption in the administration of the University. Finally the old Professor of History settled at the hill station of Darjeeling, which had been his favourite resort all along.

Honours came to the historian in quick succession one after the other. The greatest honour came in June 1929, when the Knighthood was conferred upon him in recognition and appreciation of his services to the cause of education in general and research and history in particular. The Dacca University felt honoured by conferring upon him an *Honoris Causa* D.Litt. Degree in 1936, and in 1944, the Patna University decided to snatch a similar opportunity and privilege.

III

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen among the historians of our country, has produced the largest number of research publications of great merit. His work is unbeaten both in its scope and volume, as in accuracy and the depth of vision. Born in 1870, Sir Jadunath has given sixty precious years of his life to the reconstruction and re-writing of the Mughal and Maratha history. During this period of work and toil he has written over a dozen and a half volumes of authoritative research of immense value and edited about half a dozen books and historical documents.

The first work of historical research and study published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar was *India of Aurangzeb: Topography, Statistics and Roads*, which came out in 1901 when the author was 31 years old. From that time he engrossed himself in his monumental and immortal five-volume work on the last of the Great Mughals, Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Another early work, published in 1904, was *A Life of Chaitanya*, the greatest of the Bhakti saints of Bengal (1485-1533) who converted practically the whole of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa

and Assam to his ideology and was popular as far as Vrindavan. The work was a translation of the Bengali book of Kaviraja Krishnadas, and was a flicker of religion the historian has inherited from his father. It is still considered to be one of the best biographies of the saint. The Professor's third love—Economics—obtained her share in his third book *Economics of British India* in 1909. This book remained a popular text-book for about a quarter of a century.

Sir Jadunath wanted to keep abreast of all progress in his three favourite subjects, English, History and Economics. He tried to achieve this for some time. But at last he had to give up Economics and then English also, as it was becoming more and more difficult to retain touch with the latest researches in the three vast branches of knowledge.

While at Patna, the historian published the first two volumes of his five-volume *History of Aurangzeb*, in 1912. Volume I opens with the reign of Shah Jahan, and traces the early life of Aurangzeb as a Prince, his education and training and then goes on to describe the two periods of his Viceroyalty in the Mughal Deccan. It closes with the illness of Shah Jahan in 1657 and the preparations for the War of Succession among his four ambitious sons, each the master of a different character. Volume II is a study of the War of Succession and gives an account of the miserable and pathetic end of the three sons of Shah Jahan—Dara, Suja and Murad—and ultimately the enthronement of Aurangzeb, the new Emperor, in 1659.

Along with the two volumes on Aurangzeb was published in 1912 a companion volume *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*. It is the English translation of the Persian work entitled *Akham-i-Alamgiri* written by Himad-ud-din Khan Nimcha. It contains many anecdotes of the Emperor and some studies.

Aurangzeb loomed on the horizon of the studies of Professor Jadunath Sarkar both at Patna and Banaras, and Volumes III and IV were written at this period. Volume III dealt with the early years of the reign of this puritan, the death of Shah Jahan in the prison in January, 1666, the Hindu reaction to his fanatical policy and the attempt to establish an ideal Islamic State in the Empire. It also gives an account of the Rajput War and the ultimate

rebellion of his son, Prince Akbar. Volume IV has details about the rise of the Marathas, the history of the Shia Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkunda and their ultimate conquest by the Emperor, his wars in Maharashtra, the capture and execution of Shambhaji and the accession of Raja Ram.

Aurangzeb's Deccan policy and his activities in the South led the historian to study Maratha History and the result was the still-unsurpassed *Shivaji and His Times*. It is a detailed and impartial study and was based on Persian, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Dutch, Portuguese and English records. Shivaji's services to his people in Maharashtra and to his country were assessed by Sir Jadunath. Shivaji, according to Sarkar, had the courage to challenge many enemies of his at one time and rebel against the Sultan of Bijapur and the Mughal Emperor "and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders of war . . . He founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments . . . He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies . . . He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. . . ."

Volumes III and IV of *Aurangzeb* and *Shivaji* were completed by their author before he left Banaras in 1919 and became an I.E.S. The same year was published *Studies in Mughal India*—a collection of 22 essays on various topics related to the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. There are essays on the history of the Taj Mahal, the wealth of India in Mughal times, Art, Education and Revenue system under the later Grand Mughals and finally a chapter on the *frangi* pirates of Chittagong.

A later publication on Maratha History, *The House of Shivaji*, contains some stray studies of Maratha history and documents. The heroes dealt with are Shahji Bhonsle, Shivaji and Shambhaji. The book also contains biographies of four Maratha pioneers of historical research, namely, Kashinath Narayan Sane, Vishwanath Rajwade, Dattatraya Paronis and Vasudeva Vamanshastri Kane.

During his study of Maratha History, the aim of Sir Jadunath was that truth must override prejudice and false sense of prestige, that

science must demolish myth and romance. He has evaluated the work of Shivaji and his successors from all points of view, not on the basis of what Elphinstone wrote to Grant Duff as "gossiping *bakhars* and gasconading *tawarikhs*," but by the use of the French and Portuguese manuscript sources from Paris and Goa, official Mughal histories like *Alamgir Nama* and the *Akhbarats*, personal *Memoirs* of Bhimsen and the letters of Jai Singh, the skeleton Marathi chronicles like the *Jedhe Sakhavali*, the *Sabhasad Bakhar*, the *91 Qalmi Bakhar*, the account-books of Chhatrapati Shahu in the Peshwa's *Daftar*, etc., besides the more common works of Khafi Khan and Chitnis used by earlier writers like Grant Duff, Rawlinson and others.

The progress of the *History of Aurangzib* was interrupted at this time, for Sir Jadunath was entrusted with the stupendous task of bringing to completion and editing of the *Later Mughals* which was planned in two volumes and written mostly by Sir William Irvine but which he could not finalize and prepare for the press due to his sudden death. Sarkar was, therefore, compelled to divert his studies to the original sources of Irvine, revise the work and complete it by writing the chapters relating to the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. These volumes were published in 1922 and cover the history of our country from 1707 to 1739. They also include chapters dealing with provincial affairs, specially about the Sikhs, the Jats and the Bundelas.

Volume V of his work on Aurangzeb was published in 1924. It covered the last phase of the life of that puritan Emperor, and gives the account of his futile campaign in the Karnatak, the Konkan and other parts of South India. It also contains a chapter on the settlements of the English traders at Surat down to the embassy of Sir William Norris. The final chapters are devoted to the provincial histories and also the condition of the people during the past fifty years along with a brief survey of the administrative machinery of the empire.

Later, the whole work was abridged under the title of *A Short History of Aurangzib* and published in 1930.

Meanwhile, a number of by-product books were published on the different aspects of Mughal History which supplemented the main

work on the *History of Aurangzib* and the *Later Mughals* and provided an insight into the administration of the country, the life and conditions of the people, etc. *Mughal Administration*, published in 1920, was a valuable contribution to the study of the Government and the administrative machinery of the Mughals, the Government at the centre and the various ministers, the Provincial Government, the condition of the peasantry, the economic and industrial development under the Mughals, the causes of their downfall and finally the legacy of the Mughals to the posterity. *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, published in 1924, is a subsidiary collection of eighteen essays on different aspects of the life of that ruler and the country under him. *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* as an independent work was published in 1925 and is a translation of the *Akham-i-Alamgiri*. In it are collected 72 anecdotes of Aurangzeb which reveal many unknown traits of the Emperor's character, his sayings and his principles of Government along with his attitude on life.

From all these works the portrait of the Emperor comes out vivid and clear. "Free from vice, stupidity and sloth," which were the usual weaknesses of all people in medieval times who were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, Aurangzeb was intellectually sharp and keen, had patience and perseverance in abundance, believed in unfailing industry and exertion and devoting full attention to public affairs and administration. He was a great diplomat, was a fine commander, and had zest and ardour for his duties. But the result of his fifty-year rule was a failure, chaos and confusion and the weakening of the Empire of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. In fact, as Sarkar has put it, Aurangzeb was struggling against "invisible and inexorable fate." This estimate of the ageing emperor of a decaying empire is really remarkable and a historian of Sir Jadunath's stature alone can reach the imagination it deserves.

In 1928, Sir Jadunath delivered the Sir William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University and the book *India Through the Ages* was published in 1929. It comprises six lectures and is a swift and masterly survey of the growth of Indian life and thought from the Vedic Age to the present day.

Between 1930 and 1950, the historian was

actively engaged in planning and writing his monumental *Fall of the Mughal Empire* in four volumes. Sarkar decided to take up this work while he was editing Irvine's *Later Mughals*. The sources for this work were drawn from Persian, Marathi, English, French, Hindi, Rajasthani, Gurmukhi and Sanskrit—so voluminous and difficult to digest. Dr. Sarkar knew that the venture could not result in a "spectacle calculated to elevate the human mind or warm the human bosom," but he was sure that when completely worked out, the sad story of the downfall of the Mughals would serve as "the deepest instruction for the present." It was the "story of headlong decay of the 'age-old Moslem rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas" that he took up for his most mature study.

Volume I picks up the thread of history from the return of Nadir Shah and brings it down to 1754. Volume II gives an account of the Afghan-Maratha contest for supremacy in Northern India, and brings the history of the Mughals up to Shah Alam. It deals also with the rise of the Jats up to 1768 and the fresh developments among the Sikhs. The best of the performances is the account of the Third Battle of Panipat, which can compare with any standard military history. Volume III (1772-1780) is mostly a history of the Maratha domination at Delhi and the activities of Mahadji Sindhia. The fall of the Jats is given its due share. Volume IV brings the curtain of the Mughal rule down with the battle of Assaye (1803) and we find the blind old 'emperor' on the 'throne' of Akbar and Aurangzeb who accepted to become a pensioner of the British without demur.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar also edited during these years Volume II of the *History of Bengal* which was published in three volumes by the University of Dacca. Planning, guiding the workers and editing the work of the contributors and writing over 200 pages himself—this was what he did for this history. The history of Medieval Bengal has rightly been called a one-man's show. Later, he edited Volume II and Volume III of Abul-Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* for the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, while the Bombay Government entrusted him with the editing work of the *Poona Residency Corres-*

pondence, in collaboration with his life-long friend Rao Bahadur Govind Sakhararam Sardesai. For the past few years the veteran has been busy on his latest work on the *Military History of India*. Many chapters of this work have been published in the Sunday Magazine section of the *Hindustan Standard*.

IV

Sir Jadunath Sarkar is an ideal historian. A great scholar and the master of his pen, he is the father of the modern Indian School of Scientific History, documented, accurate and matter-of-fact. He is the model for all real worshippers of the goddess Saraswati, the students of History in particular.

In him we find all the qualities, qualifications and equipments that a historian must possess. Besides having an historical imagination, a penetrating intellect and understanding and a flawless style, he is a linguist and knows Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Persian, Sanskrit, English, French, Dutch and Portuguese, and has tapped sources in all these languages for his researches. Above all, he has burnt the mid-night oil in the actual sense of the term, and has never wasted a moment.

When Sir Jadunath began his historical researches about sixty years ago, he found the ocean of History uncharted, the *apparatus criticus* outmoded and primitive, the ship not strong enough to weather the storm and stand the long journey on the high seas and the sailors and crew untrained and lacking experience. He had to attempt the huge task of reconstructing all this single-handed. His hunt for contemporary manuscript sources could well be compared with that of the Italian giant Niccolai Niccoli during the Renaissance period in Europe or to that of Ranke among the archives of European countries while writing his *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Peoples* (1494-1515). Of course, Dr. Sarkar was helped in his hunt for the contemporary sources by European scholars like Sir William Irvine, H. H. Wilson, Sir Edward Gait, and Sir George Forrest, and by Indian scholars like Rao Bahadur Sardesai, but their aid came only after our historian had already made a name for himself in the scholarly world. In the beginning he had to work alone and exert his resources in bringing to light the hundreds of documents never

used before and buried deep in obscurity and forgotten, lying in private custody of the old important families or in public record rooms. In this search no effort was spared, no expenses grudged and all available resources tapped. He agreed with Ranke when that great historian and favourite of Sarkar warned all students of History that History depends "on the relations of eye-witnesses and the original documents" and that they should use even contemporary writings with caution "except where they (authors) possessed original knowledge." Sir Jadunath made these his guiding words.

The beginning of material collection was made at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and then the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library at Patna was tapped. Later on manuscript sources in the possession of practically all Indian State Libraries and personal properties of rulers were collected. These sources were not accessible to researchers and writers so far, and the story of their discovery is a long one. Private papers, records and Persian manuscripts in the Rampur ruler's library were procured through the agency of Sir Edward Gait, then in England, who wrote to a British Commissioner in the U.P., the latter received as present from the Nawab, the records beautifully copied out and bound in leather; the transcript of the manuscripts was first sent to Sir Edward who forwarded it to Sir Jadunath! Shia agents were employed for getting access to the manuscripts in the library of Sir Saifur Jang at Haiderabad. The news-letters and other records and *Akhbarats* in the Pothikhana and the private library of the rulers of Jaipur were acquired, again, through the agency of British officers and scholars. The old Maratha families do not allow any one to peep into their family records, much less help a scholar in reading and copying them. For this our historian had to go about in the disguise of an orthodox Brahman in *dhoti* and *chadar* and a *tilak* on his forehead, from place to place and copy out relevant portions. These labours produced a great result. No library either in India or abroad is as rich in original historical documents and manuscript papers relating to Mughal India as the library of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. No research on the later Mughal history or the early British Indian History is possible without consulting the library of Sir Jadunath.

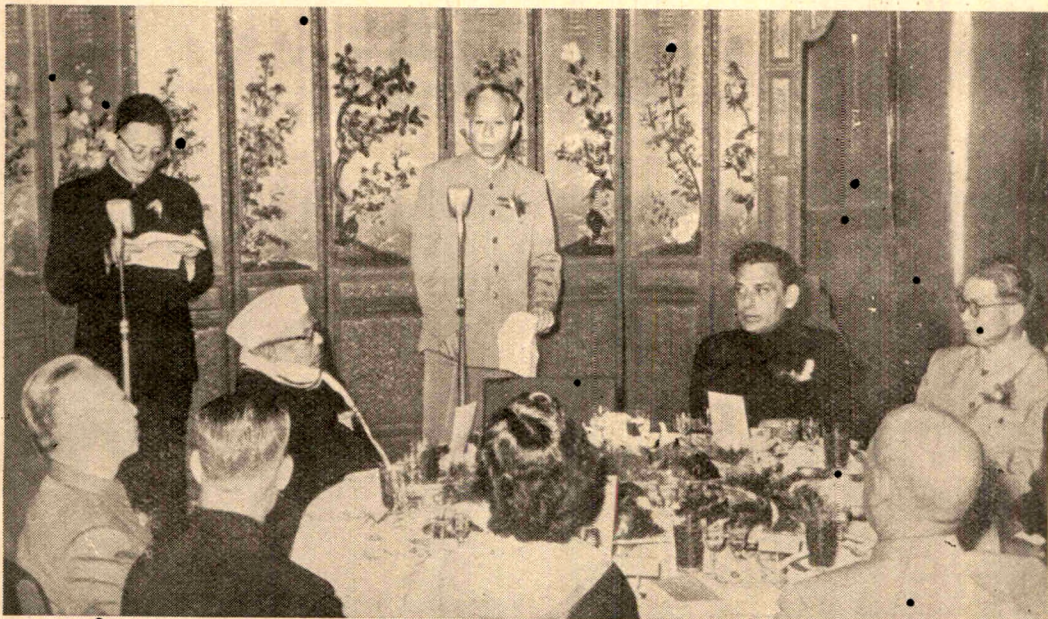
With the great search for materials over, the historian studied the evidence critically, collated, sifted and edited them and ultimately revolutionized the study of history in our country and our approach to the subject. Khafi Khan, Sayyid Ghulam Husain's *Siyar-ul-Matakhherin*, Elliot and Dowson, all gave place to the contemporary authorities—*Alamgir Nama*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, *Insha-i-Haft Anjuman* and the *Akhbarat* of newsletters. Provincial records were also tapped for the purpose—the Ahom *Buranjis*, the Marathi *Bakhars*, the Rajasthan and Gurmukhi chronicles. The records of the European traders, the British Factory records, the French Factory records, the Jesuit letters, the Dutch and Portuguese accounts—all were given due weight of authority that they deserved.

Besides the above search in India, a hunt was made abroad and material was collected from the British Museum, the India Office Library, the Royal Asiatic Society Library, London; the Bodleian, Oxford; the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; the Royal Library, Berlin; etc.

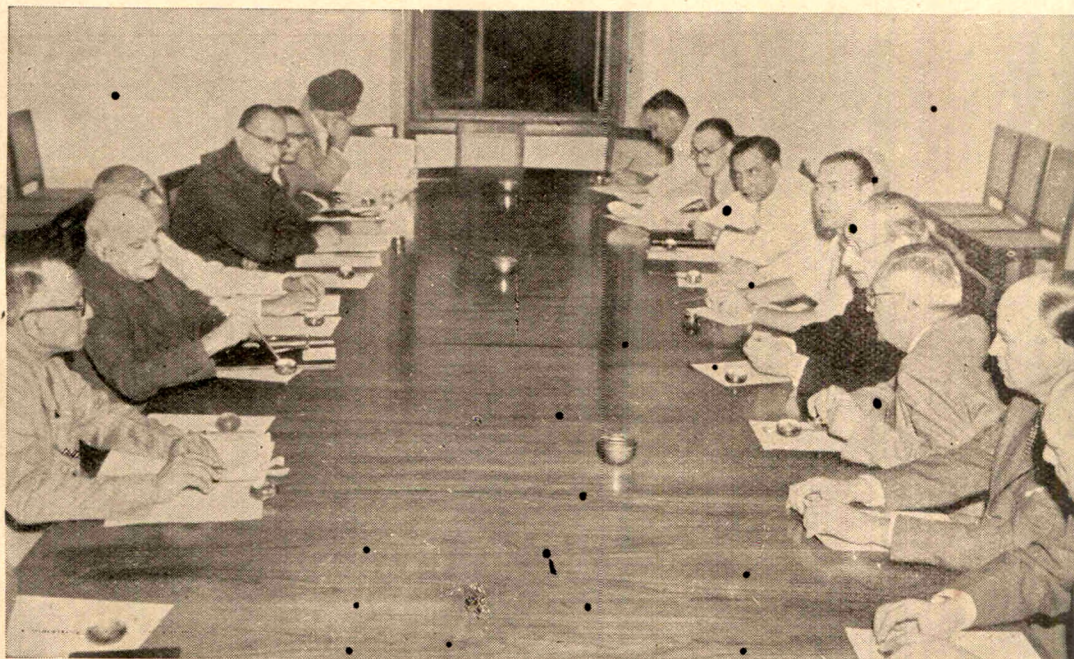
Sir Jadunath is thorough in all his work and does not leave any aspect of his subject undiscussed. He discussed them from every angle of vision and takes into consideration all the circumstances and the different interests acting and counter-acting. Thus we get from him a comprehensive work, encyclopaedic in nature and volume. It is never half done.

Impartiality is the first necessary qualification of a true historian. A historian has to play the role of a judge and not that of a lawyer or an advocate. Sir Jadunath is superb in this. To him all actors on the historical stage are equal—Hindus and Muslims, Indians and foreigners, Northerners and Southerners. Above all, the master craftsman of History does not allow his sentiments to affect his reasoning and judgment. With him truth alone must triumph, it must over-ride all prejudices. Science must give place to romance and myth. In this mission of his he is not afraid of hurting the sentiments of others.

Sir Jadunath never makes generalizations, for he does not believe in immature outbursts of slogans. Rather, he goes to the very bottom of the problem and discusses it thread-bare. That he is fond of detail, no one can doubt.



Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China, gave a banquet in honour of the Indian Parliamentary Mission at Peking recently



Dr. Jose Maza, President of the General Assembly of the U.N. (*third from right*), met Sri V. T. Krishnamachari, Dy. Chairman and other members of the Planning Commission in New Delhi



His Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia



A Delegation of 11 Indian librarians left New Delhi on September 29, on a study tour of the U.S.A.

Details are the very soul of all History. In all his works we find a meticulous search for details and facts. Perfection in topography, chronology and facts has been the life-long goal of the historian.

The great historian dislikes ambiguous style and high-sounding, bombastic words. He prefers a clear, direct, simple and yet expressive and effective style. Though he started as a Professor of English, he rose above the temptation of a flowery style, for none knows better than Sir Jadunath that History is not poetry as some little fry labour to make it. History is both a literary piece and a work of scientific enquiry. It has dual masters: Science and Literature, reason and imagination. Sir Jadunath holds a balance between the two. He approaches his subject with the cool calculating head of scientists and the style and expression of literati.

It is to the credit of Dr. Sarkar that though he studied minutely the life and work of great men like Aurangzeb, Shivaji, Mahadji Sindhia and other planets of Indian History, never did he lose his balance and praise or condemn a historical personality more than what he really deserved. Authors like Carlyle while writing about Frederick the Great and Macaulay while writing about William III could not hold their feet, but Sarkar achieved the high ideal he had set before him sixty years ago.

One may well say of Sir Jadunath Sarkar what Gooch wrote about Ranke:

"When he began to write, historians of high repute believed 'memoirs' and chronicles to be the best authorities. When he laid down his pen, every scholar with a reputation to make or to lose had learned to content himself with nothing less than the papers and correspondence of the actors themselves and those in immediate contact with the events they describe."

Our history and historical research in our country underwent a revolution under the guidance of Sir Jadunath. He perfected the machinery of research and set the standard for our scholars to follow and emulate. He trained and inspired many workers who are engaged today in discovering and processing from the archives the old records and stray finds of historical material, and producing on their basis readable and impartial, and as far as possible, accurate history of our country. Sir Jadunath has already become a tradition in the field of historical research and study. He is an institution in himself. It is in the fitness of things that we pay our humble homage to the father of modern scientific school of historical research in our country on his birthday, which falls on December 10, and pray for a long life for him, so that the younger generation of research workers in History may derive inspiration from his life and work.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE AMENDMENT OF THE U.N. CHARTER

By M. N. CHATTERJI, M.A.

WHEN it took its birth at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, the United Nations Organisation was taken to be heralding the birth of a new era—the era of peace and prosperity after the unimaginable ravages and destruction that the Second World War brought upon the world. Naturally the sponsoring powers took great care to see that the organisation is made safe from the weaknesses from which the League of Nations suffered. The setting up of a separate organisation—the Security Council—to look after the maintenance of collective peace and security and the conferring of 'veto' power on the five permanent members were some of the novel methods of the new organisation and in effect went to demonstrate the sincere efforts of sponsoring nations to make the world body stable and lasting.

Ironically enough man's efforts to live in peace and amity had been challenged from time immemorial by his fellow human beings. The League of Nations was born and killed at the hands of men. Talking of recent developments one may perhaps say that the warning to the future of peace was given by the Atom Bomb that blasted Hiroshima which in one way may be said to have brought the end of the calamity that overtook the world. The very possession of the weapon perhaps made a mockery of the efforts of the nations made at San Francisco to build up the world organisation.

The experience of the last ten years during which the U.N.O. had been working demonstrates unmistakably which way the world is heading. Instead of coming closer, the very Powers who crossed their hearts for keeping their friendship everlasting are more and more drifting apart. Conflicting ideologies are clashing against each other to spread spheres of influence. The principles of reason, faith, tolerance and justice on which the UN Charter based itself were repudiated times without number to justify the supremacy of the one or the other Power bloc. The culmination of this maddening spirit of the one to live on the

destruction of the other has been the ominous experiments in nuclear weapons. This itself has sounded the death-knell of any hope for mankind, of any effort to live in peace, unless the race is stopped. Against such a background the need of a rethinking about the role of the U.N.O.—its efficacy to face the challenge of the new forces—is obvious. To fulfil that need it is necessary to consider the question of improvement on the U.N. Charter.

II

Any organisation dealing with groups of human beings—as the U.N.O. evidently does—can hardly be expected to be a static one. It has to adjust itself according to the character and behaviour of those human beings. Therefore, it should surprise no one if the U.N.O. needed some change after ten years of working. Possibility of changes was visualised even at the beginning and that was the reason why Article 109 was incorporated in the Charter. Even at the foundation conference at San Francisco some changes were foreseen when the great majority of the smaller States opposed the extraordinary privileges given to the Big Five. However, revision or amendment of the Charter having been itself a subject of 'veto' and at least one of the permanent members being consistently opposed to it, consideration for amendment would only be a matter of academic discourse.

III

MEMBERSHIP

Till the 'package deal' admission of sixteen new members at the tenth session of the General Assembly, the most vociferous demand has been for amendment to Article 4 which determines the question of membership. Although the edge of that argument is now lost, the exclusion of big States like Japan, Germany, Austria and some of the other smaller States does not give the U.N.O. that inclusiveness that it should have to create the psychological atmosphere necessary for the furtherance of world peace. To

achieve the purpose the United States has long been suggesting elimination of 'veto' on the question of membership. Since this can hardly be expected to win the approval of the Soviet Union, a way might be found by spelling out more precisely the qualifications for membership and establishing definite tests by which the qualifications could be judged on a more objective basis. Something in the line was attempted when the General Assembly in a resolution in February 1952 expressed that the determination of the qualification of applicant States should be based on facts such as the maintenance of friendly relations with other States, the fulfilment of international obligations and the record of a State's willingness and present disposition to submit international claims or controversies to pacific means of settlement established by international law.

REPRESENTATION

Since the emergence of the Communist China, the issue of representation has assumed great significance. In spite of her government being recognised by a number of countries including Great Britain, Communist China's non-representation in the U.N.O. has proved to be a great lapse of the world organisation. The U.N. Charter, however, does not make any provision for determining the representation of any member country. The matter is handled independently in each organ or subsidiary body of the U.N. Nevertheless the question was discussed in 1950 and the General Assembly in a resolution on December 14, 1950 resolved that

"Whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a Member State in the U.N. . . . the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case."

It is plain that the resolution is as vague as can be possible. The fact, however, remains that the U.N. does not possess any authority to recognise a new State or a new Government of an existing State. This has created an anomalous situation. The importance of China, both for its vastness in area and in population as also influence on world politics, particularly in Asia, can hardly be ignored. Far from being ignored she has already been recognised when in finding out a solution of the Indo-China question a Geneva Conference with her partici-

pation had to be organised. This devolves on the part of the U.N. a more positive rôle in the matter of settling representation when that is under dispute. Recognition of a new State or a new Government of an existing State should come under the purview of the U.N.O. The rule of "collective recognition" by the United Nations as against the unilateral act now in practice should be embodied in the Charter.

DOMESTIC JURISDICTION

A good deal of controversy has also arisen about the competence of the United Nations to intervene in the domestic matters of the member countries. Article 2 (7) of the U.N. Charter debars it from intervening in matters which are "essentially" within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. Under cover of this provision, the Union of South Africa has consistently refused to allow the United Nations to discuss the inhuman treatment meted out to the Indian citizens there. In the last session of the General Assembly, France also refused to discuss the question of the self-determination of the people of Algeria and actually staged a walk-out when the question was voted on the agenda. Naturally the provision has been looked upon as a measure to safeguard the interests of the colonialists. Moreover, as we are more and more advancing towards the conception of international community even the smallest individual issue comes under the purview of international organisation. Therefore, the limitation of the United Nations' competence in this regard runs counter to the spirit of the age. As Mr. Kenneth Younger points out:

"The true difficulty is to say what is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. We have had many instances where unjust treatment of minorities has become a matter of international concern and a threat to peace. Must the United Nations keep its hands off all such questions until the threat of an international breach of the peace is immediate?"

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that such matters only should be deemed as domestic as are declared to be so according to international law. The word "essentially" in Article 2 (7) should be replaced by "according to international law."

SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE VETO

Nothing has raised so much of controversy and emitted so much of heat as the 'veto' power of the permanent members of the Security Council. No doubt the provision was inserted because of the inescapable conclusion that international peace and security could be enforced or maintained if only the great Powers assured their sanction behind it. "It was simply the constitutional expression of an inescapable fact of power." Therefore in spite of the great many abuses of the 'veto,' its complete elimination would inevitably lead to the breakdown of the collective security system of the United Nations. But need has been felt for the restriction of its use in some ways. Under the existing rule even the pacific settlement of disputes, that is, the Security Council's power to recommend ways and means to settle disputes peacefully, come under the 'veto' power. Therefore, solution of any dispute before the actual breaking out of hostility—which calls for enforcement action—becomes impossible if the solution does not suit the interest of one or the other permanent member. Hence conciliation or pacific settlement of disputes should be kept out of the 'veto' jurisdiction and the rule of unanimity should be substituted by a simple majority of seven members including not more than three permanent members. At the San Francisco Conference Dr. Evatt aptly described conciliation not as the "power of the Council" but as the "duty" of the Council because he said, "By such means the dispute may be composed and the use of force prevented."

Consideration of the veto power brings in the general question of the role of the Security Council in the maintenance of peace and security. In view of the constant use of the veto power, particularly by the Soviet Union, resort has often been made to regional arrangements like NATO, ANZUS, etc., especially by the United States. This has in effect created less of reliance on the Security Council and more on the General Assembly. The role of the General Assembly has been further strengthened by the 'Uniting for Peace Resolution' in 1950, sponsored by Canada, France, the Philippines, Turkey, the U.K., Uruguay and the United States. Under that resolution, the General Assembly established machinery by which it could recommend collective measures to maintain international peace and

security if the Security Council were blocked by veto.

Since, therefore, some of the force of the veto has been taken away by the above resolution, there should not be much opposition to the permanent members' agreeing to curb its use. They should enter into a convention for the purpose of maintaining the terms on which its use was envisaged at the San Francisco Conference. At that Conference it was declared:

"It is not to be assumed that the permanent members, any more than the non-permanent members, would use the veto power wilfully to obstruct the operation of the Council."

Furthermore, at the San Francisco Conference, the principle behind the measures for peace and security was that peace could not be the monopoly of the Great Powers. Accordingly, provision was made under Article 23(1) for 'equitable geographical distribution' so as to broaden the basis of the Security Council by giving adequate representation to the smaller States. But during the last ten years, all the seats in the Security Council have been distributed among the European and the American States. Africa and Asia have been practically ignored. To set matters right the number of elected members may be increased to enable the Asian and African representations to come in. The addition of at least one more permanent member from the Asian-African bloc is also desirable.

REGIONALISM AND SECURITY

The U. N. Charter permits formation of regional arrangements to strengthen the system of collective security under Articles 52, 53 and 54 under Chapter VIII. The sole responsibility for peace and security, however, remains with the Security Council and the regional organisations function only under the Security Council. Any enforcement action taken by them must have prior sanction of the Security Council. But the provision of the Charter leaves wide scope for discretionary use. Nothing has been said as to whether non-regional States could become members of the regional organisations. In fact, most of the regional organisations are composed of non-regional powers. The nature of such formations seemed to suggest that instead of furthering the cause of security, their sole conception has been to revert back to the old system of balance of power during the League era. Thus in the NATO, non-regional.

States like Italy, Greece and Turkey have been included obviously with the intention to check the spread of Soviet sphere of influence in the Mediterranean. Similarly the SEATO although professedly a South-East Asian organisation, included Western Powers like Great Britain, France, Netherlands and the U.S.A. Therefore, the regional organisations, as the celebrated Indian author Mr. K. M. Panikkar pointed out,² "in matters of security, will become merely another instrument for the effective assertion of the supremacy of the Great Powers." The way these regional arrangements have been turned into predominantly military alliances, also leaves no shade of doubt that instead of promoting world security, they have everywhere made situations explosive. As a matter of fact, the wording of the relative articles in the U.N. Charter suffers from a number of weaknesses. Article 52(1) permits regional agencies to deal with "such matters relating to the maintenance of peace and security as are appropriate for regional action." Obviously the question arises as to who is competent to decide the appropriateness of a regional action. In discussing this aspect, Hans Kelsen³ opined that the members concerned might have the power of deciding the question because the U.N. Charter does not authorise any particular organ to decide the appropriateness of regional actions. Now this, understandably, is a serious lacuna.

Moreover, under Article 53(1) "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements . . . without the authorization of the Security Council." In practice, however, this has not been always respected. One may refer to the RIO Treaty of 1947 which later on developed into the Organisation of American States (OAS). Under that Treaty, a 'fact or situation or an aggression which is not an armed attack could bring about an enforcement action including the use of armed force.' Besides going against the spirit of Article 51 which authorises measures for collective self-defence only in the event of an armed attack, no mention is made in the Treaty as to the need of securing Security Council's authorization under Article 53 of the Charter. In the case of the Guatemala uprising in 1954, resort was taken to the collective security envisaged in the treaty

by the OAS and the Security Council was debarred from putting the issue in its agenda.

"The organisation and development of such regional arrangements as the OAS" according to an expert 'have demonstrated a trend in which the limited objectives of the arrangements have taken priority over the universal concept that the threat or use of force originating from any quarter should be met with collective action by the Security Council acting as an agent for U.N. members."

If that trend is to be checked, the scope of regional alliances should be strictly defined, as should be their area. Instead of giving them the liberty to usurp the security functions of the Security Council, they should be encouraged to concentrate on co-operation in the fields of economic development, social progress and allied matters. "Regional councils," to quote once again Mr. Panikkar,⁵ "may have very useful functions to fulfil but their usefulness will depend on a clear definition of area and function."

TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms have been among the basic ideals of the U.N. Charter. Encouragement of fundamental freedoms which includes the right of every human being to a share in the political independence of the country, was, therefore, accepted as one of the objects of the Trusteeship system. But there are certain loopholes in the system. It makes a needless distinction between ordinary trust territories and those regarded as strategic with the control of the former belonging to the General Assembly and the latter to the Security Council. By doing so, much room was left to make use of a strategic trust area in the game of cold war politics. It would be evident if we compare the American Strategic Area Trust Agreements with some of the other Trust Agreements. Under the U.S. Agreement the entire territory of the Pacific Islands has been regarded as a strategic area vital to the security of the United States. The Agreement also provided under Article 13 that the requirements of the Charter for the submission of reports, petitions might be limited by

2. "Regionalism and World Security," *India Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2.

3. *Law of the United Nations*.

4. John S. Gibson: "The Guatemalan Case and Universal-Regional Relationship," *Foreign Affairs Reports*, January 1955.

5. "Regionalism and World Security," *India Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2.

administering authority at its discretion in areas closed for security reasons. This is repugnant to the conception of the Trusteeship system. The distinction between ordinary and strategic Trust areas must be removed and all Trust areas should be placed under the general supervision of the General Assembly. The Security Council should have no say in the matter.

Another lacuna in the system is the discretion left to the former Mandatory Powers to enter into the system or not. While the majority of the former Mandatory Powers chose to conclude Trusteeship Agreements for areas under their mandate, the Union of South Africa did not in respect of South-West Africa. Despite General Assembly's repeated recommendations South-West Africa has been kept out of the Trusteeship system. A way may be found by amending Article 77 to make it read that all Trust territories formerly under mandates become *ipso facto* members of the Trusteeship system.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The Charter can be made or unmade by interpretation. Therefore, all questions involving interpretation should be dealt with by the International Court of Justice whose jurisdiction should be made as comprehensive as possible. In view of the conflicting interests of the Power Blocks, it is difficult to assume that any particular executive act of the U.N. would be completely free from prejudice and bias. Therefore judicial review of executive acts especially of the more important ones like admission of new members, or declaring a State as aggressor, is necessary.

IV

As pointed out earlier, these discussions about desirable amendments to the U.N. Charter seem to be merely academic since the position that now stands at present offers no chance of making it practicable. The vehement opposition of the Soviet Union during the tenth session of the General Assembly should do enough to brush aside any idea of revision. The decision also of the tenth session to put off the

idea of revision for another two years was indicative of the attitude towards amendment. One should not forget that Britain and the USA were among the powers that sponsored the resolution for postponement. With these permanent members up against it, a strong neutralist country like India also maintained that

"If the Charter were to be revised it would require general agreement but if there was this agreement then revision would not be necessary."⁶

The problem of the revision of the U.N. Charter is much more a political than a legal one. Not even the most unimportant amendment can be made without the consent of all the five permanent members and this has not been possible so far. Nevertheless, as the *New York Times* Commentator Thomas Hamilton writes:

"The Charter like the United States Constitution has already been amended by interpretation. The best example, since this development is accepted by both the United States and the Soviet Union, is the Security Council's practice of not recognising as abstention by a great power as a veto (Resolution on Korea in 1950). This is clearly a violation of the Charter which makes (for force) this clear statement that the 'concurring vote' of the five great powers is necessary for a decision on any substantial matter."

That resolution has been claimed to have saved the world or at least one part of it from aggression and hailed U.N.O.'s role as the watchdog of peace. Another change has been the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" by which the General Assembly assumed the functions of the Security Council. Whether some more changes would be possible under similar or more difficult situations and the U.N. would be able to play its desired role, it is only the future could tell. But one thing is sure that the United Nations must have to succeed. Because the only alternative to that, in the age of nuclear weapons, is the total annihilation of the human dynasty.

6. Speech by Mr. Krishna Menon in the General Assembly. 17 November, 1955.

7. Issue dated 27 November, 1955.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

INTRODUCTION

CHINA is the first Asian country to achieve political independence through revolutionary means; she is also the largest Communist Republic in the world, representing the greatest human community on earth.¹ The international impact of the outcome of the civil war in China has been immense; according to an estimate the loss of China deprived the Western Powers 40 per cent of the colonial hinterland they still had in the days of the Second World War.² The experiments now being made in China have far-reaching repercussions—many observers have referred to that.³ The scope of the present article is, however, restricted to a study of the Constitution—the political framework within which remaking of China is taking place today—rather some of its salient features.

A. THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND*

"The Constitutionalism existing in the world—whether in Britain, the United States or the Soviet Union," Mao Tse-tung wrote sixteen years ago, "has always meant the promulgation of a body of basic laws, that is a Constitution, to confirm the success of the revolution, and actual achievements in democracy."⁴

1. James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, London, 1955, p. 100.

2. V. Avarin: "International Significance of the Victory of the Chinese People" in the weekly *New Times*, Moscow, No. 39, September 27, 1950. See also C. P. Fitzgerald: *Revolution in China*, London, 1952, esp. chapter nine.

3. See for example: *The Prospects for Communist China* by W. W. Rostow, Richard W. Hatch, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., Alexander Eckstein, New American Library, 1954, pp. 287-88. Chester Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, New York, 1955, p. 335.

* Theory has always been accorded a very high place in Communist circles. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice," said Lenin. For an interpretation of the place of theory in the Chinese revolution.—See Benjamin I. Schwartz: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, Harvard, 1952; Introduction, pp. 1-2

4. Mao Tse-tung: "New Democratic Constitutionalism" being a speech delivered at Yen-an on Feb. 20, 1940, before the Association for Urging the Advancement of Constitutionalism in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 184, Bombay, 1954. This view of a constitution was first formulated by J. V. Stalin according to whom a constitution "is the registration and legislative embodiment of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact"—Stalin: *On the Draft Constitution of the USSR* being a report delivered at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress on Soviets of the USSR, November 25, 1937—Moscow 1952 edition, p. 28.

"The State is a special organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the suppression of some class."—Lenin, "The State and Revolution" in the *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 155.

Fourteen years later on another top-ranking political leader of modern China explained the significance of the new Constitution of the People's Republic of China as the legal embodiment of the new social and State system.⁵

B. THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The new Constitution, according to Chinese and Communist Constitutional theories, confirms the success of the Chinese revolution. A true understanding of the new Constitution would, therefore, require an examination, brief though it may be, of the tasks before the Chinese revolution, how those tasks were tackled after victory and how the new Constitution registers "what has already been achieved and won in actual fact"—and this would be the main theme of this short study.

What then were the fundamental tasks set before the Chinese revolution? Referring to the task of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung wrote in 1940:

"Evidently, the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of present-day Chinese society determines that two steps must be taken in the Chinese revolution. The first step is to change a society that is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal into an independent, democratic society. The second step is to develop the revolution further and build up a socialist society. In the present Chinese revolution, we are taking the first step."⁶

The Constitution, to accord with the definition, must register China's external independence and must also record China's strivings towards the creation of a socialist society. It does both in fact. That China has already overcome her semi-colonial status is quite evident to all and hardly needs any great elaboration. Professor Quincy Wright, the eminent American international jurist, writes:

"There is no doubt whatever that the present government of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai is the effective government of China, and not only the effective government of China, but the most effective government that place has ever had."⁷

"In reality, the State is nothing more than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in a democratic republic no less than in the monarchy."—Engels: Introduction to Karl Marx's *Civil War in France*.

5. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of China*, p. 60.

6. Mao Tse-tung: "On New Democracy" in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 110.

7. Quincy Wright: "The Chinese Recognition Problem" in the *American Journal of International Law*, No. 3, 1955, p. 321. Italics added.

The Indian statesman and historian Sardar K. M. Panikkar says: "China had become, in fact, what it had always claimed to be, a Great Power."⁸ Equally undeniable is the fact of the liberation of China's teeming million from the fetters of feudal slavery. Land Reform and redistribution was practically completed by the end of 1952.⁹ Indeed, as one observer has pointed out:

In four years (1950-54), the Minister of Agriculture in China, Mr. Liao Lun-yen had "caused more real estate to change hands than any other man on earth. Sixty-five million acres had been reshuffled between 400,000,000 peasants. The plan was characteristic of China's way and persuasive approach to a monstrous problem . . ."¹⁰

Registering the victory of the Chinese revolution led by the alliance of the workers and peasants against the imperialists, feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie the new Constitution of China, adopted on September 20, 1954, by the First National People's Congress (Parliament) of China, describes China as a "People's Democratic State led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."¹¹ The State is a unitary one¹² and dispenses with the traditional separation of powers between the executive, legislature and the judiciary; as well as the specifically Chinese five-fold division of authority between the executive, legislative, judicial, control and examination Yuan. All power in the State vests in the people who exercise their power through the various elected bodies at the apex of which stands the National People's Congress elected by universal, adult but indirect and unequal suffrage.

8. K. M. Panikkar: *In Two Chinas*, London, 1955, p. 177. See also Chester Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, New York, 1955, pp. 115, 121. " . . . the revolution in China had produced a nation more united and, as far as one could see, happier than ever before, and that by every recognizable evidence they were peace-loving."—James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, p. 102, London, 1955. See also Richard L. Walker: *China Under Communism*, New Haven, 1955, p. 269; Hugh Seton-Watson: *The Pattern of Communist Revolution*, London, 1953, pp. 285-290. Also see *The New Leader*, weekly, New York, 24.9.56.

9. W. W. Postow and others: *The Prospects for Communist China*, p. 89. For a cogent summary of the effects of land reform see Jack Belden: *China Shakes the World*, pp. 201-20; K. M. Panikkar: *Op. cit.*, p. 137. Basil Davidson: *Daybreak in China*, pp. 51-68. C. F. Fitzgerald: *Revolution in China*, pp. 177-179. For a critical study see Quentin K. Y. Huang: *Now I Can Sell*, pp. 185-222, New York, 1954; Walker: *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

10. James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, p. 165. Mr. Cameron bitterly describes the lot of the Chinese peasants: "China counted its land by the ten thousand miles, the Chinese by the *mo*—the unit of personal possession: one-sixth of an acre." (p. 217, *ibid*).

11. Art. 1 of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*.

12. Art. 3, *ibid*.

C. "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY"

It has already been stated that the first Chinese National People's Congress declared their State as a "People's Democratic State." At this stage, however, a definition of a "People's Democratic State" is called for since the term has assumed a technical connotation in political discussions. "People's Democracies" were unknown before the Second World War. The term gained currency only since the end of the war. Generalizing the features of the people's democracies that had emerged in Eastern Europe after the Second World War, Eugene Varga, the noted Soviet theoretician, wrote in 1947 that

"People's democracy" signified a "state of affairs in a country where feudal remnants—large-scale land-ownership—have been eliminated, where the system of private ownership of the means of production still exists but large enterprises in the spheres of industry, transport and credit are in State hands, while the State itself and its apparatus of coercion serve not the interests of monopolistic bourgeoisie but the interests of the working people in town and countryside."¹³

The new people's democracy began, the Yugoslav political leader Edward Kardelj said,

"where the working class, in alliance with all the other working masses held the key positions in the State power."¹⁴

The social structure of such states, (referring to the European people's democracies since China was out of consideration then), Varga added, differed "from all those hitherto known to us; it is something totally new in history of mankind" being neither a full-fledged proletarian dictatorship (socialism) nor a bourgeois dictatorship (capitalism).¹⁵ There was, however,

13. E. Varga: "Democracy of a New Type" in the *Communist* (monthly organ of the Communist Party of India), September, 1947, p. 132. See also "The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe" by C. E. Black in *European Political Systems* edited by Taylor Cole, pp. 231-243, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953; Zhdanov's report before the inaugural session of the *Cominform* published in the *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy*, November 10, 1947; William Z. Foster: *History of the Three Internationals*, pp. 455-456, New York, International Publishers, 1955.

14. Edward Kardelj: *Report on the activities of the Yugoslav Communist Party before the inaugural session of the Cominform in September, 1947*.

15. Varga: *Op. cit.*, p. 132. Cf. "under present conditions the people's democratic regime is a new state form of revolutionary power."—A. I. Sobolev: *People's Democracy. A New Form of Organization of Society*, p. 9, Moscow, 1954. See also Miao Tse-tung: "On New Democracy" in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 118-119.

no unanimity¹⁶ among the Communist leaders on a definition of people's democracy as an altogether new form of State organization. At any rate, such strict distinction between the Soviet system and the people's democracies is no longer insisted upon in later authoritative Soviet writings on the subject.

"In essence," writes the Soviet author, A. I. Sobolev, "Soviets, and People's Democracies are synonymous: *their content is the dictatorship of the working class*. The difference is in the form of political organization of society."¹⁷

The characteristic features of the "People's Democratic State" as a new form of the proletarian dictatorship are stated to be (a) the existence of active political parties in addition to the Communist Party; (b) mass popular political organizations of the people's front type composed of Communists and all other political parties; and (c) the "indispensable condition that the Communist Party is the *only* leading and guiding force of the State."¹⁸ Mao Tse-tung, the master revolutionary, says:

"If the State system, which is the common property of the people and not the private property of the bourgeoisie is supplemented by the leadership of the working class then this system will be the dictatorship of the people's democracy. . . ."¹⁹

The Chinese State approximates the ideal of "people's democracy" in a very high measure. As has already been noted, feudalism has been abolished and it would presently be shown that the State, led by the workers who in turn are guided by the Communists, controls all the key positions in the national economy of China—fulfilling all conditions for a valid claim to be called a "People's Democracy."²⁰

16. The Bulgarian Communist leader, Georgi Dimitrov told a meeting of the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Party that "the Soviet regime and the People's Democratic regime are two forms of one and the same system of government. . . . Both are based on the dictatorship of the proletariat."—Quoted in Hugh Seton-Watson: *The Pattern of Communist Revolution*, p. 260, London, 1953. Foster, the Communist historian of the international Communist movement, also refers to the initial confusion among world Communists on the characterisation of People's Democracy. See *The History of the Three Internationals* by W. Z. Foster, p. 465. The People's Democracies, according to him, showed a new road to socialism.

17. A. I. Sobolev: *Op. cit.*, pp. 106-107. Italics in the original.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 108.

19. Mao Tse-tung: "Dictatorship of People's Democracy" in the weekly *Crossroads*, May 26, 1950, Bombay.

* The Chinese State has been remarkably free from the violence that characterized the life of the European People's Democracies. In a like measure the

The present system, the coalition of various classes called People's Democracy, "is symbolized by the five stars on the flag, representing the workers, peasants, national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party."²¹

D. LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Chinese State, as the Constitution says, in the light of the "People's Democracy," is led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The working class leadership of the State is also one of the distinguishing marks of people's democracy. How is such leadership exercised by the workers in China where there are only three million industrial workers constituting barely 0.51 per cent of China's 582,584,839 people?²² Here again a reference to theory is necessary before an answer can be attempted. According to accepted Communist theories workers may exist as a class "the members of which stand in the same relation to the means of production, have the same status in production and in society, the same objective common interests and yet *not conscious* of their common fundamental interests" which lay in overthrowing capitalism to usher in the era of socialism.²³

"The history of all countries shows," Lenin writes, "that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., it may realize the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. . . ."²⁴

Communist Party also has been relatively free from bloody purges characterizing Stalinist Russia and the post-war European East. In early Soviet pronouncements, China was not accorded equal status with the European people's democracies. Lately, however, her status has been raised in their eyes and she is now bracketed with the Soviet Union at the first place as leaders of world revolution.

† Mary Austin Endicott: *Five Stars Over China*, p. 153.

20. For an estimate of the workers in China, see Richard L. Walker: *China Under Communism*, New Haven, 1955. Mr. Walker quotes official figures for Chinese labour force including technical and administrative personnel and school teachers as fifteen million or approximately 2.6 per cent of the total population (p. 154, *ibid*). According to the latest official figures, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions which virtually embraces all the "workers" in the country had a membership of about 12,400,000.—*China's Workers March Towards Socialism*, Peking, 1956, p. 9.

21. See for example, F. V. Koustantinov: *The Role of Socialist Consciousness in the Development of Soviet Society*, Moscow, pp. 68-69. Italics added.

22. V. I. Lenin: "What Is To Be Done?" in *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1947, pp. 167-168.

In such circumstances, socialist consciousness could grow among the workers only through the efforts of outsiders (non-workers)—the Communists. This historical limitation of the working class points to the need of a Communist Party in each country charged with the task of engendering socialist consciousness among the workers of that country and organising them for a forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Equipped with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism (the theory of proletarian revolution leading to the overthrow of capitalism) the Communist, through logical deduction, becomes the "vanguard and organised detachment" of the working class. In this way Communist leadership is generally equated with working class leadership in Communist academic circles.

E. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS

An examination of working class leadership thus leads to an examination of the position of the Communist Party in modern Chinese society. The Communist Party is mentioned only once in the Constitution—in the Preamble. As a marked contrast to the Soviet law the Communist Party of China has no valid constitutional recognition. But the absence of any direct constitutional recognition of the Communist Party of China does not in any way negate the unique position of leadership of the party at all levels of the State structure. The leading role of the Chinese Communist Party in the affairs of China is recognised both by the Chinese Communists themselves and by the non-Communist observers as well. Lin Shao-chi in his report on the draft Constitution of China emphasizes the leading role of the Communist Party, which, he says, "is the core of the leadership of our country."²³ In keeping with theory (may be practical necessities also) other parties are tolerated no doubt²⁴ but their influence is dwindling. The virtual monopoly of leadership by the Communist Party of China was confirmed in 1952 when the other parties in the Democratic United Front agreed not to campaign for membership among the industrial workers and peasants (the two classes between themselves accounting for 95 per cent of China's population). The Communist Party membership goes beyond a crore and stretched down to almost every village in China. In recent years, however, particularly since 1949 workers have been sought to be recruited in larger

numbers to the party²⁵—in keeping with both theory and the practical necessity of associating a larger number of workers with the new regime.

(Working class leadership of the Chinese State is ensured in another way by giving the workers a favourably weighted representation in all levels of State administration from the country level upwards.²⁶ Great efforts have been made to train up workers to hold more and more responsible positions.²⁷

F. THE "PEOPLE"

It is evident from the foregoing paragraphs, the State being a people's democracy a definition of 'people' is also called for. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China, says:

"There is a difference between 'people' and 'national'. 'People' include the working class, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, the national capitalists and certain other patriotic democratic elements. The remaining reactionary elements are not within the category of 'people' but are 'nationals' of China. For the time being they cannot enjoy the rights of the 'people' but they have to observe the obligations of 'nationals'.²⁸

Who are the reactionary elements? They are the feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists.

A feudal lord is one who "owns land but does not engage in labour or only engages in supplementary labour, and who depends on exploitation for his means of livelihood. Exploitation by the landlord is chiefly in the form of land rent, plus money-lending, hiring of labour . . ."²⁹

immediately on the eve of the adoption of the Constitution, see S. G. Kashikar's article in the *Hitavada*, Nagpur, July 23, 1953; also *A Guide to New China*, Peking, 1952.

25. See Peng Cheng's article in the fortnightly *People's China*, July 1, 1951.

26. See Articles 14 and 20 of the *Electoral Law* promulgated in 1953 which apparently still retains its validity.

27. Re: Chinese Communist effort to train up the workers and peasants, see Basil Davidson: *Day-break in China*, Ch. XI, esp. pp. 121-122; *Chinese Workers March Toward Socialism*, pp. 65-78. "By 1952 workers and Chinese students constituted 80 per cent of the total enrolment in the nation's primary schools; 60 per cent in secondary schools, and 20 per cent in schools of higher learning."—Liao Kai-lung: *From Yenan to Peking*, Peking, 1954, p. 168; Walker: *China Under Communism*, pp. 128-176; Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, p. 123.

28. Quoted in *Far Eastern Governments and Politics: China and Japan* by Paul M. A. Linebarger, Djang Chu and Ardath W. Burks, p. 220, New York, 1954, D. V. Nostrand Co. See also Mao Tse-tung: *People's Democratic Dictatorship in A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* by Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank, London, 1952, p. 456.

29. This definition follows an official Chinese decision of August 4, 1950.

23. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, p. 63.

24. Recently the Communists declared themselves in favour of a long-term co-existence with other parties. See Li Wei-han's article in the fortnightly *People's China*, August 16, 1956, pp. 8-9. For an interpretation of the toleration of non-Communist parties in People's Democracies, see, C. E. Black: "The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe" in *European Political Systems*, pp. 232-233. For an account of the various political parties in China

"The bureaucratic capitalist," Professor Fitzgerald explains, "is the official who controls the economy for his own profit, rigs the exchange, manipulates the market, establishes monopolies, seizes State property for his own in other words the Kuomintang."³⁰

The power of the landlord was broken through the decisive operation of land reform and that of the bureaucratic capitalist through outright confiscation. The landlords and the bureaucratic-capitalists are deprived of the right of voting but they are nevertheless assured of a means to earn a living "in order to enable them to reform through work and become citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour."³¹

G. DEMOCRACY IN CHINESE STATE

What is the character of democracy in the modern Chinese State? Democracy, in Communist political thinking, is always tied up to one particular class. In a capitalist society real democracy, it is held, is enjoyed

only by the "money-bags" and the vast majority has to suffer oppression. In a State where political power is in the hands of the working class real democracy is enjoyed only by the workers and their allies and the decaying (defeated) capitalist or feudal elements can have no freedom. As Mao Tse-tung puts it:

"Democracy is realized within the ranks of the people, who enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly, association, etc. The right to vote is given only to the people, not to the reactionaries. The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, means the people's democratic dictatorship."³²

As a matter of fact, the Constitution contains a chapter on fundamental rights and duties of citizens guaranteeing among others, "freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession and freedom of demonstration."³³ The State guarantees to the citizens enjoyment of all the rights. For all practical purposes, however, there is no freedom to advocate a change in the people's democratic order.*

30. C. P. Fitzgerald: *Revolution in China*, p. 170.

31. Article 19 of the Constitution. According to James Cameron, the counter-revolutionaries in China technically embraced four categories: (a) direct agents of Kuomintang; (b) leaders of secret counter-revolutionary bodies; (c) bandits or saboteurs and (d) counter-revolutionary despots and landlords—*Mandarin Red*, London, 1955, p. 96.

32. Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Peking, 1953, p. 13.

33. Article 87 of the Constitution.

* The present article forms part of the author's book on the new Chinese Constitution awaiting publication.

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JESUIT FATHERS

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.T. (India)

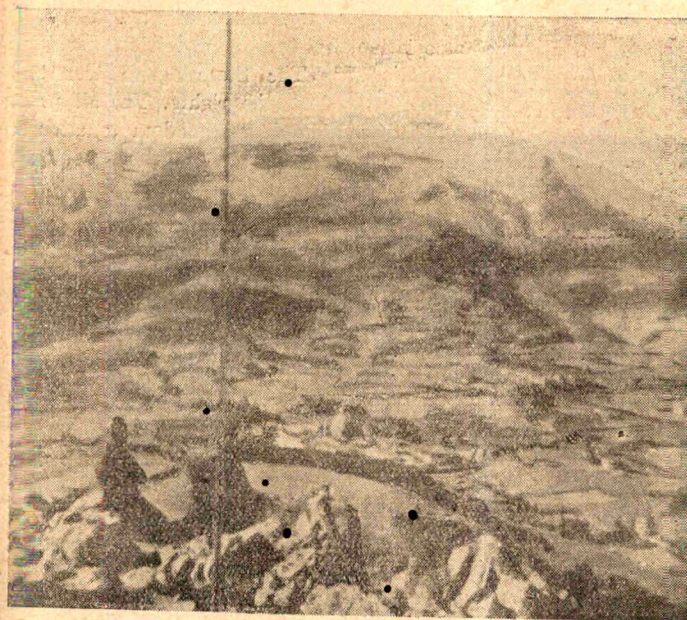
EARLY Jesuit history may be said to begin with that of Father Ignatius Loyola and Father Francis Xavier in Spain; or with the scholars of the college of St. Barbe in Paris; or with the Pope's Bull of approval in Rome, since he alone can sanction a Catholic Religious Order. Both Loyola and Xavier were natives of the Basque country in Navarre, a country which lay four-fifths in Spain and one-fifth in France across the Pyrenees on the shores of the Atlantic. Both the families claimed descent from renowned ancestors, and both lived in castles which at that time abounded in Spain. These two particular castles had been demilitarized by Spanish kings, the one to curb the feudal military ardour of the Loyolas, and the other during a war with the French Crown to whom the Xavier family was ever loyal. But though their early days had much in common, their future lives were to be spent in very dissimilar circumstances. Loyola, to the end of a long useful life, was to be fettered by the burdens of office to the General Headquarters of the Catholic Crusade against a strong Reformation move-

ment in Europe. In this capacity he tactfully distributed and directed his faithful followers in the work best suited to their capacities and temperaments. Xavier, on the other hand, was destined to travel to distant lands and to labour under the most trying conditions. Six thousand extant letters, exhorting, entreating and comforting, testify to the skill with which Loyola fulfilled his office. And, on the other hand, the thousands of churches, convents, hospitals and schools spread over many lands serve as enduring memorials of the accomplishments of Loyola, Xavier and their followers.

Ignatius Loyola was born in 1491. Up to the age of 30, he was "given to the vanities of the world" and "his chief delight consisted in martial exercises with a great and vain desire to win renown." Backed by his comely appearance and his family connections, he entertained a rather hidden devotion to a Spanish Princess. Although tonsured, and hence bound to a certain religious decorum, he was not beyond participating in "gentlemanly exercises" and on at least

one occasion his tonsure did not save him from censure for his part in a brawl at the age of 24. He was, however, always chivalrous and generous to those whom he bettered on jousts at arms or in less formal contests. In the last battle of his life, Ignatius was wounded by a cannon ball while defending the fortress of Pampuna, the capital city of Navarre, against a French assault in 1521. It may well have been a cannon ball fired by the brother of Francis Xavier which wounded him and brought about the complete change in his life. He was taken captive and treated in a hospital. There he had to undergo operations, "butchery" as Loyola called them, which he bore very bravely. But despite the operations, Ignatius limped for the rest of his life. The French honoured him for his gallantry in attempting to hold the fortress against

his fine dress and equipment for sack-cloth, pilgrim's stuff and a water bag. Limping towards Barcelona on the Mediterranean, he proceeded to Manresa and from there applied to the Pope for permission to make his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But the permission was delayed, and plague broke out in Barcelona. Once proud, gallant and chivalrous, he now lived on alms, slept in hospice, cell or cave, paying little heed to his appearance. The stay at Manresa was forcibly protracted from the intended week to 10 months. During this time he was favoured with visions and dreams.* It was at this period that he sketched his famous "Spiritual Exercises" of Christian prudence, humility and devotion to Jesus Christ. His austerities, deliberate self-deprivations and long hours of prayer twice brought him to death's door.



Loyola Castle today

impossible odds, and released him, sending him on a litter to Loyola castle.

During his convalescence he asked for something to read, desiring to distract his mind with romance and tales of chivalrous adventure. But he was given the only available literature in the castle, books about the lives of the Saviour, the Apostles and the Saints. Strangely enough, these books came to fascinate him and he imbibed them in a spirit of penance and loathing for his vain past life. There was born in him a longing to visit Jerusalem. The persuasions of his brother to resume his promising military career and the offer of a Commission from the Duke of Navarre left him undeterred in his resolve. Abandoning his dreams of Knighthood, he set out for Montserrat cross the country. At the first village he discarded

his fine dress and equipment for sack-cloth, pilgrim's stuff and a water bag. Limping towards Barcelona on the Mediterranean, he proceeded to Manresa and from there applied to the Pope for permission to make his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But the permission was delayed, and plague broke out in Barcelona. Once proud, gallant and chivalrous, he now lived on alms, slept in hospice, cell or cave, paying little heed to his appearance. The stay at Manresa was forcibly protracted from the intended week to 10 months. During this time he was favoured with visions and dreams.* It was at this period that he sketched his famous "Spiritual Exercises" of Christian prudence, humility and devotion to Jesus Christ. His austerities, deliberate self-deprivations and long hours of prayer twice brought him to death's door.

In the uncertain condition of the time everyone

* We have recent examples in Ramakrishna in this country.

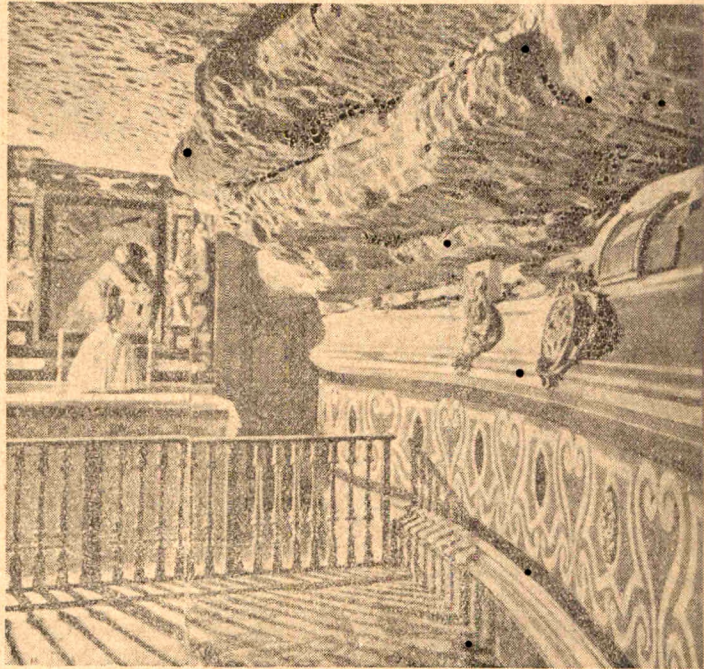
was suspect, and Ignatius was tried for spying by the ever-vigilant inquisitors.† Ignatius was sent to prison but was released later under restrictions which forced him to go to Salamanca. Here again confinement and trial followed. Set free again under restrictions, he walked penniless in bitter winter through an alien enemy country to Paris in 1531. As advised, he brought some money with him but was cheated of it by a fellow countryman with whom it had been deposited.

In pursuing his studies, subsistence on alms and residence in a distant poor-house took up most of his time. So in his offer to serve as a servant, his limp and his age (37) stood in the way. He went to Flanders and England and secured some funds on the advice of a Spanish Friar. On his return he undertook a journey of 84 miles to Rouen, bare-footed and fasting for days and succoured the sick Spaniard, who had cheated him. A passage on ship bound for Spain was secured for him and letters of introduction to his (Ignatius') followers at Salamanca were given to him. But they had deserted his cause, as did three others at Paris, later on.

Ignatius' choice of the first college in Paris was a mistake and in 1529, he joined the Arts course at the Saint Barbe, at the age of 39. Short of funds he was obliged to share a room with two others, much younger in age but vastly superior in studies. One of them was Francis Xavier and the other Peter Favre, who in course of time became his faithful followers. Peter was easily won over and became the first Jesuit. About Xavier, not much is known regarding his early life. His family history has been touched at the beginning. We may surmise that he got his later athletic habits from grazing the sheep, when he was very young. He chose a priest's life, it is said, to avoid a military one, and left for Paris at the age of 19 and was 11 years at the college. When short of funds, he appealed to his influential brother. He fell into bad company at the college, but corrected himself. An offer of the position of a Canon in his own Parish, later in his life, did not attract him. In later years, he proved

always intense, practical, steadfast, uneffusive and completely self-forgetful and of the unique Basque mentality, as his preceptor St. Ignatius.

Xavier at the time was advanced in erudition and conscious of his nobility. So he could not take kindly to the advances of the opposite character of Ignatius. It took 3 years of persistent efforts to win him over. Two others, very clever but loyal, Laynex and Salmeron, fellow-students at Alcala, who had also come to Paris in 1533 for higher studies, followed suit. The

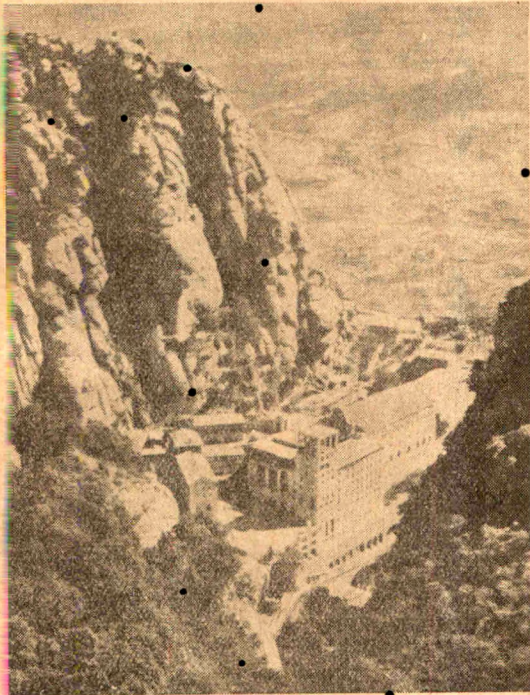


Cave of Manresa

next convert was Nicholas, called Bobadilla, an unknown poor wandering scholar. Then Simon Rodriguez, noble and head-strong, joined Ignatius, but was the cause of great anxiety to him. Lastly came the roving Jerome Nadal, who was of a suspicious nature and took 10 years to actually capitulate. Ignatius employed these early followers, except Xavier, in his work in Europe, in favour of the Catholic Church. Xavier was sent to the East. By 1554, in spite of advanced years (53), destitution and ill-health, Ignatius outstripped his brilliant young disciples and graduated as Master of Arts. It was then that Ignatius and his six followers came to a decision to go to Jerusalem, after being ordained as priests, in a body, but without any thought of starting a new religious order. They were to meet at Venice in January 1537. If after meeting, it was found that the pilgrimage was not feasible within a year, i.e., by January 1538, for any reason, they would return to Rome, as was the custom of returned pilgrims and place themselves ready for any

† Inquisition had different meanings in different ages from burning by religious fanatics, of heretics who would perhaps not repent even under torture, to excommunication of the present day. Similarly slavery in early days was not considered as inhuman as at present.

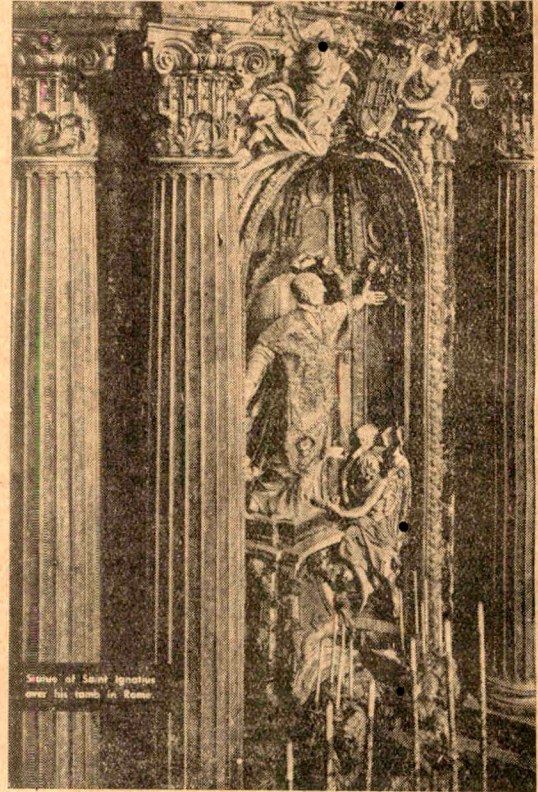
task that the Pope might give. The scholars used to have excursions and discussions together and at a meeting in an unused Chapel at Montmartre took the vows of poverty and chastity and of going to Jerusalem. Now Xavier made the Spiritual Exercises for the first time. For many years Ignatius had been trying unostentatiously to get him into his fold, even by helping him to find students, when Francis took to teaching and was in a bad way, financially.



Montserrat today

Favre was already ordained as priest in 1534. Ignatius now began the study of theology under the Dominicans and learned to revere the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas, who was later chosen as the intellectual master of the Society of Jesus. Long years of self-imposed austerity and privations, having gravely injured the stomach, Ignatius was advised by the Doctors to take rest in his native land, Spain. This he intended, while the others were graduating. His rest-cure began with his usual life in a poor-house just outside the Loyola domains, and preaching, in spite of importunities to go and live in the castle. Then he began to look up, always on foot, the families of Xavier, Laynez and Salmeron, Bobadilla having no family. He walked a hundred miles to see his disciple Castro of early Paris days, near Valentia. From Valentia he sailed to Genoa, despite risk of falling into the hands of Turkish pirates, and met a fierce tempest. Worse experience befell him when he slipped from a foot-bridge crossing the Apennines from Genoa towards

Bologna. After a week in hospital, he proceeded to Venice instead, towards the end of 1535 and living his usual life, he studied theology. Here another disciple Hoces was won. While he was waiting for the others, he was again suspected, tried and released.



Statue of St. Ignatius over his tomb in Rome

After having obtained their Master's degrees and not waiting for their D.D., the Paris party made a hurried start for Venice as war broke out between France and Spain. They were joined by two priests, Jay and Broet, and Codure, attracted by the spiritual charm of Favre. Thus five Spaniards and four Frenchmen started for Venice through neutral Lorraine, Germany and Switzerland, owing to the war, speaking French or Spanish, as occasion demanded. On the way, having no shelter, they had to pray publicly, which brought heated debates with the Protestants, who filled the country. This intensive walk amidst turmoils of war without any knowledge of German was a great feat. After eight weeks they arrived at Venice in January 1537, and found Ignatius, who had long spent all his substance and was being maintained by help sent from Spain.

As there was no sailing to Palestine at that season owing to war and weather, the pilgrims began their usual austere life and work in the hospitals. Expecting

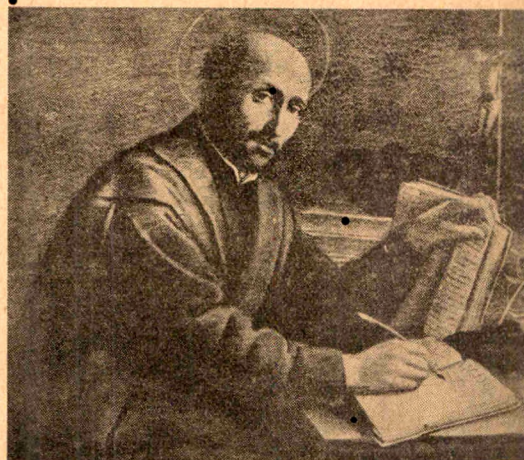
the weather to improve later, they decided to go to Rome to obtain the Pope's blessing on the pilgrimage, Ignatius remaining behind fearing opposition in Rome. They divided into parties and splashed in mud and water, starving or having very little food during their long eight months' journey of over 300 miles. Xavier was once cleaning the suppurating sores, as of a leper, when to crush his rebellious feeling of avoiding contagion, he swallowed the filth. A similar story in case of a plague patient is recorded about Ignatius.

At Rome, His Holiness blessed them after receiving them in audience and granting a faculty to receive Holy Orders from any Bishop "on the sufficient patrimony of learning." The Pope and some Spanish gentlemen gave unsolicited monetary help for the passage to Jerusalem and they came to Venice. Leaving out Favre, already a priest, 5 out of 6, including Ignatius and Xavier were now ordained as priests. They delayed saying their Mass (unusual these days) but left Venice in parties to seek seclusion, for forty days, Ignatius, Favre and Laynez going to Vincenza. After their seclusion, the others joined them there. The Turkish war continued and the visit to Palestine seemed far off. So it was decided that Ignatius, Xavier and Laynez would go to Rome and put themselves at the disposal of the Pope. Others were to go to various Universities in North Italy, in parties to attract student followers. But before separating, they decided to call the Society the Company of Jesus. Ignatius was again accused of heresy (for the eighth time). He moved the Governor of Rome and the Pope for a thorough investigation, even when the detractors backed out.

The Pope was already sending out Jesuits to different places for Evangelical work as protagonists in counter-reformation. The mission to Ireland, undertaken under great difficulties against grave warnings at Lyons and Edinburgh, was abandoned within five weeks, owing to Protestant inroads at the time. Xavier was sent to the East. Others were going to America and Africa. In fact, these missions were very much in demand, not only to convert the natives, but also to keep the Empire-builders virtuous.

In view of the Pope's constant demands on the Jesuits to go to work in distant stations, it was decided after much deliberation to bind themselves together under a vow of obedience to one of their own members, as superior or General, elected for life. He was to be helped by a council of members present at the time. Ignatius was unanimously chosen General and took office in spite of his reluctance. The Society would become thus a new religious order instead of a voluntary association, as hitherto, if the Pope approved it and did not compel them to join any of the existing orders. Thus was the plan of a compact unity conceived and fortified by the election of a General, even if the Pope did not support it. Training of new

members would involve a two-year noviceship. Now-a-days a novice meditates on the Spiritual Exercises for two years. Then he takes the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. After 2 or 3 years of study of languages, he takes up philosophy for three years. Then follows three years of Regency-teaching or special studies. Then he studies theology for 4 years, being ordained "Priest," after the third. The "brothers" on the other hand, after three years of noviceship and two years of practical work after taking the same vows, do the secular work. Apart from the first two years, all these are intellectual work for the Fathers, as the priests are called, and the course is finished with another year of spiritual studies, in Tertianship, before being sent out for field work. Normal period is thus 15 years.



St. Ignatius (Loyola)

The vow of obedience without question to the Superior and to the Pope was a later development, while the vows of chastity and poverty, already taken at Montemarte, were introduced from the beginning. Whether Divine office were to be individually recited instead of being sung in a choir, was the subject of considerable controversy. It was argued that the latter would hamper the work of charity and apostolate.

The Pope when approached, directed that it should be scrutinised by Father Badia, who highly commended it. The Pope then gave his preliminary approbation. However, a Cardinal, who was to draw up the Papal Bull (edict) opposed it on the grounds of exclusion of Choir duties, election of Superior for life and obedience to Pope, the last being superfluous. The Pope then turned to another Cardinal, who, while generally approving the whole, was basically against the starting of a new religious order. Ignatius then reverted to his usual remedy in difficulties, i.e., to praying and vowing ten thousand Masses for a change of heart in the Cardinal. Ignatius further did a little



propaganda work. Recommendations came from outstations, where the Pilgrims had done good work. The Cardinal finally yielded and the Pope gave verbal approval in 1539. The Bull, however, establishing the Society of Jesus, bore the date, 1540. The missions in Europe continued with vigour, but we are more concerned with the mission to the East, which Xavier undertook.

We may notice a parallel in modern India, where Gandhiji's propaganda and Satyagraha or fasting to change people's hearts, produced unimaginable results.

We now come to the Xavier mission, one of the many, sent out by the Pope. King John III of Portugal who had endowed the Saint Barbe College at Paris during the time of Portuguese expansion, impromptu Principal Diego for priests for India to keep his doughty conquerors in the path of righteousness. The Jesuits were prepared to go anywhere, provided the Pope supported the proposal. So Diego wrote to the King, who approached the Pope nine months later. The Pope, however, would not give his support, unless the mission was voluntary, as the journey was very hazardous. The king after investigation about the Jesuits, asked for two of them from the Pope. Some were proposed for the mission but

illness or other causes intervened, until Xavier, not initially marked for the Indian mission and acting as secretary to Ignatius, was appointed to it at very short notice. He accompanied the Portuguese ambassador to Lisbon, via Bologna, Loreto, Regio, Parma, sacred places, and Lyons and Xavier, where he had a last look at the castle from a distance. Arriving at Lisbon, he lived in a hospice and on alms, rejecting the King's offer to live comfortably as his guest. The King fascinated by his work detained him for eight months. Then his long journey with two followers, Paul and Mansillas, accompanying the Portuguese Governor, began. The vessel was cramped with passengers, merchandise, provisions, food; clothing; dirty water and all sorts of diseases. The sea was infested with pirates and there was danger from tempests, shoals and fire. He got busy with his usual work on the journey, preaching and tending the sick. At Mozambique, he fell ill himself. He met the Moslems for the first time at Malindi. The Christians, he found at Socotra, were persecuted by the Moslems. Knowing that help could have been easily given by the King, Xavier wrote to him. He reached Goa after thirteen months.

In India, Calicut was first visited by the European

Pedro in 1486. Vasco da Gama came in 1497-98. During the Portuguese expansion, Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510, establishing a number of stations. He also conquered Cochin and Ceylon in Southern India and Malacca on the opposite coast in 1511 and Ormuz at the head of Persian Gulf in 1515, thus paving the way for Xavier's activities. Albuquerque was a pious, firm and wise ruler, building the fine hospitals and the Church at Goa. The atrocities of the early conquerors as attributed to him were due to fear. Equally unfortunate was the defeatist mentality of the early missionaries who considered that when rational creatures and potential converts did not respond, Christ had no duty towards them. Such deeds and such attitudes, perhaps, explain the slow progress of Evangelical work in India notwithstanding the great endeavours that Xavier made, which interest us most in the Jesuit history. Real India was not touched—too few missionaries came despite earnest importunities of Xavier to the King and the Pope. The quest was for both pepper and spices (trade) and for the soul (conversion) backed by the Portuguese Armada. The pepper predominated. Portuguese rapacity appeared no whit less unconquerable than Indian customs regarding child marriage, Sati rites as noticed by foreigners.

At Goa, hospitals, prisons and slaves in the market kept Xavier busy in his own way of service. After five months at Goa, he proceeded to Cape Comorin, where barefooted, in tattered gown, he lived in the Fishery Coast for two years. He slept anywhere, amidst rats, snakes and mosquitoes and ate anything available. Language was also a great handicap, but he baptised 10,000 souls in a month, 1 every 2 minutes, counting 12 hours work in the day. He arrived at Cochin in 1545 and sent a strong protest to the queen regarding the profligacy of the Portuguese. He walked or voyaged to many places: Cochin, Goa, Negapatam, whence he earnestly appealed to the King and to the Pope for Portuguese assistance, but without avail, even when wild tribes, helped by a local Raja massacred 500 Christians. He then spent four months at Madras at the shrine of St. Thomas.

In 1545, he sailed for Malacca, the outpost of the Portuguese Empire, beyond the Indian land and in his usual service, converted a Japanese, Yajiro, who drew bright pictures of prospect in Japan, full of Universities and easygoing, steadfast people. In 1546, he sailed for Ambonia in the Straits through the pirate-ridden seas and was for 3 months at Moro, amongst the head-hunting aborigines. He then returned to examine the progress in India that was left behind, and visited Cochin, Kandy (Ceylon), Goa, Bassein, Goa, Fishery Coast, Cochin, Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Goa in quick succession walking or voyaging 5,000 miles. He also sent a mission to Ormuz. With letters of credit, constituting himself as Portuguese Ambas-



sador, he left Goa in 1549 with two priests, Yajira and two other Jesuit converts for a 6,000 miles voyage. The latter part of it was in a pirate boat, where idol worship and superstitions nauseated Xavier. In spite of the efforts of the skipper and others to winter in a Chinese port, luck took them to Japan.

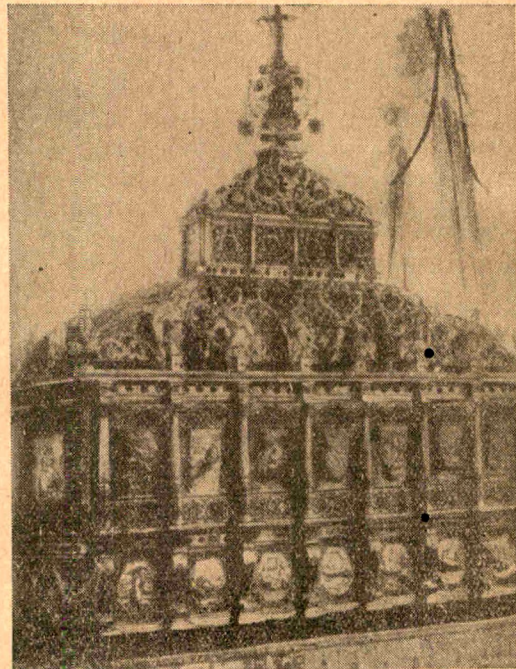
The trip to Japan proved a great disappointment. Japan at the time was under a nominal phantom king, a nonentity. It was really ruled by powerful rival chieftains, some of whom were friendly to Xavier in the hope that trade would prosper or follow in his wake. He shuttled from one chieftain to another under most trying conditions and once walked 300 miles in dead winter to post a letter in a Portuguese boat. Universities described by Yajiro proved to be Buddhist Monasteries. He was kept in virtual confinement by a chieftain as a bait for merchants to come. Yet he sought to meet the King at the Capital Kyoto in 1550 and made a journey of 300 miles in advanced winter, without shoes in land, and with all sorts of abuse on the sea. He was even pelted with stones by children, which almost broke the patience, even of Xavier. He was given no shelter, until helped by a nobleman, whose troop he followed as a lackey to the Capital. But he could not get an audience with the king, as he was without any presents, having left them with his follower Toress in the stronghold of a chieftain. To bring the presents, he undertook a tedious and trying journey back, of 500 miles in two months, having made his garb more decent, as advised, for a better reception. However, he abandoned his previous ideas and thought of giving his presents to the chieftain. He gradually realised that there was nothing

doing in Japan. He came to think that as Japan held the Chinese as their ideal, in scripts, arts and philosophy, it would be best to convert China first, as a short cut to conversion of Japan. Not having received any mails for a long time also, he hastened and left Japan in 1551, after making 2,000 converts, all the same. Near Hong Kong he met Piere, from whom he learnt about 30 Portuguese seamen rotting in the dungeons of Canton, being caught as smugglers, against the king's express orders, prohibiting all trade. Earlier Xavier had met Piere in Japan. Having re-

had, however, left the precious document constituting himself the Apostolic Nuncio of the East, behind. From Malacca he undertook his last journey of 1,500 miles against all warnings and reached Sanchien, a small island near Canton, on the main land. No vessel would take him ashore. All Portuguese ships sailed away in time and ration ran short. Xavier, left with one companion, caught high fever and was bled but to no avail. He soon died (1552). His body, covered in lime in a coffin, was twice removed until it found a last resting place at Goa in the great shrine.



St. Xavier



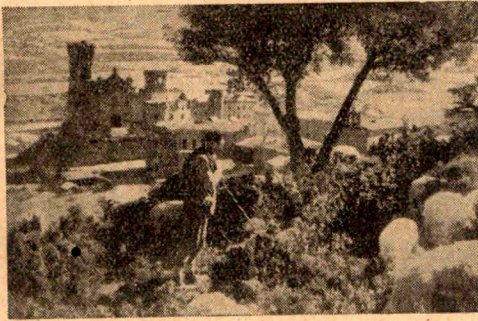
Shrine at Goa

ceived offers of the use of his ship and of meeting all expenses, he decided to have Piere as the Portuguese Ambassador to the King of China, officially to be made by the Viceroy at Goa and to return to China early with fresh presents for the King and to release the Canton prisoners. While Piere was outfitting his vessel at Malacca, he returned to Cochin to find the College and Churches functioning well. Reaching Goa in 1552, he dismissed the unadopted high-handed Principal Gomes of the College and visited some other stations. He spent a huge amount of money purchasing pepper and other merchandise as well as presents for the Chinese King. Then he returned to Malacca, where Alvero was the Grand Captain of the Malaccas, in command of the harbour and the channel. He wanted to be the Portuguese Ambassador himself and detained Piere, though Xavier carried the diploma from the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa appointing Piere as Ambassador to the King of China. He

Immediate subsequent history of the Jesuits in India was their contact with the Mogul Emperors. Babar conquered India by defeating Ibrahim Lodi in 1510. Akbar, his grandson, reigned from 1556 to 1605. The first Jesuit mission was sent to Akbar at his invitation in 1580 to Fatehpur Sikri from Goa. But he had met the first Jesuit in 1573, and Periera from Bengal was sent to him in 1578. Two Jesuit Fathers accompanied Akbar in his Kabul campaign in 1581. He used to hold religious discussions with them sometimes late in the nights, as with other religious preceptors. The second mission to Akbar at Lahore dated about 1591. The third mission, dated 1595, accompanied Akbar to Kashmir in 1597, returned to Agra in 1598, went to Deccan in 1599 and continued with him until the end of his days at Lahore. But it appears that besides making a deep impression, there was no change of faith. Akbar's successors also kept some

contact with the Fathers until the time of the orthodox Aurangzeb.

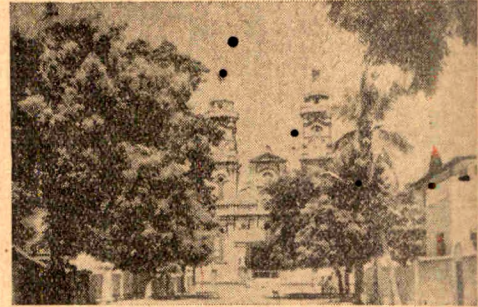
The Jesuits became very powerful and appeared very pushing in their methods. They were very popular with the common people and began to interfere in politics, particularly in South America. All these the ruling Princes of Europe could not ignore. They were, therefore, banned. Later, the Pope also was influenced to ban the Jesuits, as he was at that time, one of the ruling potentates and not simply the Episcopal head without temporal powers, as now. All this went on during the third quarter of the 18th century until the Society stopped altogether in 1773. Only Russia did not join the ban, belonging to the opposite political party and wanting Jesuits to educate



Xavier Castle today

the country. So the Jesuits clustered there for the time. The Pope removed the ban from certain countries in 1805 and generally in 1814. This became effective in India between 1836 and 1850, when the Jesuit Fathers came and started work from four Centres. The first was from France in Madura in South India; the second from Belgium in Bengal (Calcutta); the third from Germany and later Spain in Bombay; and the fourth from Italy in Bangalore. But now the foreigners are dwindling in numbers or have left and there are more and more Indian Jesuits only. Gradually these enclaves expanded into many districts or Provinces, under a Superior directly under the General who is helped by six assistants in Italy.

There grew big training institutions in Kurseong, Shembaganur and Poona, and minor ones in other centres, such as, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, etc., for parts of the complete course. Students come from various districts, such as, Darjeeling, Patna, etc., and are partly maintained, except perhaps in Southern India, from alms from abroad. The St. Mary's College at



Cathedral at Cochin

Kurseong is, however, under the Calcutta district as an exception, being built up from there. The present



St. Mary's College, Kurseong

position and the benevolent work of the Fathers here have been dealt with in another article of mine, "Way Back From Darjeeling."



MERCARA—THE CAPITAL OF COLOURFUL COORG.

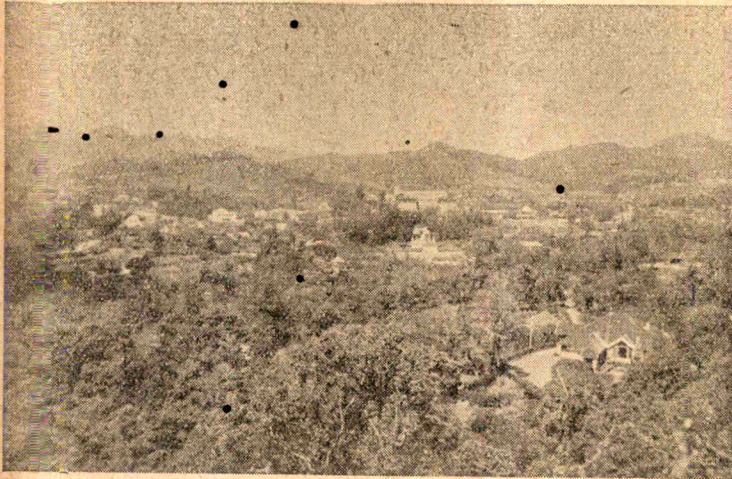
By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

"Where on earth is Mercara?" is what even most of the Indians ask. Like a shy, self-conscious maiden, this charming town is still wrapped in mystery and is yet to be fairly known by connoisseurs of Nature's beauty. Cradled in the uplands of South India, surrounded by dense forests and watered by the sacred

wooded mountains, tiny waterfalls making their way right through the winding road, the gently flowing Cauvery and the pleasant pastoral scenes.

The Coorgs or Kodagas, as the dwellers of Mercara are known, are noted for their pleasing manners, hospitality and graceful traditions. They are

Hindus by religion and martial by blood. The mountain homes and awful surroundings of nature have moulded them to be aggressive and fearless. No wonder, then, that they have given some of the finest soldiers to their motherland. The first Indian Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa, hails from Mercara and also Lt-General Timmiah who is now heading for the same honour. The national dress of the Coorgs, the white turban and the black long coat with the inevitable *Odi Katti*, certifies the fact that they are warriors by race and lovers of pastoral life. These "children of the soil" have never known anything called famine even in the most trying times.

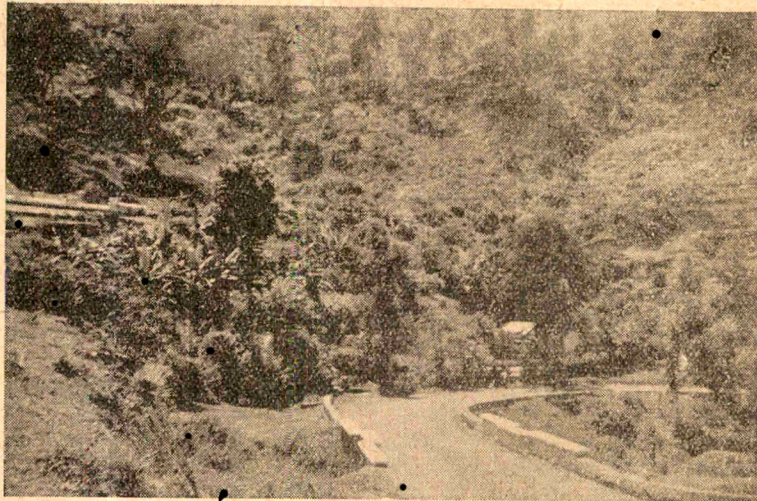


Mercara Town—The Capital of Coorg

Cauvery, Mercara is the dreamland of one and all. With its band of enterprising people and glorious historical background, the town offers a way of life and thought altogether new and novel.

Perched at an average elevation of about 4,000 feet above sea-level, Mercara, the metropolis of Coorg State, enjoys a lovable climate with enough rainfall to feed its coffee and cardamom gardens and paddy fields. The town is flooded with numerous estates of pepper, sugarcane, oranges, plantains and coffee. Almost bordering the zigzag roads of Mercara are the dense forests, rich in flora and fauna. Besides offering a variety of useful timber to its people, these jungles are the haunting grounds of the sportsmen who come here for big-game hunting, fun and exhilaration.

The eighty-mile motor drive which lasts for about 5 hours takes us from Mysore City to Mercara. The journey is fascinating in itself. As one moves on in the bus or in car, one sees long-linging sights of green



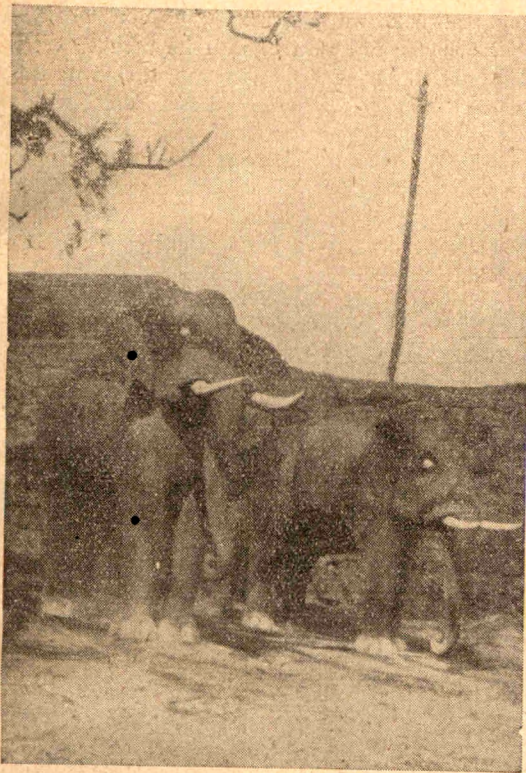
A street view in the heart of Mercara. The winding road actually touches the forest and coffee gardens

Perhaps, nowhere else in the whole of India is the fair sex so much adored as in Coorg. The women of Mercara hold an honourable position at home and in society and enjoy the same sort of freedom as their men-folk. While child marriages are extinct, the Coorg women marry only after adolescence or they

may even live the life of "single blessedness" if they so desire. Female education is widespread and is largely responsible for their advancement in different walks of life.

Mercara is a comparatively less known hill-station where the temperature hardly shoots up beyond 75 deg. even in the hottest summers. The houses, most of which are tile-roofed and single-storeyed, are often separated from each other as they are built on the hill-tops. This Capital town has a civil hospital, parks and playgrounds, a Convent for girls, a High School

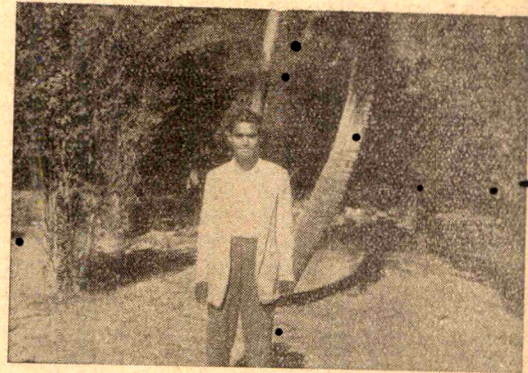
afford to miss. The far-off mountain ranges touching the lazy black clouds, green pastures and the swift-flowing Cauveri can be sighted at the *Raja Seat* where one is lost in oneself in the presence of Nature's majesty. Everyone has paid one's humble tribute to this charming piece of land.



The stone-elephants in the Fort area at Mercara. These are life-sized and evoke awe and wonder at first sight

for boys and a Government College. The Legislative Assembly and the Secretariat are housed at the Old Fort which is practically the last remains of the powerful Linga Raja who once ruled over Coorg. The pair of elephants in the Fort area are a great attraction to tourists who can hardly make out at first sight that they are only made out of massive stones. The current Five-Year Plan of the Government of India gives enough scope for furthering the prospects of agriculture and industry, thus promising a better future to its citizens.

The *Raja Seat* and the *Stewart Hills* are the most sought-after beauty spots of Mercara which none can



The writer in the colourful land of the Kodagas

"Coorg has been compared to *Meru* among mountains, jasmine among flowers and to a string of pearls around the neck of an enchanting girl."

A Coorg wedding is an affair which should be seen and must not be missed by anyone. It is very



A typical hamlet in the Coorg State

different from other Hindu weddings as the Kodagas neither believe in Brahmins nor in Fire worship. There is a lot of anxious "to do" on the wedding day. Right before the auspicious hour the guests, dressed in their pleasing multi-coloured attire, assemble and add lustre to the scene. Presently the bride, dressed in



The bride (centre) carrying water to the bridegroom's house

her best and laden with ornaments, overwhelmed with joy and pleasure, is brought to the *mandapam*, the wedding place, by her friends and relations. To the music of band and pipe are added the marriage songs of the priests. After certain religious rites the bride's father requests the guests for a sumptuous dinner. After dinner there is an exciting dance. Similar proceedings have been in progress all the while at the groom's place and it is only late in the night that the couple are united. Again, there is a feast, drinks and dance after which the bride leaves with her husband in a complex atmosphere of deep agony and unknown pleasures.

This lovely hill station, with its peculiar customs and delightful way of life of its own, should no longer be allowed to play the "hide and seek game" with the world at large. Every one can be familiar with it only when the bashful face of the town is unveiled, when better hotels are opened and means of transport improved further. A great future awaits Mercara which already occupies a pride of place in the hearts of world trampers.

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PLEASE TAKE MY CHILDREN

OVER the years, George and Josephine Morris had richer, in their eyes, because both had worked so long built a rich life together—a life which was all the to reach it.



Birthdays come almost every month, with a cake and party for each



Biscuits for dinner—3 panfuls—are appreciatively eyed by Janet, age 5



Senior member of the family is grandfather Paulhill, Aunt Jo's father. He walks 5 miles for exercise and will teach a dance step to any child



Pattie (lower bed) and Adelaide listen in while young Jo hears the little girls' prayers

Four years ago George and Josephine, then in their middle forties, and Mrs. Morris's father were living quietly and comfortably in the same eight-room house here which the Morrisises had bought soon after their marriage in 1942. They had no children. After years of hard work and saving, George Morris had

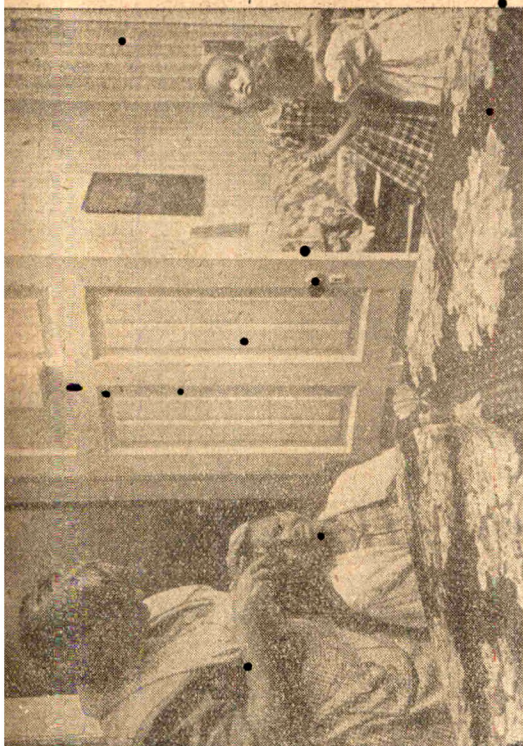


This neat three-storied house was bought by Morrisises in 1942. Girls sleep in 1 room, boys in 2

built the labor organization and the career in labor he had dreamed of. Today he is business agent of the Window Cleaners and Maintenance Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. For the first time in his life he was able to save regularly. Josephine worked and was saving too.



The television set is in big demand and the programme is selected by the majority of the party



Home haints save money, but the older boys object. Uncle Billie explains that a small fund of money has to take care of all their little brothers and sisters



Fanny yawns after an exciting day and Aunt Jo relaxes



After-school snacks help use up 6 to 7 loaves of bread a day. Aunt Jo buys fruit and vegetables, meat in bulk

Suddenly, in 1951, something happened which completely changed their way of life. It became necessary to use their savings, yet both unhesitatingly say, "Our richest years began when our savings disappeared."

One morning in April 1951, Josephine's younger sister, Amanda, died unexpectedly after the birth of her ninth child. The older children were staying in the Morris home while the mother was in the hospital. A few hours after Josephine telephoned the news from the hospital, George Morris called the children together and said simply, "Your mother is dead. From now on you live here."

There had been no time to talk with Josephine about it. When he said, "You live here," he spoke on impulse, thinking of the days just ahead. Because the children almost never saw their father, Amanda had been their security, the center of their lives. There was no way to soften the news of her death, but George Morris wanted to assure them at once of a home and someone to care what happened to them.

The Morriszes were the only relatives able to take the children and keep them together as a family. Donald, the oldest, was away in service in the Air Force. State authorities would see that the other eight, from Fanny Rebecca, not yet two days old, to Lawrence, fourteen, were placed in institutions or foster homes. The children would, of course, be separated. In addition to losing their mother and their home, they would lose each other. The older boys, fourteen, twelve and nine, were already having adolescent adjustment difficulties about which Amanda had been consulting Mr. Morris before her death. All of the children needed to "belong." What would happen if all the order they had known were wiped out at once?

For Josephine, who loved Amanda's children dearly, there was no alternative. "There was nothing else to do," she says simply. But she admits she will never forget her wonder that Mr. Billie (Mrs. Morris's nickname for her husband) should so willingly agree to give and do so much for children who were "not his people, but mine."

So it happened that for the Morriszes there was nothing gradual about parenthood. With their ready-made family they found that problems and concerns which many parents face one or two at a time, and over a period of years, "just fell in our laps all at once." In addition to the newborn baby, not yet home from the hospital, there were a two-year-old, just beginning to feel independent; a five-year-old starting kindergarten; three children, seven, nine and eleven, in grade school; a twelve-year-old just ready for junior high school; a fourteen-year-old who would enter high school within months; and a boy in service soon to be sent to Korea.

The decision was made in love, but neither Mr.

Billie nor Aunt Jo underestimated the changes in their own lives this decision would bring.

Mrs. Morris would have to leave her job. The constant care of a new baby and a two-year-old would keep her on her feet many more hours, day and night, than she was used to. Uncle Billie and Aunt Jo worried secretly about the effect the new life would have on the other (and they still do) but both felt, deeply, that they had to try.



First-floor hall is the only "free space" used for play, sorting laundry, checking off chores on a blackboard. Married Donald's 2-year-old son also tries it out for basket-ball

The first year was hard, they admit. During those first weeks the new baby's crib was a market basket. Until the Morriszes could get more beds, some of the children slept on the floor, with the front bedroom an improvised dormitory for the boys, the back bedroom for the girls. Mrs. Morris's first purchase was \$60 worth of sheets and pillowcases. Until they could get chests to provide more drawer space, she used a large table in one of the bedrooms for the children's clothes. They ate meals in two shifts or, when the family did sit down to dinner together, in different rooms. The overflow from the dining room ate at the kitchen table.

One of the first projects was to have the long oversized table made for a corner of the kitchen (the dining room isn't large enough to hold it) because "we hated not being able to eat together." Wall benches

were covered in soft yellow plastic cloth to match the bright tabletop. Then a new heating system for the house, an electric freezer to preserve large quantities of food, an automatic washing machine, bunk beds and chests quickly reduced the Morris's savings.

With so many children in school, Mrs. Morris joined two Parent Teacher Associations (she belongs to three now), and she and Uncle Billie began having occasional talks with the children's teachers. Luckily all of them make good grades and all of them, so far, like school and hate to miss more than a day.



The Morris family is active in religious circles. Here John recites at a church youth gathering.

Mrs. Morris is gratified that the children's teachers agree with her on one point. "We can't give them much: our food isn't fancy; they have to wear hand-me-downs; we can't afford allowances. But this is a happy house. Our children go off to school happy, and the teachers say that's the most important thing."

Aunt Jo found that the only way to work out the early-morning scramble of getting six off to school was to establish a few rules—the order of precedence in the one bathroom, who would help get breakfast, who would help get Victor ready for kindergarten. Then she saw that the rules were followed and let the young ones get themselves off.

The two oldest girls have been invaluable help from the beginning. Eleven-year-old Adelaide is the first downstairs in the morning, gets breakfast for everyone, packs lunches for those who will need them. Josephine (named for Aunt Jo), three years older than Adelaide, can turn her hand to any household job.

For the older children that first year was hard too. The boys, especially, found adjustment to a new household and new rules hard. They didn't like having to ask permission when they went out. But the

Morris, with so many to care for, felt they had to know where the children were.

For the Morris family the days and weeks of those first years as parents ran together in their memories. But with every memory shared the new family has grown closer. As each Thanksgiving Day and Christmas finds the family together, the children happy and growing, the Morris family give added thought—and happily buy a larger turkey.

The Morris family feel that their children have cooperated to an amazing extent. The children know how much it means to be together. The older ones understand from acquaintances at school that even having to tell where you are going and having to be home by a certain time is better than having no one to care whether you come home or not.

Part of the accord, too, comes from the children's background. Thanks to Amanda, they came to the Morris family with the habit of love and of being a family, and with the habit of work. Amanda had kept them together, and happy, on even less means than the Morris family.

The house on North Gratz Street in Philadelphia doesn't really come alive until the children start arriving home from school in the afternoon. But there is an order of events under all the noise and fun. First comes the change from school clothes to work clothes. Then to the kitchen for food. Aunt Jo, picking up the news of the day from each arrival, is busily preparing the early morning wash to be ironed. But part of her thoughts are on the children's chores to come. Victor didn't clean the bathtub this morning. Butch still has the stairway to do. Pattie can get the little girls dressed after their afternoon naps and help Adelaide with dinner. The clothes are sorted into piles for John and Josephine who will be busy at the two ironing boards in the basement for an hour or so.

When Uncle Billie comes home a little after six, chores and homework are nearly finished, the television set is turned on in the living room, and dinner is ready to go on the table.

George Morris was born on a farm in Maryland and worked his way through Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. When he came to Philadelphia with his machinist's certificate he couldn't get a job without a union card and couldn't join a union without a job. So he took the first work he could find, cleaning windows. Window-cleaners and janitors were not organized into unions in the early 1920's. He and a friend decided to do something about it and

worked for twenty years to organize a union. To make himself more effective, Mr. Morris took special courses in writing and speaking. Today as business agent of the Window Cleaners and Maintenance Union, he helps with all first-level arbitration, for wages, pensions and other benefits for the members of his union. He is a member or officer of numerous committees and organizations for education, labor, and racial understanding.

The Morrisses sometimes worry that they cannot

save any money, but they are deeply thankful that they have been able to keep food on the table and clothes for the children.

It has been hard, "but if it had been even harder, we would still do it." For Josephine remembers that four days after the Morrisses had made the decision to take the children, she found a letter in her sister Amanda's personal things which read, in part: "My sister Josephine, please take my children and do all you can for them."—USIS.

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MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By SACHIN SEN GUPTA

III

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A gala reception was given to us when we crossed over into Czechoslovakia. The warmth of the Czechoslovakian people assembled at the border-stations, their generous hospitality and their cordial expression of fellowship freed us from the mental depression we had been seized with since we parted from our Russian friends. It took a whole day and the early hours of the night to reach Praha (Prague) by railway.

Czechoslovakia is a brilliant, beautiful, country. She has a smile as sweet as the smiles her children have. She has a strength too that cannot but be noticed in her serene calmness. On looking at her fields through the window of the railway compartment where I was seated I thought that a vast multi-coloured carpet had been spread obliquely to give us the full view of its beauty radiant against the grey background of the mighty Tatra mountains, and the whole panorama encased in a bright blue dome. The skill and care with which the cornfield carpet was woven brought to my mind images of men and women who had woven it with full knowledge of the art of agronomy and hearts filled with pride and faith. Unless the workers were so, their work could not have attained that height of perfection both in respect of production and decoration. Not an acre of land I found fallow. And yet, I was told, Czechoslovakia was not self-sufficient in food. But Czechoslovakia is rich in industry. She can well afford to buy food for her children from abroad. And that she is not miserly in feeding her sons and daughters is evident from their shining smiles, brawny muscles and sturdy work by which they have made their little country one of the most advanced industrial countries in Europe.

The famous Skoda works tempted many an aggressor. Hitler too wanted to have it at any cost. He had had it through the infamous deed of Chamberlain and also through the betrayal of some weak-kneed persons who held the administrative machinery of Czechoslovakia in their hands at one of the most crucial moments of the nation's life. Wells wrote:

"The German armies advanced into the regions of Czechoslovakia assigned to them (through the Munich Pact) and then kept on. By March, 1939, Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist, and the Skoda works were turning out munitions for the ever-strengthening German armies—the German pressure on the contracted lines continued. One most effective weapon in their hands were the Skoda tanks."

Czechoslovakia was liberated by Soviet Russia in 1944. Since then Czechoslovakia has made a tremendous stride forward. She has not only retrieved her shattered industry, but has made Skoda and other works more productive and effective organisations of national utility.

But her greatest achievement has been the union of the Czech and the Slovak peoples. Imperialists had always tried to keep them at loggerheads as they had done in other parts of the world. Today the Czech and the Slovak peoples stand united on the foundation of a Peoples' Democracy. We visited the Czech and the Slovak regions and found both the peoples happy and proud of the union they had been able to materialise. Equity and equality have cemented the union. And this is no miracle, but a scientific social order that is sure to be reached if no selfish grouping is allowed to grow through artificial and arbitrary social and political systems. Czechoslovakia has not

only solved her age-long racial problem by fostering the cause of the two peoples born and grown within her bounds, but has also set an example how agreements may be reached where dissensions keep races apart and antagonistic to one another in a multi-racial and multi-lingual country. The pioneer power to prove it is, of course, the union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

A tiny little country though, Czechoslovakia, used to be known as Bohemia, had always given birth to men who loved freedom more than their lives. Martyrs and fighters for freedom had made her history fascinating and inspiring.

We remember that as far back as 1398 John Huss exposed the autocratic and corruptive rule of the Latin Church in a series of lectures in the University of Praha. His mission was to liberate the people from the bondage of a church that instead of helping the people on to a better life was demoralising and degrading them. That John Huss voiced the feeling of the people was proved by the fact that although he delivered his speeches before the learned section of the society assembled within the walls of the University, the masses outside it also were touched by the spirit of revolutionary thoughts about the religion they had been practising so long. That was in a sense the first awakening of the masses in Bohemia. John Huss seized the opportunity by direct preachings from the pulpit of a special church erected for the purpose of cleansing Christianity itself.

Adherents of John Huss increased in numbers so rapidly that the council of the whole Church was called and John Huss was invited to participate. A safe conduct was promised by the Emperor himself. But the council treacherously seized hold of John Huss. He was charged of heresy and was burned alive. This treacherous murder committed by the Church Council infuriated the followers of John Huss. They formed themselves into a fraternity, known later on as the Hussites, threw out a challenge against the vitiated Latin Church. The Pope declared crusade against the Hussites. But the army sent by the Pope was beaten back by the Czechs of Bohemia to the chagrin of the Latin Christendom. Five times in succession armies were sent against the Hussites and five times were they repulsed. The crusaders got so unnerved that they used to beat retreat without facing the Hussites whenever they scented the approach of the latter. Finally the crusade had to be withdrawn and a compromise was arrived at with the Hussites by yielding to some of their demands.

The Bishop of Czechoslovak Church himself took the trouble to show us round the church where John Huss used to impart his teachings to the people. It was a memorable coincidence that while we were visiting the church we found there in person the wife of another martyr of the recent past, Julius Fucik of

Czechoslovakia. Previous to this meeting in the church Madam Fucik honoured us by sitting with us for lunch at the hotel where we had stayed.

The Bishop of the Czechoslovak church is a charming personality. His genial temperament, his liberal humanitarian views, his sympathy for the people and his love for righteous peace made him dear to us. I believe that his own people cannot but take him as a dear. I have already told what his church, the progressive church of Czechoslovakia, stands for. I need not repeat it.

But I owe an explanation to the readers of this report why I have, more than once, referred to the Church and Christianity. It has been a fashion to call the capitalist democracies as Christian Powers and to put the stigma of non-Christianity on the Peoples' democracies. Because Communism does not take cognisance of the common Fatherhood of God and the image of God in every man and also other concepts of Christianity, the Christian Powers want to establish that co-existence with the peoples' democracies is not possible for adherents to Christianity. Rev. Candy of Canada referred to it in the Helsinki Assembly for Peace. President Eisenhower also had touched it in his report on Geneva. But, nevertheless, many a man and women of the peoples' democracies are Christians. They have a right to ask the Christian Powers whether those who are found to be sticking to colonialism and imperialism and economic exploitation of the undeveloped peoples may rightly be called Christians. Those are expressions of man's greed and lust and selfishness that tempt him to do unrighteous deeds against which Christ warned his disciples.

Whatever the Communists say or believe, the existence of Christians in Communist countries cannot be factually denied. There are Christians there, there are also churches there. But there are no Christians there who believe that Churchianity is greater than Christianity which stands for humanity. There are Christians who have accepted Communism as a social order congenial to the growth of Christianity, to what it exactly should be. The socialist aspect of Christianity, they believe, was nipped in the bud by the imperialist and the capitalist systems. It should be allowed to blossom forth is the desire of many a Christian dwelling in the Communist countries. The Communist States do not suppress them or gag them either. I have already quoted from the speeches of the Metropolitan Nicholas, a member of the Holy Synod of the Russian orthodox Church. I have also tried to explain the views of the Czechoslovak church in regard to Progressive Christianity.

The Communists of Czechoslovakia do not ignore the contribution of John Huss because of the fact that he was a Christian; on the contrary, they are immensely proud of him, proud of his followers, the Hussites, who like many other true Christians in many

other parts of Christendom valiantly fought against the Church which by expressive claims, by unrighteous privileges, and by an irrational intolerance destroyed that free faith of the common man which was the final source of all its power. 'The story of its decline tells of no adequate foemen from without but continually of decay from within,' this assessment is from H. G. Wells.

Christians in Communist countries, living in Secular States, envisage Christianity not as a doctrinal thesis but as a humanitarian and a socialist view of life for which stood Waldo, St. Francis, Wycliff, John Huss, and many other martyrs throughout the Christendom.

I have mentioned that I have observed that a spiritual urge for the betterment of the lot of mankind has been working in the minds of the peoples of the Secular States of the Peoples' Democracies. I am not sure if our hosts would take it seriously or laugh it away as a ridiculous observation. But as an Indian, I believe, I know a little about the distinction between religion and religiosity, between Christianity and Churchianity and between the material way of life and the spiritual way of life. I know that a progressive mind is sure to develop a spiritual sense unless it loses its progressive urge for fulfilment. The citizens of the Peoples' Democracies by their selfless service to the cause of the common man do convince a visitor that the urge for the material welfare of their States and their peoples gathers strength from a source which the earlier pagan powers, dipped in materialism, did not discover. The pagan way of life is non-spiritual but not so the life of the citizens of a Secular State. The Peoples' Democracies are Secular States but they are not anti-Christian or un-Christian to that extent that co-existence with them should be ruled out on that ground alone. The message of Christ has gained a material form in the Peoples' Democracies more than anywhere else in Christendom. It is not a Christianity for the peoples that stands in the way of a fruitful co-existence but the Christianity that strengthens the hands of the capitalists and the colonialists and the expansionists is found to be irreconcilable to the principles of co-existence, viz., mutual respect of each other's territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. These principles emanated from the heads of the world's two largest republics. These republics are Secular States. The principles were originally enunciated by Lord Buddha six hundred years before Christ was born. But these principles do not in any way contradict the teachings of Christ. Secular States, Communists or non-Communists, do not find them impossible to accept, but Christian Powers do. Progressive Christians, therefore, want to know how they are irreconcilable to Christianity and what has

Christianity to do with Pancha Shila or the Five Principles enunciated by Prime Ministers Chou En-lai and Nehru. These Progressive Christians believe that a time has come when a re-orientation of Christianity is needed. It does not mean that by feeling like that they have gone back to the pagan way of life. Among the 75 religious figures who participated in the World Assembly for Peace, the majority came from the Christian faith. They did not think that co-existence with the Communist countries was an un-Christian thought and deed. Neither the Progressive Church thinks so. There are plenty of true Christians in Czechoslovakia and other Peoples' Democracies.

"I have lived with my flock for 35 years, I shall die with them," declared the parish priest of Lidice when the Nazi aggressors promised him mercy if he would renounce his congregation. He had John Huss's Christian blood flowing in his veins. He defied the Nazi Christians and fell a martyr as John Huss did. The difference was that the Council of Latin Church burned the person of John Huss alone and the Nazi-Christian first tortured the parish priest, made him see his church destroyed, burned the entire village, and then shot him along with the other villagers.

The last place we visited in Czechoslovakia was Lidice. We found the rebuilt Lidice, the symbol of Czechoslovakia's determined will to wipe off scars of vandal dark deeds, by Christian charity, piety, and human sympathy. 'Lidice must live' was the solemn cry that rose to the heavens when people came to know of the horrible fate of that unknown village and its innocent inhabitants—men, women and children. The cry was the outcome of a righteous indignation against the Nazi Christians. Lidice has lived again out of the ashes of her past existence, a beautiful village has sprung up with broad roads, picturesque houses equipped with all the amenities of modern life. Some of the surviving women inhabitants have come back from their captivity at the Nazi concentration camps and have found homes built for them. Some of the children, too, could be recovered and rehabilitated where their grandfathers, fathers and brothers had died martyrs' death.

But what is, after all, this Lidice? It is a substitute village for one that existed during the Nazi occupation on the hollow near below. There stood the original village which the Nazis had obliterated from the face of the earth. And why? Well, that is a story the like of which you find in plenty on the pages of the history of conquests, colonial expansions and dominations of nations.

Lidice was a tiny speck of a village not far off Praha. It was inhabited by a handful of miners, workers, and peasants. The Nazis occupied it along with the rest of Czechoslovakia but thought they had failed to bring it into total submission. They wanted that it would not exist. But to efface out an entire

village, a pretext had to be manufactured. The Nazis found one such in the murder of one of their Chocolate-fishers named Heydrich. Nobody knew who had murdered him. It was given out that two unknown parashutists had dropped down from the blue above, killed Heydrich, and disappeared. The Nazis charged the villagers to hand over those assailants to them. But how could the poor villagers, innocent of any knowledge about the identity of those persons, produce them before the mighty masters of the occupying force? The whole village was declared to be guilty of abetting and aiding the murder and also of keeping the spirits in hiding. An exemplary punishment was hatched in secret by the officers-in-charge.

In one dark night the Nazis raided every house of the village, dragged out of bed sleeping men and women and children, separated the women from their relations, and marshalled the male members of the village, including even those who were in their teens, to some barn-yard or a school house, I do not recollect now. They were then placed in a line against a wall and sent one by one—miners, farmers, shop-keepers, teachers, the parish priest, everyone they found in the village that fatal night. The women were transported to concentration camps outside the country. The kiddies were either offered for adoptions or suffocated to death in gas-chambers.

But that was not all. The church and all the private and public buildings were looted, blown up, and the vestiges were burned into ashes and the ground on which Lidice stood was ploughed and placed within a barbed-wire ring to keep it barren for all times to come, so that future generations of the Czechs might know by the sight of the wasteland how mighty were their masters, the Aryan Christians, known as the Nazis.

The sordid story I listened to in sad silence. I saw the common grave which contained the charred but carried bones of one hundred and seventy-three helpless but indomitable Czechs. I also visited the little museum where articles used by the victims and documentary evidences of the brutal deed were preserved. I stood for a while looking at the cross raised high on the common grave. I then separated myself from my colleagues and dragged my body back to the waiting omnibus. I wanted to be alone. And alone I sat for over an hour in the lonely bus on a lonely street. Visions of images flashed in and faded past before my mental sight. The exploits of the Portuguese pirates in lower Bengal, the terrible vendetta of soldiers and officers of the East India Company of the British merchants after the Sepoy Revolt proved to be a foreshadow of the Jalianwallabagh massacre, raids on villages by the British police and the army during the Freedom movement of 1942 appeared before me as phantoms. I saw faces of Bengali men and women who were carried away by force from their land of birth

and sold into slavery to Christian planters by the Christian Portuguese pirates. I saw dangling and bullet-ridden corpses of innocent villagers supposed to be participating in the Sepoy Revolt hung on the boughs of road-side trees as object-lessons to passers-by. I saw those innocent men and women and children who had assembled in Jalianwallabagh to celebrate the birthday of Lord Buddha, the messenger of peace and non-violence. An Irish general of the British Army took it into his head that it would not be safe for the British regime to allow such a vast multitude of unarmed devotees to assemble at one place when the country was passing through a political unrest. He asked the celebrators to disperse. And without allowing them a time for dispersal ordered his machine-guns to shoot at the crowd. The square had only one exit. And the machine-guns placed their guns just at the gate, and mowed down men and women and children by hundreds. The General had to be packed off. But his Christian countrymen raised a big sum of money and rewarded him for his heroic effort to save the crown of a Protector of the Protestant Christianity. During the Indian freedom movement in 1942 when Congress leaders and workers were put behind the prison-walls a part of the fighters went underground. They did not keep the movement strictly non-violent. They felt that the time for the break of the shackle of foreign domination had at last arrived. Now or never should be the final bid for freedom. The people also thought like that. A man-made famine was fostered by the administrators in collaboration with the profiteers and black-marketeers. Three millions of men, women and children, mostly villagers, lost their lives of starvation and a bigger number than that lost their lands and livelihood. The fighters for freedom, who went underground, dismantled railways here and there, snapped telegraph wires wherever they found any opportunity to do so, burned police stations and declared independence in certain localities of Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern India. The British armed police and the military were engaged to retaliate by guns and fire. Many a village were sacked by them and their inhabitants were shot down or carried away as prisoners for their sympathy for the fighters for freedom or for harbouring the fighters.

Sitting in a lonely omnibus on a lonely street of Lidice I saw visions of all those excesses committed by the Christian Powers of the West to keep in bondage the Eastern peoples and to rob of them whatever wealth they still had in kind of raw materials and minerals yet unexplored.

Suddenly my sight caught the cross planted on the common grave of the Lidice martyrs. Yes, it had a justification to be there in all its glories. Those who had planted it there, those who had made Lidice alive again, and even those who had survived the atrocities,

had pardoned the offenders with this Christian belief that the perpetrators of that abominable crime against humanity did not know what they had been doing. They were befooled by a monster with a false hope that their Fatherland would profit by crimes of that nature. But the poor dupes learned at the cost of the freedom and the integrity of the very same Fatherland that crimes had never been found paying dividends but had always worked as recoils hitting hard the perpetrators to prostration and frustration.

It is really wonderful to think that those who had survived that terrible ordeal and those who thought it to be a sacred duty with them to make Lidice alive again were found to be supporting actively the demand for German re-unification and restoration to her of the freedom she lost through her own faults. And more than wonderful is the sublime fortitude the surviving wives and mothers have shown. I heard the tragic story of Madam Petrakova's life. She had been, for years, kept confined in a concentration camp. Her own husband and her brother were murdered in Lidice along with their comrades, three of her children suffocated to death in gas-chambers. And this wife and sister and mother, grief-ridden and lacerated in heart though, managed to keep herself living, and came back to the place where she had once a sweet home a little after the Nazi Power had collapsed. But not for a moment even the thought of vengeance and vendetta. She devoted her life and soul to service, service to the memory of Lidice victims by making Lidice alive again and service to the cause that would prevent for ever any repetition of child-murder in any form in any part of the world. Her own children were indeed parts of her flesh and blood, but she realized, through her loss and grief, that children of all mothers all over the world were also inseparable parts of her soul which desired for a better world of better men and women. She has filled her heart with an elixir of affection for every child in every part of the world menaced by nuclear war. They are no less dear to her than those she had herself given birth and had lost in gas-chambers. In them she had found afresh what she had lost.

We Indians call this realization a spiritual transformation into a universal motherhood. We believe a mother who attains it becomes the source of a dynamic energy that strengthens man and leads him to victory. We worship that mother in the symbolic expression of *viswajanani*, the mother divine, the mother of the universe. I do not know what the Christians think of such a mother. But I have come to know that the Czechoslovak people and the government have accepted the view of Madam Petrakova that children should be the first care of those who dream of a better world for mankind. Starting right from the crèches up to the Institute of Physical Training and ensembles of arts, there are different organisations for different

age-groups of children to take care of the florescence of children into blooming manhood and womanhood. All the infants and young pioneers and students we saw in Bohemia, Moravia and Bratislava, looked healthy, happy, bright and brisk. I remember some pictures of the National Spartakade held shortly before we had visited Praha participated by three hundred and sixty thousand children and young athletes of both the sexes. Those pictures looked like huge gardens of human flowers in different formations. In Bratislava a boat excursion on the Danube was arranged for us. We had on that occasion, the pleasure of the company of quite a number of young pioneers and young workers from the factories. I talked with some of the pioneers, and I was amazed to find the interest they had grown for children in other lands besides their own. On our way to Bratislava we were given a grand reception by the kiddies of a village. They wanted to listen about Indian children and persuaded me to promise to them, while we left them, that I would speak of them to the children in India.

Czechoslovakia's treasure in children is making her richer every day in every field of her activity. It is known to many that Czechoslovakia is one of the world's best toy makers and the producer of the best puppet films in which toys are made to tell a story and to play the drama in it. This has been possible for the love for children the world-renowned women directors of those films have in them and the subtle but sound approach to child-mind they are able to make. Treated as precious national assets children in Czechoslovakia grow sweet in fragrance and solid in physical strength.

As I had been thinking of children in terms of flowers my eyes naturally fell on the rose-garden laid over an extensive area of land on which stood a part of the extinct Lidice. The rose-garden is a symbolic expression to the significance of New Lidice, a part of the planning itself. The slogan 'Lidice will live' was raised by democratic peoples all over the world. Money to help the re-building of Lidice came voluntarily from several sources. It came from the British miners, came from the miners of Sweden, from the Egyptian Lidice Society, from the Czechoslovaks living abroad, from the wage-earners of the Americas, and several other parts of the world. Although the government and the people of Czechoslovakia shoulder the entire burden of finance on themselves, these generous and spontaneous contributions from abroad are precious tokens of a growing relationship between man and man. To perpetuate this fraternal sympathy and the active service lent to build a road connecting the rebuilt Lidice with the highway leading to Praha by the participants in the World Youth Festival held in Praha in 1947, this rose-garden has been grown with plants sent from countries far and near.

From Lidice we went straight to the airport for our journey homeward. But the skymaster chartered to carry us back to India had not arrived. It had been waiting in Amsterdam for our instruction. We had to spend the whole day and the greater part of the night in the waiting halls of the big airport of Praha. Needless to say that our hosts were, as usual, by our side to see us comfortable. During our rush from one place to another we had hardly any time to think of our lovely hosts accompanying us. But when the time for our departure drew nearer every moment, I could not help thinking how nice and sweet and friendly they were to us. I have already spoken of the wonderful Bishop of the Czechoslovak church. He came to the port to bless us once again. Engineer Pushman stuck to us till we had boarded the plane and by his pleasant conversations and sparkling humour kept us cheerful. Dr. Dusan Zbavilek and his pupils and colleagues who helped us with interpretations during our private conversations and public speeches were still on close attention to our needs and feelings. Mr. Kuban's enthusiasm always inspired us to be in continual move. And above all, was the fraternal guidance and forbearance of Dr. Krasa of the Department of Cultural Relations, Ministry of Culture. I have come across many a leading personality in my own country in the course of my long and chequered life, but I do not think I have found many among them as unassuming and as devoted to the people's cause as Dr. Krasa is. His sharpness of intellect, his zeal for enlightening his friends, his ability for organizational work, and above all, his charming personality drew out of us deep respect and no less love for him. We left our friends and Praha at 2 a.m. in the morning by one of the Skymasters of the India Airlines Corporation.

I can hardly sleep a wink while on a plane-journey. The vast blue or the dark blank has a great appeal to me. I also find a kind of music in the monotonous humming of the motors. But this time my mind was occupied by the memory of Lidice. I know that the crime committed in Lidice is not the only instance of man's brutal expression. Histories of wars, conquests and colonial expansions are full of them. I have cited some of them from the history of my own country. But Lidice is justly glorified not for the fact that she was obliterated altogether but for the determination of the people to see her alive again and for the fact that she is really alive today not only through the untiring efforts of the people of Czechoslovakia but also through the goodwill and blessings of peoples from every corner of the earth. This fact makes a lot of difference between the Czechoslovak Lidice and other Lidices we find in histories of nations.

In 246 B.C., the Pagan Romans committed the same crime on Carthage that the Aryan Christians were found to be committing in Lidice. The popula-

tion of Carthage was about a quarter of a million then. All but fifty thousand only, perished before the Roman sword and fire. Those fifty thousand were then sold into slavery. And Lidice, the city of Carthage was demolished, burned, ploughed and sown ceremonially. Peoples of other countries looked at the atrocious deed in silence and worshipped the Romans as heroes.

The atrocities I have cited from the history of my own country were supported by the British citizens because they were tutored to believe that Law and Order imposed on a subject-nation were more sacred than its national freedom, and that they must be maintained even at the cost of the lives and properties of the subject-people. India did not receive any material help or spiritual support from abroad to break the shackles off her feet. The atrocities reacted on her to arouse in her a soul force which could not be kept in bondage. India won her freedom.

When the neutrality of Belgium was violated by the Hohenzollern Power during World War I, some of the Western Powers did not, indeed, come forward to beat back the aggressors. But that it was due to no determination of theirs to protect the sovereign right of a nation got exposed when the text of the Versailles Treaty was available to the public.

When floods of invasions were let loose on the new born and internally distressed Soviet Russia between 1919 and 1921, nine of them in three years, nobody thought of extending a helping hand to her. Her former allies, on the other hand, fomented and assisted them even, to see Soviet Russia obliterated altogether.

In 1935, Abyssinia was gassed into submission by the Fascist Power of Italy. The latter had totally disregarded the International Law of Warfare. But the League of Nations as well as the Western Powers did not raise a finger in protest. Likewise, the military clique of Imperialist Japan launched several attacks on China and occupied several of her provinces by sheer logic of might is right. The Christian Powers watched it unconcerned.

The waves of aggression and forceful occupation receded back on European lands. Public opinion had, by then, all over the world, taken a shape to resist the play with the fate of the peoples the Western Powers had indulged in. And it was when the Spanish Civil War was on the point of being turned into an aggressive war by the Fascist Powers that voluntary aid was rushed to those who stood for the people's cause in Spain. It was for the first time demonstrated to the administrators of States that there was a force known as the Public Will which was not less stronger than the armed forces of the Powers.

Baffled in Spain, the Fascist Powers fell on eastern Europe. Annexations, intimidations and aggressions followed one another in such a lightening speed that

public opinion came to be confused and utterly non-plussed.

It was only when the Christian Power of America dropped Atomic Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and made insignificant the brutalities in Carthage perpetrated by Pagan Romans and those in Lidice repeated by the Nazi Christians, that public opinion voiced, after the first shock was over, a deep note of protest. It would not tolerate any such atrocity. In Korean war, it helped to forge the force of resistance against any more violation of any people's birth-right by Powers, however mighty might they be. The Korean War had to be stopped. But the Powers contrived to keep on the cold war by repeated demonstrations of the irresistibility of atomic weapons.

There are reasons to believe that the explosions were more in the nature of demonstrations than tests or experiments. Experiments made in public may also help the rival Powers to some extent. Why should a Power help its rivals even to that extent? Russia does not fanfare her atomic explosions. Russia has no intention to intimidate peoples. But America believes in it. America knows Russia is well-equipped with atomic weapons. Russia cannot be terrorised by explosions made in the Pacific islands but, on the other hand, she may gather experiences from the results of those explosions. America takes that risk only to terrorize the peoples of Eastern Asia and to coerce them to join the anti-Communist block built up and nurtured by her.

The peoples of Eastern Asia have on several occasions protested against the bilateral defence treaties concluded with the puppets planted on Asian soil by American politicians. The Bandung Conference believed that the Manila Pact was useless. The Asians themselves fear no Communist conquest. Governments of South-East and East Asia have mostly accepted the Chou-Nehru principles. The Soviets and Yugoslavia have accepted them. Why does not America accept Panchashila and tear into pieces all the bilateral treaties she has contracted with her Asian puppets? Why does not she liquidate the Manila Pact? Her economic aids have been gratefully welcomed everywhere in Asia. But her political debut in Asia is resented by every free Asian. The conference of the Asian peoples in New Delhi and the Bandung Conference of the heads of the governments of the States of Asia and Africa gave genuine expression to the feelings of the Asian and African peoples as a whole. They are not prepared to tolerate any extraneous authority over them. They are determined to shape their own destinies. No other force than the force of persuasion, they believe, is necessary to prevent aggression. No other method but the implementation of Panchashila, they believe, will be able to dispel distrust and fear of conquest and to bring about friendly relationships between nations and nations.

The Panchashila has been working wonders. We have observed how sacred and humanitarian is it considered to be, not only by the people of the Soviet Republics and the People's Democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia, but also by progressive peoples of those sixty-eight countries of the world who had sent their representatives to the Helsinki World Assembly for Peace. The Helsinki Assembly has been able to arrive at a unanimous agreement that

"... the principles adopted by the Bandung Conference have proved that, over an entire continent, peaceful co-operation between countries with different social systems can be based on ideas, such as those proclaimed by China and India."

The excerpt above is culled from the Helsinki Appeal issued by the World Assembly of Peace. I have already described the scene of jubilation that was witnessed when its unanimous acceptance was announced. The scene demonstrated the spirit the agreed appeal had aroused. We found it manifest wherever we had visited. It had succeeded to set to work that 'real transformation of relations between nations' which Jean-Paul Sartre desired to find fulfilled. New men and women have, indeed, born to give this world a new civilization based on Panchashila. This is the experience we had gathered while we were abroad in Finland and the Soviet Republic and the Peoples' Republic of Czechoslovakia. We felt we were on a pilgrimage which rewarded us with the knowledge of man's march to victory over wars and dominations—political, social, and doctrinal.

GENEVA

We have not been in Geneva. But the picture of Geneva was always in our mind. The Helsinki Assembly was, in fact, summoned to let know the Heads of the Big Four what exactly the peoples of the world expected of them. It wanted to impress upon them the necessity it felt for an immediate settlement of problems which were driving the nations from the existing cold war to an all-devastating atomic conflagration.

"On the ashes of the League of Nations met for the first time in ten years the victors of World War II. The prospect of their meeting was hailed by all. The World Assembly for Peace hoped:

"For the first time in ten years in this divided world the Four Great Powers are going to meet, thanks to the efforts of public opinion. On them lies the burden of a universal hope. Their first duty will be to overcome their mutual distrust."

This hope that the Assembly had nourished was not blasted into ashes to add to the ashes of the late League of Nations. And, as a matter of fact, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, with the active support of Mendes France and our own Krishna Menon, had already turned the Geneva ashes into a fertile soil on which

grew and took shape the agreements on Indo-China and the subsequent cease-fire. On the wake of those agreements came the momentous declaration of Panchasila in New Delhi over the joint signatures of the two Prime Ministers of the world's two largest Republics, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indian Union. It would not be irrelevant to mention that Chou En-lai flew to India and conferred with Prime Minister Nehru immediately after he had succeeded to conclude favourably the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. Geneva has since then been the source of the growth of a spirit now known as the Geneva Spirit.

This new spirit was indeed brought to Geneva by Chou En-lai who along with Nehru forced an armistice in the Korean War. This spirit has been constantly gathering force through the declaration of Panchasila and the ever-increasing support to it by the peoples and governments of Asian and African countries and the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. The heads of the Four Great Powers met in Geneva just when this Geneva spirit had been blowing off mutual distrusts and had been at the same time creating an atmosphere of goodwill and friendliness. A change had really been noticed in the attitudes of the heads of the governments of even those countries who were not favourably disposed toward Panchasila.

I have in the beginning of this report quoted at length from *Crusade in Europe* to show that President Eisenhower, while he was the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, had been seriously thinking of a friendly relationship between Russia and the United States of America, because he was sure that 'no other division among the nations could be considered as a menace to world unity and peace.'

When he had said 'no other division' he had obviously meant the ideological division which had created the two opposing power-blocs, the Communists and the anti-Communists. He did not then take into account the non-Communist nations of the world, because none of them was then free from colonial bondage.

General Eisenhower by virtue of his martial abilities won the hearts of the people of America and their political support, and became the President of the greatest living pattern of Western Democracy. Even as a President he continued to explore the possibilities of founding a friendly relationship between his State and the State of U.S.S.R. In pursuit of it he discovered that the relationship he sought for might be founded if Communism could be knocked off. He started a campaign against Communism. The capitalists and the church organisations of his country lent him unqualified support. A crusade was declared, and a network of military bases established around the Communist bloc. Demonstrations of nuclear weapons were publicly made to terrify peoples who had no

such weapons, nor means to manufacture them or to make them available to them. Pacts like the Manila Pact were so forged as to threaten the sovereignty of independent States where the balance would indicate a swing toward Communism. Treaty organisations were manipulated to asphyxiate Communism. An intolerable tension was created. Apprehension of a third World War seized the peoples and made them extremely uneasy. All these were done by him while he had been sincerely looking for a just and lasting peace.

He took ten long years to realize, and to admit it too, that the ideological differences between nations should not be taken as insurmountable barriers against peaceful negotiations. And it was exactly to carry on such negotiations that he agreed to meet the other three heads of the Big Four Powers in Geneva. He did not go back to his country disappointed either. Before he left for Geneva he had said to his people:

"We realize that one ingredient has been missing from all past conferences. This is an honest intent to conciliate, to understand, to be tolerant, to try to see the other fellow's viewpoint as well as we see our own. I say to you if we can change the spirit in which those conferences are conducted, we will have taken the greatest step toward peace for future prosperity and tranquillity that has ever been taken in the history of mankind."

On his arrival back in the United States from Geneva he made a report on the conference to the citizens by radio and television, in which he gave his personal impression in these words:

"Now for myself, I do not belittle the obstacles lying ahead on the road to a secure and just peace. By no means do I underestimate the long and exhausting work that will be necessary before real results are achieved. I do not blink the fact that all of us must continue to sacrifice for what we believe to be best for the safety of ourselves and for the preservation of the things in which we believe, but I do know that the people of the world want peace. Moreover, every other individual who was at Geneva likewise felt this longing of mankind. So, there is great pressure to advance constructively, not merely to re-enact the dreary performance, the negative performances of the past."

He also apprised his listeners how he felt that a change in the negative performances is imperative. He explained:

"There seems to be a growing realization by all that nuclear warfare pursued to the ultimate, could be practically race suicide. There is a realization that negotiations can be conducted without propaganda and threats and invectives. Finally, there is a sharp realization by the world that the United States will go to any length consid-

tent with our concepts of decency and justice and right to attain peace. For this purpose we will work co-operatively with the Soviets and any other people as long as there is sincerity of purpose and a genuine desire to go ahead."

That a new spirit of conciliation and co-operation guided the Geneva discussion was thus told by the President:

"We talked about a free flow of news across the curtains of all kinds. We talked about the circulation of books, and particularly we talked about peaceful trade. But the subject that took most of our attention in this regard was the possibility of increased visits by the citizens of one country into the territory of another, doing this in such a way as to give each the fullest possible opportunity to learn about the people of the other nation. Now in this particular subject there was the greatest possible degree of agreement . . . Now, of course, we are profoundly hopeful that these assurances will be faithfully carried out."

While he spoke he was not sure how his speech and his endeavour in Geneva would be received by his listeners. He, therefore, assured them:

"I can assure you of one thing: there were no secret agreements made, either understood agreements or written ones. Everything is put before you on the record. Now outside of these conference meetings there were numerous official meetings, conversations with important members of the other delegations and, of course, very specifically with the Soviet delegation. In these conversations a number of subjects were discussed, and among them the Secretary of State and I specifically brought up more than once American convictions, and American beliefs, and American concern about such questions as the satellites of Eastern Europe, and the activities of international Communism. We made crystal clear what America believes about such matters as these."

The above was obviously meant for the diehard elements of his listeners who were made to believe that the Communist powers were still preparing themselves to swallow the rest of the world. Does the President himself still hold the same view? He would not have been the President if he did not. He said America had 'convictions' and 'beliefs' and 'American way of believing things'. So have the other peoples of the world. The Helsinki Assembly for Peace have showed that there are peoples in sixty-eight Communist and non-Communist countries who have this 'conviction' and this 'belief' that world-Americanism through chains of military bases, puppet-States, and treaty organisations is a growing menace to world-peace. From the numerous conversations with important delegations and very specifically with the Soviet delegation, the President, if not his Secretary of State,

must have been able to gather that in spite of their 'convictions' and 'beliefs' on aggressive world-Americanism they have been sincerely working for conciliation and co-operation and against further repetition of the 'negative performances of the past.' That was really the Helsinki spirit and that was again the spirit that the President had found working in Geneva to sweep away mists of distrusts and doubts.

The President felt that a search of hearts was needed, a policy of give and take had to be adopted. He had searched his own heart. He found himself, as a person not as a President, prepared for conciliation and co-operation. He knew what the obstacles were. But those did not discourage him. He had caught the Geneva spirit. He had searched his heart to find it filled with the Geneva spirit of conciliation and co-operation. He told it not only to his own people but to all the peoples of the world. But have all Americans searched their hearts? The honest President did not know. The industrial magnets and the church organisations possibly loomed large in his mind while he had been speaking on the Geneva spirit. But he meant to be frank as he always had been, and continued to spin:

"A gulf as wide and deep as the difference between individual liberty and regimentation, as wide and deep the gulf that lies between the concept of man made in the image of his God, and the concept of man as a mere instrument of the State. Now if we think of those things, we are apt to be possibly discouraged but I was also profoundly impressed with the need for all of us to avoid discouragement merely because our own proposals, our own approaches, and our own beliefs are not always immediately accepted by the other side."

Once more my mind goes back to the Helsinki Appeal which on the eve of the meeting of the Heads of the Four Powers gave out the hope:

"The work of peace can at last be done if forces for peace whose aims are similar; particularly peace movements and big political organisations of Christian or socialist tendencies—unite their efforts to dispel mistrust and win peace."

"Step by step, the contradictions in the world can be resolved and the hopes of all people fulfilled."

The President concluded his report on Geneva with this exhortation:

"We, all of us, individually, and as a people, now have possibly the most difficult assignment of our nation's history. Likewise, we have the most shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans. May this truth inspire and never dismay us. I believe that only with prayerful patience, intelligence, courage and tolerance, never forgetting vigilance and prudence, can we keep alive the

spark in Geneva. But if we are successful in this, then we will make constantly brighter the light that will one day guide us to our goal—a just and lasting hope."

When we had read the speech above, we though America would rise up to the occasion as her President expected of her. But America is too deeply obsessed with her own 'convictions' and 'beliefs' and 'American way of thinking' to agree to conciliation and co-operation. Her Foreign Secretary came to the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers with exactly the same blue-print she had prepared when she founded NATO. Without a united and armed Germany netted in NATO European Security could not be founded on sure ground was one of America's strongest 'convictions' and 'beliefs.' A strong wall of resistance against the Communists was essentially needed for European Security was just what was really the 'American way of thinking'. The last two World Wars were not caused by any offensive movement of the Communists. The Americans know it. But as they are bent upon making history, they are determined not to be swayed by the lessons of history like most of the past imperialists. The British and the French Foreign Ministers forgot their very recent past, and wanted a re-armed and re-united Germany as a bulwark against Communist aggression. Chamberlain died disgraced by his conservative compatriots but his ghost won a spiritual victory over them in Geneva. Chamberlain appeased a monster which was ultimately killed by a wonderful alliance of Communist and capitalist powers. The present Conservative Ministry of Sir Anthony Eden want to resurrect a fresh monster in Germany to fight Communists on behalf of the French and the British. Chamberlain believed it was possible. He paid the penalty of his folly by his dismissal. But that did not prevent the terrific air raids on London and terrible casualties due to them.

President Eisenhower had said that a new spirit of conciliation and co-operation was assured by each side to the other during the conference of the heads of the four powers, and the acid test would begin in October at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers. All world watched anxiously the crucibles containing the basic metals of conciliation the Foreign Ministers had taken with them to Geneva. No sooner were they put to test, disagreement was found to be the distinctive reaction. The Western Powers wanted the whole of Germany within the fold of NATO while they had previously netted the western part only. Obviously they proved themselves very loyal to the American President by closely following his advice of give and take. Molotov could not concede to it. He was then dubbed as an irreconcilable trouble-shooter. Capitalist papers proclaimed that Molotov wanted to Communise the whole of Germany. Molotov made it clear that Russia wanted to see the whole of Germany as a free

but neutral State, free from any kind of foreign bondage, including that of NATO. Was that unreasonable? The Western Powers thought it was so. Molotov suggested a panel of supervisors composed of European States to maintain European security. The Western Powers ridiculed the idea as another contrivance of the Communists to capture power in their hands. The Geneva spirit failed to sweep away distrust from the minds of the Foreign Ministers of the Western Big Three. The Acid Test rather demonstrated that the distrust had gathered too deeply to make it almost an element giving no reaction to any acid.

Was Molotov prepared for a give and take? He was found ready to give both parts of Germany to the German people. He stood for a European security under the supervision of European States plus America. But a free and neutral Germany was inconceivable to the Western Powers. He had come to take it as a certainty that a free and reunited Germany outside NATO would inevitably go Communist. It would be hundred times better, they supposed, if by keeping West Germany bound to NATO, Germans may be made to fight Germans than a neutral Germany. In that case Russia may be trapped in, and her credit in the world movement for Peace may be lowered and shattered even.

It is not the German might that the Western Powers are afraid of. Have not they twice crushed it? They have, as the world knows it. It is the awakening of the people that they are afraid of. An emperor or even a Fuhrer may be crushed by military force, but not so a conscious people. The German people are increasingly growing conscious of their potential power as a people. It is not likely that any future Fuhrer is going to have any chance of leading the entire people once again to a war. Neither is it likely that the awakened and conscious people of Germany would any more allow themselves to be used as pawns in the game of power politics. This progressive outlook of the people is what the capitalist States and Christian politicians dread the most, and this too they call Communism.

But what about President Eisenhower's appeal to his people 'to bear in mind the shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans'? How did America work in Geneva to 'translate into specific agreements' the new spirit which warmed the President's heart while he talked with the other three heads of the Big Four? The acid test could show nothing. It is really unfortunate. The Big Four powers have disappointed the peoples who want an end to the cold war.

The American President reported on Geneva on the evening of July 25th, 1955. His Assistant Secretary of State, Walter Robertson, spoke at the Johns Hopkins University on "Nationalism and Progress in South and

South-East Asia" on August 8, 1955. The highlights of his speech are:-

"Communism has destroyed the true independence of several countries in Asia, and threatens all the others with every technique in its arsenal from subversion to armed revolt to external aggression."

It is an example of the 'American way of thinking.' Their 'convictions and beliefs' suggest to them that China by evolving a People's Democracy has lost her independence and only a part of it has been preserved by Chiang Kai-sek in the Chinese island of Taiwan through the grace of American forces.

The next remarkable passage of his speech was raised to this strain of seeming truthfulness:

"No free Asian nation today is under major Communist influence, as the Bandung Conference clearly showed."

And yet he could not resist the temptation to strike terror by declaring:

"... The people of Asia are reluctant to face the fact that they and their work are threatened by an implacable enemy dedicated to their destruction by stealth or by force."

This certainly does not give expression to the Geneva spirit by which the President and his Secretary of State was deeply impressed. Nevertheless the Assistant Secretary once more got inclined to be generous. He commented:

"While recently, as we have seen, the gale-force winds of Communists have become softer, and the Communists have professed their wish to live peacefully with their neighbours it is too soon to tell whether this is a change of heart or a propaganda."

But he had no patience to wait and see. He continued once again to hit the nail:

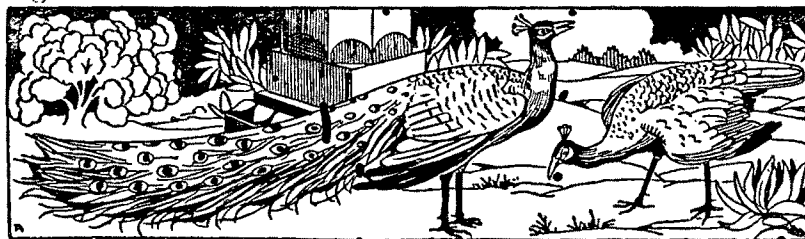
"The best efforts of the people of Asia toward self-development, massive American economic assistance, would not serve to keep armed Communism across the border if there were no force available to resist. The Communists are interested in the conquest of Asia, not in the welfare of its people."

The American President's reference to the new

spirit was useless. The American way of thinking had undergone no change whatsoever. It is no wonder that the American President would have a mild heart attack. The Secretary of State went back to Geneva not inspired with the New Spirit the President supposed he was imbued with, but with the same old slogan of 'Resist Communism at any cost.' He convinced his Western counterparts that the security of Europe depended not only on the segregation of the Communists but on their total elimination. Conciliation and co-operation and co-existence should never be thought of. His French and British counterparts were amazed, but dared not to contradict him. They expressed their desire to keep open the doors for further negotiation. The American Secretary of State indignantly kept silence over it although his President counselled prayerful patience, intelligence, courage and tolerance and a lot of pious qualities. As soon as the Geneva conference was over the Secretary of State gave wide publicity of his intention to visit immediately South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and Manila. Indonesia and South Vietnam was not mentioned. Probably he wanted to show a tightening of belt. The Geneva spirit must not be allowed to grow. It has weakened the stout heart of the veteran winner of the war, who knows that it would not affect other stony hearts?

The peoples are vitally concerned with the Geneva Spirit. Although they do not find any place in the summit conferences held in Geneva, they have rightful places in the Cabinets and Ministries and Parliaments and fields and factories, in all the public and private sectors of all the systems all over the world. They will not allow the Geneva Spirit to be frittered away. Ever-increasing pressure must be used to make heads of governments agreeable to conciliation and co-operation. Public opinion must stand stubborn against the policy of strength as declared by Helsinki Assembly. The Helsinki Spirit will sustain and strengthen the Geneva Spirit. And the combined will of governments and peoples will give the world a just and everlasting Peace.

(Concluded)





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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

• ENGLISH

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY: By *Jitendranath Banerjee, Ph.D., F.A.S.* Second edition. Revised and enlarged. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1956. Pp. xxxvii + 655. Price Rs. 30.

This is a work of immense industry and learning, being the fruit of the author's life-long study of the subject in all its bearings. The special feature of the first edition which appeared in eight chapters with ten Plates in 1941 was the author's attempt to trace the development of individual iconographic types in the light of extant specimens of the sculptures, and more particularly of the coin and seal devices of early times. As a whole, however, it dealt with "the general principles of Hindu iconography, the early iconographic types and the iconographic and iconometric technicalities." In this second edition the author has made an addition of four chapters (on folk-divinities, on Vishnu and Surya, on Siva and Sakti and a number of miscellaneous and syncretistic divinities), while reshuffling the material and re-arranging the matter of the three Appendices. Its value has been further enhanced by the substitution of an analytical table of contents, a list of forty-eight well-selected Plates (in place of the original ten) as well as a General Bibliography. Throughout the work the author shows mastery of the widely scattered material as well as an excellent judgment in weighing the evidence and examining the views of his predecessors. It is evidently not possible to notice here even a considerable portion of its contents, but a few points may be noted. In the first chapter, the author gives a good account of his original sources under two broad heads, namely, archaeological and literary, the latter being further sub-divided into works of a general and of a technical character. The second chapter contains a valuable discussion of a question which has seriously engaged the attention of Indologists from the time of H. H. Wilson, namely, whether the Vedic Indians were worshippers of images. In the third chapter, the author carefully explains the part played by the commingling of the Aryan and the indigenous cultures and more specially by the cult of *bhakti* in developing image-worship, and he brings together the literary and archaeological evidence from the pre-Christian centuries to indicate the prevalence of image-worship in those times. The fourth chapter gives an exhaustive account of the representations of the Brahmanical divinities (especially Siva) and their emblems on the early Indian coins (indigenous and foreign) down to the Kushan period. In the fifth chapter, the author gives a necessarily provisional account of the religious beliefs and practices of the Indus valley people in

the light of the figures and the scenes depicted on the Mohenjodaro sealings. This is followed by an exhaustive study of the figures of the deities and their emblems on the early Indian seals belonging mostly to the Gupta period. The sixth chapter deals with the icono-plastic art relating to the manufacture of images as well as an analysis of the factors contributing to the same. The seventh chapter is concerned with iconographic terminology after the technical works on such subjects as hand-poses and the poses of figures of the deities, while the following chapter deals with the canons of iconometry after the ancient texts. The last four chapters deal exhaustively with the evolution of the Brahmanical cults from their dim (Vedic and non-Vedic) beginnings down to their highly developed and complex forms, while they give (except in the notable instance of the Sakta cult) nearly complete accounts of the various iconographic types with illustrative references. Of the three Appendices the first two deal with various iconographic and iconometric texts (in translation or in the original or both), while the last seeks to apply the iconometric test to some specimens in the galleries of the Indian Museum as well as the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.

The above brief sketch will give the reader some idea of the comprehensive scope of the present work as well as its authoritative and exhaustive treatment of the subject-matter. Suffice it to say that it is the most important work that has appeared on Hindu iconography since the publication of T. A. Gopinatha Rao's two monumental volumes on the subject in 1914 and 1916. It will remain as such a standard work of reference for a considerable time to come.

U. N. GHOSHAL

OUTLINES OF HINDUISM: By *Dr. J. M. P. Mahadevan*, with a Foreword by *Dr. S. Radhakrishnan*. Published by Chetana Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 7-8.

A modern pedant like William James might have characterised God as wet-nurse to humanity and branded religion 'a narcotic.' But that does not tell the whole truth. The old type concepts of compartmentalized human mind gave birth to different ideas of religion as emphasising one or the other of the three principal activities of man's mind, *viz.*, thinking, feeling and willing. All these concepts overlooked the fundamental unity of man as man and consequently they missed the fundamental unity of all religions. Religion is man's response to the call eternal. This contingent world of ours, the telos or purpose that is evident everywhere in this vast creation lead us to the Formulation of an Idea which carries the guarantee of its own reality. That Idea is God with the Hindus and everyone of them was allowed to look

upon this idea from his own peep-hole, big or small. The nature and size of this peep-hole gave birth to the pantheon of the Hindus, their multi-coloured philosophy and ethics, and above all, their diverse modes of living.

The volume under review brings out this fundamental truth of our religion. Prof. Mahadevan has done a singular service to the strife-torn humanity by bringing into them the unifying and elevating message of Hindu wisdom, that is embodied in the religion, Ethics and Philosophy of the Hindus. For the Hindu, the aim of religion is the integration of personality which reconciles the individual to his own nature, his Fellowmen and the Supreme Spirit. This process of reconciliation is diverse and Hinduism has found room for them all. Its catholicity accounts for its hoary past and its dynamic present. This dynamic character of Hinduism was evident to Mahatma Gandhi when he said with the utmost confidence at his command: "I have no other wish in this world but to find light and joy and peace through Hinduism." Hinduism is a living force and it could still hold out to the rest of the world its valued claim that it could deliver the goods. Prof. Mahadevan's illuminating discourse will help everybody to understand the core of Hindu religion and it is quite in the fitness of things that such a book will come out when resurgent India is making rapid strides in all avenues of human activity.

The book under review is written in nine chapters. Appendices I and II are valuable contributions as embodying the fundamentals of Hinduism in modern terminology. Prof. Mahadevan's definition of religion touches on the fringe of a universal religion and it has been rightly fitted in the broad compass of Hindu religion. We unhesitatingly recommend this book to all lovers of religion and to all serious students of theology.

A Foreword by Dr. Radhakrishnan has enhanced the prestige of the treatise. The publishers of the book deserve a word of praise for the nice get-up and neat printing.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

OUTLINES OF JAIN PHILOSOPHY: By Mohan-lall Mehra, M.A. With a foreword by B. P. Wadia. Published by Jain Mission Society, G-146, Chickpet, Bangalore-2. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 5.

The learned author of the book under review is a double Master of Arts in Philosophy and Psychology and a Research Fellow of the Banaras Hindu University. A glance at this book will at once show that he is a distinguished authority on Jainism and a profound scholar of Jainology. Out of 81 celebrated works quoted in this book 46 are Jain and 35 are non-Jain, and over 50 of them all are Sanskrit. He has made a splendid attempt to present the common features of Jain Philosophy on the basis of original, Prakrit and Sanskrit texts in such a manner as to make the exposition an intelligent guide and comprehensive introduction to the general readers as well as to advanced students. Sri B. P. Wadia, the Founder-President of the Indian Institute of Culture in Bangalore, in an appreciative foreword to this book rightly observes that it is not only informative for the general reader but will prove valuable to the students of different religions and philosophies. The erudite author makes a profound study of Jainism in comparison, not only with different systems of Indian philosophy but also with leading systems of Western thought. A bibliography of works with authors quoted as well as an index of general subjects and Sanskrit terms are duly

appended. Printed correctly and nicely got-up, the book may be regarded an abiding contribution to the philosophical literature of the academic world.

This treatise on Syadvada, by which name Jainism is philosophically known, is divided into six well-written chapters. The first of them is devoted to a brief survey of the conception of Reality from the standpoint of realism, idealism and Jainism. The Jain idea of soul has been thoroughly and critically examined in the second chapter. In the third, Jain conception of matter is described. The canonical and logical theory of knowledge is discussed in the fourth chapter. The fifth one deals with the relativity of judgement and theory of Naya. The important doctrines of *karma* and *gunasthana* are precisely presented in the last chapter. Sri B. P. Wadia quotes the significant couplet of *Samadhi Sataka*, a popular Jain work as follows: "One who has identified his own self with the body in which it is encased is extremely afraid of death seeing therein his own destruction and separation from friends." From this we can clearly understand that the descriptions of liberated and enlightened states given in Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism are almost identical. A synthetic vision pointing out the salient similarities with the sister-religions would have made the book more accessible to the votaries of other religions also. How is it that no reference is made to the *Samadhi Sataka* in this outstanding work? In spite of all these negligible limitations this scholastic essay deserves to be a doctorate thesis.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL LABOUR: By T. N. Rastogi. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 7-8.

This is a timely publication on Labour in which not only students of Economics but people interested in the industrial development also, will find useful. The subject has been discussed with special reference to textile labour. Being a Labour Officer himself, the author's outlook is realistic and he never tries to press his views on the reader. He records his personal experience, discusses the subject and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The book is divided into twelve chapters, subjects discussed being—Labour and Industrial Relations, Labour Welfare, Labour Administration, Employer-Employee Relations, Industrial Housing, Social Insurance, Labour Legislation, Industrial Peace, Trade Unionism, Personnel Department, and Profit Sharing. Thus various aspects of the present-day labour problem have been discussed. Old relations between Capital and Labour, Employer and Employee have ceased to exist. Labour is no longer a means to an end but an end in itself. Human element has come to the forefront for consideration and as a result Labour's voice has become a determining force in industry and ultimately in the matter of production and efficiency. Under the circumstances Labour must be satisfied in regard to its position as a partner in production. So the importance of the Personnel Department in modern industrial establishments cannot be overemphasised. As a matter of fact, Labour Officer's duties to keep a close and cordial relation between the employer and employee work is a pivot on which the entire industrial and social efficiency turns. Since the establishment of International Labour Office by the League of Nations at Geneva, various conventions have been adopted by the International Labour Conferences many of which have since been ratified by the National Par-

liaments. In compliance with these conventions various legislations regarding labour welfare have been passed by the Indian Legislature from time to time. And since the transfer of power to Indian hands the progress has been very rapid and if these laws are properly applied in letter and spirit, not only the labour but all classes of society win benefit as a result and increase the National Dividend due to increased national efficiency.

The book contains six Appendices and a Bibliography which the reader will find valuable and illuminating. We have no hesitation in recommending this volume to employers and officers who have to deal with labour and also to students who are interested in the subjects of Labour Welfare or who desire to take up duties in the Personnel Department of Industrial establishments.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

KIRANAVALI OF UDAYANACHARYA: *Translation and critical exposition in Bengali by Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, M.A., P.R.S., D.Litt. Distributed by U. N. Dhar & Sons, Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 15.*

The book under review is the outcome of erudition, precision and a close acquaintance with the different systems of Indian philosophy. The philosophers of the Nyaya-Vaisesika systems of thought have made invaluable contribution to the stock of critical and scientific investigation. Unqualified acceptance of the Nyaya methodology by different schools of Indian philosophy bears ample testimony to this truth. While the Nyaya is engaged in epistemology the Vaisesika concentrates on metaphysics. The Vaisesika starts with the sense-data and seeks to interpret the world of experience. Reality, according to him, is not merely a substance or a quality but a net-work of different categories which are mutually related with one another. This harmonisation in the world of experience is unique and scientific. The Nyaya-Vaisesika philosophy grew in its strength and volume as a result of the impact with the Buddhists. The more significant contribution to this field was made by the neo-logicians of Mithila and Bengal. Udayana was the pioneer of this school which found its consummation in the works of Gangesa. Without a first-hand knowledge of the process of reasoning knowledge of other systems cannot be complete. But the stumbling block lies at the gateway in the form of its hair-splitting dialectic and technicalities. Udayana is a prolific writer of this school but the general students of Indian philosophy find it difficult to study and appreciate his works. This apathy led a reputed scholar of the day to remark that there is not a single scholar living who can teach Kiranavali with acuteness and explain its verbal intricacies. This remark served as a stimulus to our present editor in interpreting the categories of the Vaisesika in a lucid manner and thus bringing out the futility of the unwarranted assumption of the scholar. Dr. Sastri's work serves as an instance to the truth that no serious student of the Nyaya-Vaisesika can afford to avoid a most thorough and rigorous study of Udayana's dialectic.

Padarthadharmanasagraha of Prasastapada was commented upon by Vyomasiva, Udayana, and Sridhara. Udayana's credit lies in the fact that he, for the first time, realised the inaccuracies in both the systems, viz., Nyaya-Vaisesika and cemented them together into a single system of thought. This under-

taking made his work pregnant with abstruseness of thought and terseness of language. Kiranavali is an instance on the point. That is why the book has been commented upon from time to time by such eminent logicians as Vardhamana, Pragalbhaçharya, Jayadeva Misra, Raghunatha Siromani and others. The present editor has exhibited his erudition in delineating the formidable logical subtleties in a lucid manner. Dr. Sastri has utilised in particular the commentary of Vardhamana and the super-commentary of Ruchidatta and also of Mathuranatha in unfolding the deeper subtleties of Udayana's standpoint. But it is most encouraging to find that in course of his elucidation he has always been extremely careful in examining the position of the commentators and super-commentators and in a quite good number of places he has unhesitatingly challenged the orthodox interpretation and put forward his original contribution and in this he has exhibited the same type of sharp critical acumen which characterised the genius of different ages. Dissertations on salvation and darkness are really illuminating and the entire approach is challenging. These two sections reveal the author's acquaintance with all branches of Indian philosophy. The topic of Janakarma-samucchaya-vada is really noteworthy and reveals an independent and effective thinking. The book, as a whole, compresses within its limited compass a varied source of learning and logical subtleties. A careful study of it will stimulate the capacity for reasoning. The reviewer feels no hesitation in asserting that the present book should be read by all students of Indian philosophy and will be welcomed by all lovers of Sanskrit learning. The book is enriched by an introduction which contains in a most compact form a systematic growth and development of the Vaisesika school an account of which is not available in any single work on the subject.

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

SLOKA SAMGRAHA: *Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshab Chandra Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Eighth edition. Price not mentioned.*

The 19th century renaissance in Bengal was a forceful liberalising process and great minds worked behind it. Rammohun's vision of a comprehensive religious profoundly impressed his contemporary thinkers as well as the social and religious leaders who followed him. Keshub Chunder Sen, founder of the Navavidhan Brahmo Samaj, one of the most powerful thought-leaders of his time, culled with great care the gems of all the scriptures of the world and the book under review is the outcome of his labour. *Sloka Samgraha* or the Collection of Hymns contains valuable extracts from the Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Sikh, Jewish, Christian, Mahomedan, Parsee and Chinese scriptures and represents the heights of realisation attained by the sages of all countries. The Bengali and English renderings of the passages included will be found particularly helpful. The volume now in its eighth edition has evidently evoked considerable interest.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

GO-SEVA: *By Gandhiji. Translated by Sree Ram Narayan Chowdhury. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1955. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is the third revised and enlarged edition of the book, for the benefit of the Hindi-reading public.

It is a positive approach to the problem of the cow, a matter of vital importance for the prosperity of India, in sharp contrast to the agitational approach favoured by a section of conservative opinion, insistent on prohibitive legislation against cow-killing. The Preface is a dialogue in which Gandhiji, in 1933, had discussed some problems, or rather answered some enquiries put forward by a delegation. The book itself consists of two parts: the first in 34 sections is made up of Gandhiji's own writings, the second is made up of 12 articles contributed by various writers—his associates like Mahadev Desai, Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Vinobaji. These discussions, it needs no emphasis, are very valuable. Of the appendices, one is an extract from a letter of Gandhiji to Jivanji Desai; another, the constitution of the Go-Seva Sangh; a third, the constitution of All-India Go-raksha Mandal. In addition, there are eleven supplements from such writers as Gandhiji, Mashruwalla, T. Vijayaraghavachariar.

It is a very handy volume, practical and at the same time a resume of the principles of the subject enunciated by thoughtful leaders of our society. The name is too modest for the richness of the contents. An index of subjects at the end for easy reference adds to the value of the book.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

YOGANISHTA ACHARYA SHRIMAD BUDDHISAGAR SURESHWARJI: *By Jaya Bhikkhu and Padarakar. Printed at the Ashok Printing, Ahmedabad.*

1950. *Illustrated jacket. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 336+152+16. Price Rs. 11.*

To celebrate the twenty-fifth year of his death, the followers of the late Sureshwarji have prepared this handsome volume, which sets out in detail, the progress in life, material and religious, made by an unlettered peasant boy, culminating in his reaching the highest stage which is possible for a Jaina Sadhu to reach. Both as a biography and as a dissertation on the highly technical philosophy propounded by the subject-matter of this biography, it is a unique performance. The writers have had a strenuous time of it, but they have done their work thoroughly. The illustrations, numerous in number, have made the treatise attractive.

JNANPRAHARI: *By Vidyutrai Y. Desai. Bhavnagar. Printed at the Bhavnagar Samachar P.ess, Bhavnagar. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 126+5. Price not mentioned.*

• How Bharati, the talented wife of Mandanmishra of Mahishmati, encountered Shankaracharya and defeated him in their discussions on *Jhan* and its *Prahari*, is a subject known to every student of Bharat's old philosophical literature. The incident is set out in this drama with considerable intelligence and insight, and though the subject is technical and above the head of the common reader, Mr. Desai has endeavoured to make it easy and popular.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Interpreting India: Vivekananda

T. M. P. Mahadevan writes in the *Vedanta Kesari*:

It is not easy to interpret India with her ancient culture, age-long traditions, and complex texture of thought and life. Not only those who come from outside, but also many of those—especially the educated ones—who are born and brought up in this country find it difficult to understand what India stands for. The essentials of Indian culture are often missed in a maze of non-essentials. Certain facets are over-emphasized with the result that one gets a distorted picture of India's soul. For many a century of India's history, great sons and daughters of India did perform the task of interpreting India both to their own people and to the rest of the then known world. But after India became a subject-country, this task could not be performed effectively for reasons which are obvious. The contact with the West brought, no doubt, new knowledge to our shores. But in the glare of this knowledge, our leaders became blind to the excellence of our own culture, and turned out to be bad imitators of strange fashions and unsuitable modes of life. India's cause suffered by default. Her spirit was being stifled. This process of strangulation reached its climax in the nineteenth century; and its intensity was the greatest in Calcutta which was then the Capital of the British Empire in India.

It was at such a critical time in India's history, and in Calcutta, that a kindly Fate made a great soul appear, who could retrieve the situation and enable India to resume her march to her grand destiny. The progress that India has made in the present century, her successful struggle for Independence through non-violent means, and the stability and self-respect she has regained would have been impossible but for the pioneering work of this great soul—Swami Vivekananda.

Narendranath, as he was known before he became a monk, belonged to an aristocratic family of Calcutta, and had the best of modern education. He was outstanding in his class at college, imbibed a rationalistic—and even a sceptical—outlook, and mastered with equal zest the humanities and the sciences. If this was all that was his share, he would have ended, probably as a brilliant college professor or an eminent lawyer. But, there was another mission set for him—the mission of re-discovering India for the benefit both of Indians and of others. The Master that made him recognize this mission and equipped him for this journey was Sri Ramakrishna. The sage did not have any formal education. He had dedicated his life to intense spirituality. True to India's tradition of hospitality, Sri Ramakrishna experimented with God in a variety of ways, including the so-called alien paths, and found that all religions led to the same goal. Paying his tribute to the sage, Mahatma Gandhi says:

"The story of Ramakrishna Paramahansa's life is

a story of religion in practice. His life enables us to see God face to face. No one can read the story of his life without being convinced that God alone is real and that all else is an illusion. Ramakrishna was a living embodiment of godliness."

Romain Rolland, one of Sri Ramakrishna's biographers, describes him as 'the consummation of two thousand years of the spiritual life of three hundred million people.' It was to this great spiritual genius that Narendranath came. Their first meeting was what we would call an accident; but it had a deeper design. The Calcutta college lad did not know it at first. But the sage, Ramakrishna, knew it from the beginning. In fact, he had been waiting for Narendranath's coming. He told him:

"Ah! you have come so late. Why have you been so unkind as to make me wait so long? My ears are tired of hearing the futile words of other men. Oh, how I have longed to pour out my spirit into the breast of somebody fitted to receive my inner experiences!"

The Disciple accepted the Master none too soon. He did not want to believe until he was convinced. Slowly but surely Narendra was converted; and he became the most beloved disciple, commissioned to fulfil the Master's mission. At one stage in his spiritual practice, Narendra wanted to get lost in the exaltation of spirit. Sri Ramakrishna chided him for this wish, and said:

"You will do great things in the world; you will bring spiritual consciousness to men, and assuage the misery of the humble and the poor."

And just before his death, he called Narendra and told him:

"Today I have given you my all and am now only a poor *fakir*, possessing nothing. By this power you will do immense good in the world and not until it is accomplished will you return."

Narendra, who became Swami Vivekananda, realized only too well that the power he wielded had its source in Sri Ramakrishna. He knew that 'all he was himself came from that single source . . . that he had not one infinitesimal thought of his own to unfold.' And he proclaimed Sri Ramakrishna as 'the spring of this phase of the earth's religious life.'

At the passing away of the Master, Vivekananda and his brother-disciples were disconsolate. Their first impulse was to withdraw themselves completely from the world and spend the rest of their lives in seclusion. Vivekananda himself left Calcutta several times, seeking solace in the Himalayas. But the call of his Master to serve India and humanity prevailed at last, and as a preparation to this mission of service he undertook to go about this country seeing things for himself. Unknown and unannounced, he visited the palaces and the slums, and his heart bled at the sight of the extreme poverty of the masses. He had himself experienced earlier something of the pain of poverty, for his father through carelessness and generosity had left the family in poverty and want. But

he had not realized how pervasive poverty was in this country. Throughout his wanderings for nearly two years it was the misery that he saw that filled his mind to the exclusion of every other thought. The Master had foreseen this, for he had declared:

"The day when Naren comes in contact with suffering and misery, the pride of his character will melt into a mood of infinite compassion. His strong faith in himself will be an instrument to re-establish in discouraged souls the confidence and faith they have lost."

Coming face to face with the misery of the Indian masses, Vivekananda recalled his Master's words, 'Religion is not for empty bellies', and dedicated himself to the task of rousing the world's conscience so that India could be saved from her plight.

"May I be born and reborn again and suffer a thousand miseries," he was later to say, "if only I am able to worship the only God in whom I believe, the sum-total of all souls, and above all, my God the wicked, my God the afflicted, my God the poor of all the races."

An opportunity to start his work of service presented itself when he was persuaded by certain friends and admirers, especially of Madras, to go to America and represent Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions which was to be held at Chicago in 1893. He went to America without counting the costs. He did not have sufficient money; nor did he have the credentials that would entitle him to speak at the Parliament. But the Spirit does not depend on empty formalities. The unseen hands that had guided Vivekananda to the New World would not leave him in the lurch. Providence straightened everything, and the Swami gained admittance into the Parliament. On the opening day when his turn to speak came, he rose and greeted the assembled gathering as 'Sisters and Brothers of America!' This mode of address was in such refreshing contrast to the conventional salutation adopted by his predecessors that the entire audience was thrilled and it applauded most lustily. Thereafter the Swami was in great demand, and was hailed as the hero of the Parliament. The *Boston Evening Post* praised him as 'the great favourite of the Parliament.' The *New York Herald* said, 'He is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions.' He was asked to speak many times during the Parliament session; and the one theme of all his addresses was the unity of religions which was the message of his Master and the message of India as well. His final words to the Parliament were these:

"Upon the banner of every religion will soon be written in spite of resistance: 'Help and not Fight,' 'Assimilation and not Destruction,' 'Harmony and Peace and not Dissension.'"

Swami Vivekananda went to America primarily to procure the means to ameliorate the material condition of India. In all his ministrations in the New World and in Europe, never for a moment did he forget this aim. But on seeing the West, he realized that a nation has to rise by its own effort. He, however, did a great service to India, while he was abroad, by exhibiting the true nature of India's culture. On his return to the homeland, he explained to his people his plan for the regeneration of India. He established an Order of Monks and Laity in the name of his Master as a vehicle for the continued service of humanity.

Swami Vivekananda was the first interpreter of India to the West that laid the proper emphasis on the spirit of religion as the basis of India's culture—religion

not in any narrow sense of a creed or cult, but in its deepest and widest significance. In a lecture entitled 'My Plan of Campaign' that he delivered in Madras on his triumphal return from the West, the Swami says:

"Each nation, like each individual, has one theme in this life, which is its centre, the principal note round which every other note comes to form the harmony . . . If any one nation attempts to throw off its national vitality, the direction which has become its own through the transmission of centuries, that nation dies . . . In one nation political power is its vitality, as in England. Artistic life in another and so on. In India, religious life forms the centre, the keynote of the whole music of national life. . . And, therefore, if you succeed in the attempt to throw off your religion and take up either politics or society . . . the result will be that you will become extinct . . . Social reform . . . and politics have to be preached . . . through that vitality of your religion . . . Every man has to make his own choice; so has every nation. We made our choice ages ago . . . And it is the faith in an Immortal Soul . . . I challenge anyone to give it up . . . How can you change your nature?"

As the deepest and purest expression of the spirit of India, Advaita appealed to Swami Vivekananda. In the Advaita-experience which he inherited from his own Master, he found a state that is free from all narrowness. There could be no opposition between this experience and the various systems of thought and pathways to God. Moreover, the Swami was convinced that India needed a philosophy of robust strength. In one of his speeches he said:

"I heard once the complaint made that I was preaching too much of Advaita and too little of Dualism. Aye, I know what grandeur, what oceans of love, what infinite ecstatic blessings and joy there are in the dualistic religion. I know it all. But this is not the time with us to weep, even in joy; we have had weeping enough; no more is this the time for us to become soft. This softness has been with us till we have become like masses of cotton . . . What our country now wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic wills, which nothing can resist, which will accomplish their purpose in any fashion, even if it meant going down to the bottom of the ocean and meeting death face to face. That is what we want, and that can only be created, established, and strengthened by understanding and realizing the ideal of the Advaita, that ideal of the oneness of all."

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While Swami Vivekananda had the highest praise for our philosophico-religious culture, he was unsparing in his criticism of the mal-practices that had crept into Hinduism. It is well to remind ourselves that he was one of the very first, in modern times, to raise his voice of protest against casteism and don't-touch-ism. Modern caste distinction, he declared, is a barrier to India's progress; it narrows, restricts, separates; it will crumble before the advance of ideas. He worked for strengthening India's homogeneity and her acquiring democratic ideas. He insisted that intelligence should not remain the monopoly of the privileged few. He foresaw that education was coming, and that compulsory education would follow. As regards the practice of untouchability, the Swami had very hard things to say. He was convinced that it was against the very spirit of Indian thought and culture. 'India's doom was sealed,' he declared, 'the very day the world *milchcha* was invented.' He exhorted the children of India to save India from this doom.

How greatly the passion for India burned within his heart, how ardently he wished that the true spirit of India should prevail, how keenly he felt the need for cutting away all dead accretions, may be learnt from the following words addressed by him to his countrymen:

"Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots! Do you feel? Do you feel that

millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? . . . Has it made you almost mad? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies . . . That is the first step to become a patriot! . . . For centuries people have been taught theories of degradation. They have been told that they are nothing . . . Let them hear of the Atman—that even the lowest of the low have the Atman within, which never dies and never is born—him whom the sword cannot pierce, nor the fire burn, nor the air dry, immortal, without beginning or end, the all pure, omnipotent and omnipresent Atman!"

What better interpreter of India there could be than the Swami who uttered these words both as a warning and as a hope, who in his short life of less than forty years awakened a sceptical world, and what was more, awakened an India that had been slumbering for long!

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G.B.S.: Defender of Animal Outsiders

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Parnell Bradbury pays tribute to Bernard Shaw. It gives due credit to Shaw's active opposition to vivisection. It would have been sad if Shaw's centenary year had passed without mention of this facet of his reformatory zeal:

Bernard Shaw, who was born in Dublin a hundred years ago, has been called many things, but even among his admirers, many of whom are now busily engaged in his centenary celebrations, few have acknowledged him as a champion of animal welfare.

As for the distinguished people who acclaim him a literary giant and a great dramatist, I have searched their remarks in vain for some acknowledgment of G.B.S. as a social reformer; as a defender of minorities (animal and human); as the champion of the outsider. Can it be that the truths which Shaw expounded concerning the futility no less than the barbarity of experiments on animals twenty, thirty or even forty years ago are still unpalatable even to those who accept him as a thinker? Can it be that those truths are so disturbing that most people (even those who feel they are on safe ground when praising the dramatist) would run a mile rather than face them? It looks like it.

In the *Sunday Times* of July 22nd, Mr. Colin Wilson describes Shaw as a psychologist and a mystic. Well, that is something. But no one has dared to see him as what he was, according to his own statements—a professional debunker of the value of animal experimentation; as a man who was moved to both fury and compassion by the idiotic reports that are issued by medical research councils from time to time, and that are, six years after his death, no less idiotic. The implications of this are serious. It looks as though there is a conspiracy of silence against G.B.S. as the thinker who, forty years ago, warned us that cancer would increase if we gave over the study of it to scoundrels who were too lazy or too stupid to search for causative factors beyond the vivisection table—and paid them fantastic sums for being so.

One newspaper which ought to have had more imagination actually printed two of these annual reports side by side with the B.B.C. plans for the Shaw centenary!

It is interesting to compare these reports with the opinions G.B.S. expressed in *Doctors' Delusions* (published in 1931). Obviously, medical science (so-called) has, as far as finding the cause and cure of cancer is concerned, progressed very little. How many animals have been tortured in vain? Money on medical research, we are told, has been well spent—£400,000 by the Cancer Campaign alone. How has it been spent? Several attempts were made to produce cancer in the lungs and skin of rats, mice and hamsters, by treating them with tobacco tars. None of these attempts has so far been successful. What a relief to all those patients who have cancer of the skin or lungs?

The vermin and the hamsters, are safe! But, perhaps, G.B.S. would not quite agree, for in a letter to *The Nation* he wrote:

"Those of us who have had cherished friends and relatives attacked by the diseases which the vivisectionists claim to be able to cure, know best what value we have had for the guineas their announcements have drawn from our pockets into theirs. Those who are more fortunate have only to look at the Registrar-General's returns to see the rate at which we are still dying of the cures. If the men who have been stultifying themselves over vivisection for the last thirty years had been working in the paths of honour and mercy, and using their brains instead of carving living animals and calling it 'Research' who shall say what they might not have discovered?"

(That was on May 24th, 1913).

The Report goes on to discuss the most suitable poliomyelitis vaccine for this country:

"There is no proof, so far, of what value a Salk-type vaccine may have in protecting children under six years of age. Besides, the vaccine contains a strain of the poliomyelitis virus, whose effectiveness, in humans, is quite unproven, although it is safe and effective in animals. (Animal lovers please note.)"

If the Reports referred to the behaviour of lunatics in a mental institution, they could be studied with less concern. As it is, we may tremble for the future health of mankind. And again:

"When one thinks of the Rockefeller funds, the Cancer Research funds, and the rest of the money that has gone down the vivisectionists' sinks during the past quarter century, and compares its worse than negative results with the amazing series of discoveries made during that period by physicists doing their brain work within the strictest limits of honour, it is difficult to resist the conclusion (not that any normal person wants to resist it) that only imbeciles can be induced to practise vivisection, and glory in it. We give them huge sums to discover why we are dying of cancer at such an alarming rate, and how we can avoid it. They seize the money and buy innumerable mice with it to play with in their laboratories. After years of developing in themselves the mouse mind, they tell us that they have found out how to give a mouse cancer, and that they have found a microbe which is quite harmless, but which, when associated with other conditions which they cannot define, seems to be characteristic of cancer. Who would pull the whiskers of a single mouse for the sake of so pitiful a result?"

Shaw asked that question in the *Sunday Express*, on August 7th, 1927—nearly thirty years ago. If he were here, after reading these reports, he might be moved to ask it again. But, perhaps, his sojourn among the Immortals would have inclined him to have no more to do with us since it is obvious that even after many decades of his vigorous teaching we have learned almost nothing.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Arabian Days of Faith and Science

A member of the *Unesco* Secretariat, Dr. Khaloun Kinany of Syria graduated from the University of Paris and London. He was professor at the University of Damascus from 1948 to 1951. Writes he as follows:

The ordinary reader has usually derived his knowledge of the Islamic world from renderings of *The Arabian Nights*, which may or may not impart some of the flavour of Arab tastes, but are, in any case, racy, highly coloured stories, mingling wild flights of imagination with sordid details, and conceived originally as light entertainment for the masses.

Other sources of knowledge are the many travel books written by Westerners. Some are very well written, but unavoidably biased, and the most popular and widely circulated are usually those which content themselves with fascinating details and romantic descriptions. However, there is an increased demand for more exact and serious literature on Eastern cultures, as the numbers of internationally-minded readers in Europe and America are growing. These readers, representing the new spirit of the century, seek to know, through their national institutions or through international organizations promoting international understanding, such as, *Unesco*, more about the East—to understand better than tourists walking in narrow streets whose high walls hide the life of the people within. They would like to enter oriental houses, to be introduced to Asian life, to learn about its soul and to study its culture from the inside.

"No culture," says T. S. Eliot, "can appear or develop except in relation to a religion." Arabian civilization and Moslem civilization during some periods of Arab history, and sometimes now, are identical. So it will be relevant to begin by looking at Moslem religion, and the ways in which it has deeply influenced the thought and behaviour of the builders of Arabian civilization.

Islam, by the extreme simplicity and clarity of its creed, struck the minds of men who were looking for a God and for a faith. Islam, recommending puritanism and brotherhood, appealed to the masses and to communities which were in need of social reform, moral and spiritual revival, and political security. Conversion to Islam helped nations and individuals to find their souls and ensure their salvation. It made them feel that they belonged only to themselves and to God, and to the large Moslem community based on brotherhood among all believers.

History has known religions which came too early or too late for their times. But Islam is one of the religions which arose at the right moment in time. Its message swept like fire all over the Middle East, and by the Seventh Century A.D., only ninety years after the coming of Mohammed, Moslem culture was established in a vast empire extending from Spain to India.

Why was Islam so phenomenally successful? Sprung up as it did at the right moment was fortune,

and the fact that it has always disregarded prejudices based on race, colour, social class and country. It accepted from the very beginning the co-existence of other religions, which were free to develop within the Moslem world. Islam's traditional tolerance is well-known to all readers of the history of the Arabs, and the Arabs were well-rewarded for their religious tolerance. The tremendous wealth of philosophical and scientific knowledge which came to them from Greece, Egypt, Persia, India and other countries during the first centuries of their renaissance was passed on to them faithfully and consciously by Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian hands. Moslem religion, and subsequently Arabian culture, set the search for truth as the highest aim of human life. There is only one truth, all over the world. Islam never claimed to be a new religion, but the continuation and reformation of Judaism, Christianity and the Hanif religion. Similarly, Moslem thinkers and scientists never believed the truth could be found in only one people and one country. Their endless journeyings all over the Moslem and non-Moslem world during the Middle Ages in search of true knowledge was almost certainly unprecedented in the past.

One last characteristic of Islam is its conception of Evil. Although Islam may be classed with those

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religions which conceived the creation and evolution of the universe to be the result of a perennial dualistic struggle between light and darkness, in Moslem religion evil is not as powerful as good. The Devil's power is smashed by the omnipotent God and reduced to the level of power that any single human being could possess. At any rate, if the evil power could sometimes overwhelm individuals it could not prevail against communities or nations. The prophets who were sent by God to help nations and races in their fight against evil are no longer needed since the coming of Mohammed, the very last prophet of God.

Islam takes a firm stand on this point. The belief that evil has little power against group thinking probably explains the Moslem's close attachment in thinking and behaviour to their groups, and may be one of the reasons why the Moslem brotherhood is so strong all over the world.

What bearing has the foregoing on Arabic culture? In the field of literature and the fine arts, Arabian culture suffered heavily from the absence in its universe of little gods and powerful spirits fighting with each other for the possession of this world, and the domination of the destiny of mankind. During its long centuries of development, Islam gave birth to no myths, metaphysical legends, folklore, carnivals, dances or religious theatre. However, it showed fertility in other fields of art and literature, which expressed confidence in life, trust in human destiny, and self-assurance in the artist's mind and soul. Arabic architecture, arabesque ornaments on mosques, palaces, carpets and luxurious furniture are well known to the Western world. However, the influence of Arabic poetry of troubadours and courtly love in Europe, and the role of Arabic music and prosody in the creation of the European sonnet, ode and ballad, although

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accepted by some orientalists, has not yet been seriously stddied.

The freedom from fear of harmful and mysterious powers encouraged the Arabs to adopt a daring attitude towards the universe, and they set out to study its phenomena, to disclose its mysteries and discover its governing laws.

According to the Koran, true believers should reflect on the creation of heaven and earth. Those who succeed in melting and using iron or in benefiting from wind power, for example, and all who succeed in making life on earth more enjoyable and more comfortable for themselves and for their fellow men, are favoured by God. Their deeds and discoveries are considered as an act of worship. So it follows that the Arabs were as attracted by positive sciences as by philosophy and ascetism, and their favourite Greek philosopher was Aristotle, who was mainly concerned with science. The major contribution of the Arabs towards the progress of the culture of mankind, was in the field of science.

During the centuries when Arabs were the torch-bearers of civilization, the Arab scientists strove to replace astrology by astronomy, and alchemy by chemistry. In place of mythology they offered highly developed mathematics, algebra and trigonometry for the better understanding of the cosmos. Sarton, in his encyclopaedial *Introduction to the History of Science*, and E. F. Gautier, in his book *Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans*, show, in detail how the Arabs not only preserved Greek science and transmitted it to Renaissance Europe, but how they improved on it immensely, and that in such subjects as mathematics, algebra, trigonometry, astronomy, chemistry, physics, mineralogy, medicine, pharmacy, agriculture, metallurgy, the Arab scholars left their Greek teachers far behind. Gautier believes that it could be claimed that pharmacy was created by the Arabs. He reminds us that the mariner's compass, and the inexpensive writing paper made in those days from cotton-wool were also Arabic inventions. The major Arabian contribution to the progress of science did not consist solely in achieving additional knowledge and new discoveries in physics and chemistry and other scientific fields. The Arab contribution was much more important—they introduced an entirely new method, they introduced experimentation in science.

Sarton states that, the Arab's great contributions to the advance of science is not generally known to the average scientist. For this lack of information he gives the following explanation: "The majority of the teachers and historians speaking of mediaeval thought have dealt with Western, and specially with Latin, writings. Now, it is true that a number of important works were composed in Latin, but many others, just as worthy of consideration, were written in Greek, Syriac, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and even in Japanese. The most valuable of all, the most original and the most pregnant, were written in Arabic. From the second half of the eighth to the end of the eleventh century, Arabic was the progressive scientific language of mankind.

People often refer to the universal character of the Arabian culture and to its capacity to accommodate itself in any region with any civilization. Nevertheless,

the sweeping character of the Arab conquest was in some ways harmful to the development of the Arabian culture. The Arabs became unable to control their vast empire, especially in the cultural field. In some countries, their culture and their religion were not given sufficient time to adjust themselves to new conditions. Fatalism invaded Moslem religion and the Arabian culture which had primarily advocated free will. The productive scholasticism which, on the basis of the Unity of Truth, maintained a wholesome liaison between scholars and scientists, was hastily substituted by an unproductive scholasticism which put scientists at the mercy of religious scholars. Love for perfection and ideals were overshadowed by love for materialistic existence and the acceptance of daily life without glory or noble ambitions. Unfairness and seclusion were sometimes, and in some regions, the reward of Arab women who fought courageously with their men for the victory of Arabian civilization, and who enjoyed, in Arabia during the first century of Islam, rights and privileges which are not obtained even today by women in some civilized countries. The Arabian culture went into a long period of decay, from the thirteenth till the end of the eighteenth century.

The awakening of the Arab world, which began in the last century, is now achieved. The modern Arabs are now fully aware of these two aspects of their culture, the one which built up their glorious past, they they went to keep, and the other which caused their decay, which they are trying to overcome. The Arabian culture has already demonstrated its firm belief in moral values, in universality, the dignity of the human personality, and in the progress of knowledge. It has advocated tolerance and fraternity among nations, races and religions. This culture, in spite of a very long period of decay, has now worn itself out. In fact, it has taken on a new vigour, and has great potentiality. The revival of Arabic culture will surely contribute to international understanding and the advance of mankind towards a better world.

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